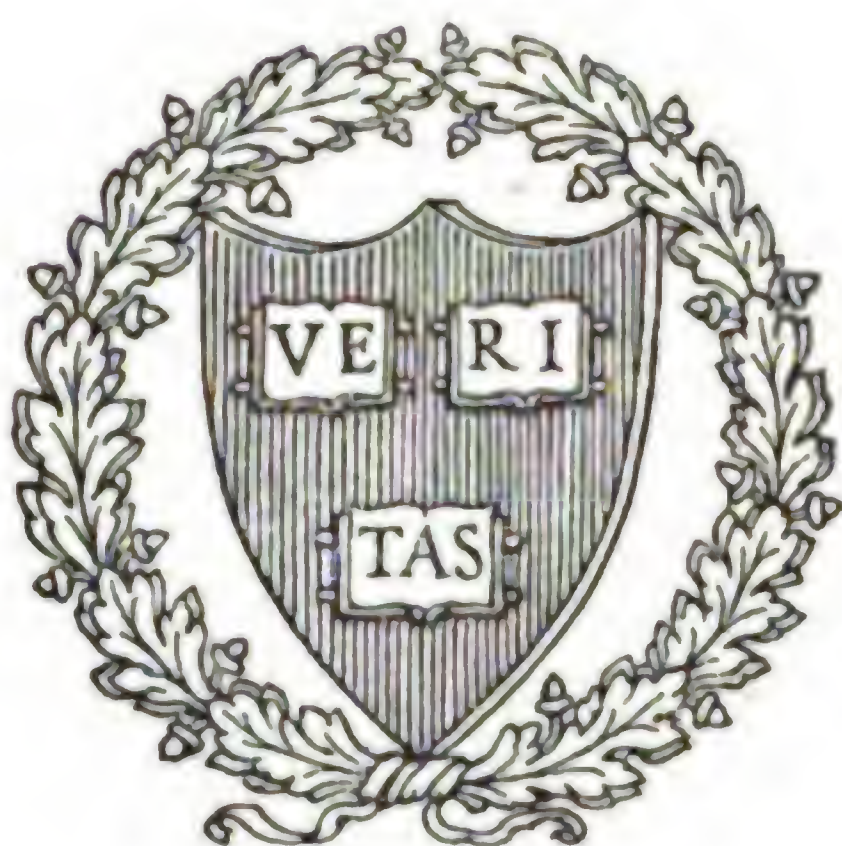


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SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I.—The Bleeding Lance. By ARTHUR C. L. BROWN,	1
II.—An Eighteenth-Century Attempt at a Critical View of the Novel: the <i>Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans</i> . By JOHN M. CLAPP,	60
III.— <i>En Aller à la Moutarde</i> . By COLMAN DUDLEY FRANK,	97
IV.—Some Phases of the Supernatural in American Literature. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN,	114
V.—Spenser's "Lost" Works and their Probable Relation to his <i>Faerie Queene</i> . By HELEN E. SANDISON,	134
VI.—Landericus and Wacherius. By MARY CAROLINE SPALDING,	152
VII.—Textual Criticism as a Pseudo-Science. By FREDERICK TUPPER, Jr.,	164
VIII.—Shakespeare's <i>Julius Cæsar</i> in the Light of some other Versions. By HARRY MORGAN AYRES,	183
IX.—The Date of Chaucer's <i>Medea</i> . By ROBERT K. ROOT,	228
X.—The Golden Age of the Spenserian Pastoral. By HER- BERT E. CORY,	241
XI.— <i>Un Hijo que Negó á su Padre</i> . By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD,	268
XII.—On the Sources of Guillaume de Deguileville's <i>Pèlerinage de l'Ame</i> . By STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN,	275
XIII.—Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion-Play. By KARL YOUNG,	309
XIV.—Uhland's <i>Fortunat</i> and the <i>Histoire de Fortunatus et de ses Enfans</i> . By JOHN C. RANSMEIER,	355
XV.—Recent Progress of the <i>Landemaal</i> Movement in Norway. By CALVIN THOMAS,	367
XVI.—The Place and Function of a Standard in a Genetic Theory of Literary Development. By JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS,	379
XVII.— The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's <i>Lucidas</i> . By JAMES HOLLY HANFORD,	403
XVIII.— <i>Der Lutherisch Pfaffennarr</i> . By ERNET VOSS,	448
XIX.—Some Early Italian Parallels to the Locution <i>The Sick Man of the East</i> . By A. A. LIVINGSTON,	459
XX.—Good Taste and Conscience. By WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,	486
XXI.— <i>Los Alcaldes Encontrados</i> ; 6ª Parte. By G. L. LINCOLN,	498
XXII.—Concerning Huchown. By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN,	507
XXIII.—Spenser and the Earl of Leicester. By EDWIN A. GREENLAW,	535
XXIV.— <i>Sprachliche Studien zur Ästhetik Winckelmanns</i> . By HERMANN J. WEBER,	563
XXV.—Some Notes of Gabriel Harvey's in Hoby's Translation of Castiglione's <i>Courtier</i> (1561). By CAROLINE RUUTZ- REES,	608
XXVI.—Spenser's <i>Muiopotmos</i> in Relation to Chaucer's <i>Sir Thopas</i> and <i>The Nun's Priest's Tale</i> . By THOMAS WILLIAM NADAL,	640
XXVII.— <i>Dolce Stil Nuovo</i> —The Case of the Opposition. By A. G. H. SPIERS,	657

APPENDIX.

PAGE.

Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., and at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, December 28, 29, 30, 1909.

THE ASSOCIATION MEETING.

Address of Welcome. By President J. G. SCHURMAN, - -	iv
Report of the Acting Secretary, - - - - -	vi
Election of Honorary Members, - - - - -	vii
Report of the Treasurer, - - - - -	vii
Appointment of Committees, - - - - -	ix
1. Italian Influence on Spanish Verse in the Sixteenth Century. By ARTHUR GORDON, - - - - -	ix
2. Shakespeare's Use of Prose. By MORRIS W. CROLL, -	ix
3. Report on some Eschenburg Manuscripts. By W. W. FLOBER and CARL E. SCHREIBER, - - - - -	x
4. The Etymology of <i>Bachelier</i> . By W. A. STOWELL, - -	x
5. The Source of Dryden's <i>All for Love</i> . By WILLIAM STRUNK, JR., - - - - -	xi
6. The Masque in Shakespeare's Plays." By J. W. CUNLIFFE,	xi
The Address of the President of the Association : Linguistic Study and Literary Creation. By MARION DEXTER LEARNED, - - - - -	xi
Report of the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts, -	xii
The Proposed Facsimile of the Cædmon Manuscript, - - -	xiii
7. Arthurian Literature. By A. E. CURDY, - - - - -	xiii
8. Rhetorica Rediviva. By F. N. SCOTT, - - - - -	xiv
9. On the Teaching of Written Composition. By LANE COOPER, - - - - -	xiv
10. Spenser's Sir Calidore. By PERCY W. LONG, - - -	xiv
11. The Poetry of François Coppée. By E. P. DARGAN, - -	xv
Meeting of the Concordance Society, - - - - -	xv
12. Anachronism in Shakspeare Criticism. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL, - - - - -	xv

CONTENTS.

V

13. A Model for Chaucer's Knight. By WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD, - - - - -	xvi
14. The Bewcastle Cross. By ALBERT S. COOK, - - -	xvi
15. Cowboy Songs of the Mexican Border. By JOHN A. LOMAX, -	xvi
16. Rival Theories of Ballad Origin. By ARTHUR BEATTY, -	xvii
Meeting of the American Dialect Society, - - - - -	xvii
Report of the Committee of Fifteen, - - - - -	xvii
Report of Committee on Enlarging the Scope of the <i>Publications</i> , -	xviii
Report of Nominating Committee, - - - - -	xix
Resolution of Thanks, - - - - -	xx
17. Some Unpublished Letters of Sainte-Beuve. By OTHON G. GUERLAC, - - - - -	xx
18. American Scenery in Cooper's Novels. By E. E. HALE, JR., -	xxi
19. Nature in Mediæval German Lyrics. By BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN, - - - - -	xxi
20. The Origin of the Double Infinitive in German. By WILLIAM KURRELMAYER, - - - - -	xxi
21. Uhland's <i>Fortunat</i> and the <i>Histoire de Fortunatus</i> , Paris, 1770. By JOHN C. RANSMEIER, - - - - -	xxii
22. The Old Icelandic <i>Lygisgur</i> . By A. LEROY ANDREWS, -	xxii
23. <i>The Winter's Tale</i> , Greene's <i>Pandosto</i> , and the Greek Romances. By SAMUEL LEE WOLFF, - - -	xxii
24. The Place and Function of a Standard in a Genetic Theory of Literary Development. By J. PRESTON HOSKINS, -	xxiii
25. Classical Tradition in Medieval Irish Literature. By EDWARD GODFREY COX, - - - - -	xxiii
Papers read by Title, - - - - -	xxiii

THE CENTRAL DIVISION MEETING.

Appointment of Committees, - - - - -	xxix
1. Hawthorne's <i>Immitigable</i> . By JOHN PHELPS FRUIT, -	xxix
2. A Detail in the Legend of Ogier le Danois. By BARRY CERF, -	xxx
3. Fischart and the Volkslied. By CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS, - - - - -	xxx
4. George Meredith as the Comic Muse. By JOSEPH WARREN BEACH, - , - - - - -	xxx

Address of the Chairman of the Division :

Coeducation and Literature. By ARTHUR GRAVES CANFIELD, - - - - -	xxx i
5. The Future Place and Scope of Modern Language Instruction in our Technical Schools. By HERMAN BABSON, - - - - -	xxx i
6. The Novel in the French Literature of Louisiana. By EDWARD J. FORTIER, - - - - -	xxx ii
7. The Pathetic as a Dramatic Element. By STEPHEN HAYES BUSH, - - - - -	xxx ii
8. Notes upon the Various Impressions of the Faust Fragment of 1790. By JAMES TAFT HATFIELD, - - - - -	xxx ii
9. Translations into English from Greek and Latin (to Boethius and Vincent of Lerins) from Caxton to Chapman : 1477-1620. By HENRY BURROWS LATHROP, - - - - -	xxx ii
10. The Imagination of Heinrich von Kleist, and Some Psychological Problems Involved in his Characters. By FRED COLE HICKS, - - - - -	xxx iii

Departmental Meetings :—

English, - - - - -	xxx iii
Germanic Languages, - - - - -	xxx iv
Romance Languages, - - - - -	xxx v
Report of Nominating Committee, - - - - -	xxx vii
Report of Committee on Place of Meeting, - - - - -	xxx vii
Report of Committee on Reproduction of Early Texts, - - - - -	xxx viii
11. The Historical Basis of the Linguistic and Dialectal Divisions of the Spanish Peninsula. By WINTHROP HOLT CHENERY, - - - - -	xxx ix
12. Margaret Fuller, a Pupil of Goethe. By FREDERICK AUGUST BRAUN, - - - - -	xxx ix
13. Chronology and Metrical Tests. By EDWARD P. MORTON, - - - - -	xxx ix
14. Fatalism as a Characteristic Feature in Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's Works. By ERNST FEISE, - - - - -	xl
15. The Symbolism of the Don Quixote Romance. By RALPH EMERSON BASSETT, - - - - -	xl
16. Ibsen's Symbolism as Illustrated in <i>Master Builder</i> and <i>When We Dead Awake</i> . By PAUL H. GRUMMANN, - - - - -	xl
17. Shakespeare's Laugh. By HARVEY CARSON GRUMBINE, - - - - -	xli
18. Die Mennoniten von Kansas. By HEINRICH OTTO KRUSE, - - - - -	xli

CONTENTS.

vii

Papers read by Title, - - - - -	xlii
Address of the President of the Association :	
Linguistic Study and Literary Creation. By MARION DEXTER LEARNED, - - - - -	xlvi
Address of the Chairman of the Central Division :	
Coeducation and Literature. By ARTHUR GRAVES CAN- FIELD, - - - - -	lxvi
Officers of the Association, - - - - -	lxxxiv
The Constitution of the Association, - - - - -	lxxxv
List of Members, - - - - -	lxxxix
List of Subscribing Libraries, - - - - -	cxxxvi
Honorary Members, - - - - -	cxxxix
Roll of Members Deceased, - - - - -	cxl

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I.—THE BLEEDING LANCE.

I.

Of monographs and studies on the Grail there is no end, but as yet an article dealing primarily with the Bleeding Lance scarcely exists.¹ In the following pages the lance will be kept in the foreground, and the object will be to approach the grail problem from this novel point of attack.

Students of the grail have hardly attached importance enough to the pagan atmosphere, which in the earlier grail stories clings to the bleeding lance, nor given sufficient weight to the fact that the lance is apt to be described first, and is often made more prominent than the grail.²

Our oldest accounts of the grail castle are (apparently) in the unfinished *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troies, written about 1175,³ and in the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, composed about 1205,⁴ but essentially based, according

¹ For references concerning the lance, see Heinzel, *Ueber die französischen Grailromane* (1891), p. 9.

² See, however, Heinzel, p. 10; Martin, in his introduction to his edition of *Parzival*, II, lx, (1903); and Miss Weston in *Sir Perceval*, II, 272.

³ Paris, *Journal des Savants*, (1902), p. 306.

⁴ Martin, *Parzival*, II, xiii.

to the statement of the author, and as now seems probable,¹ upon a lost poem by a French² poet named Kyot ("der Provenzal" Wolfram calls him, ed. Martin, 827, 5), who doubtless wrote not far from the time of Chrétien. Both Chrétien and Wolfram mention barbaric properties of the bleeding lance, difficult to reconcile with any Christian association, of which they appear to be altogether ignorant.

Chrétien definitely ascribes to his bleeding lance marvelous destructive powers which are manifestly unchristian, and which put it in the same class with the malignant weapons of ancient Celtic story. The Mons ms. of *Perceval* tells us in verses 7538 ff., that a blow from this lance will destroy the entire land of Logres (Welsh *Lloegr* = England):

" Et mesire Gauwains s'an alle 7538
 Querre la lance dont li fers
 Sainne tos jors, jà n'ert si ters
 Del sanc tout cler que ele pleure
 Si est escrit qu'il est une eure
 Que tous li roiaumes de Logres
 Dont jadis fu li tière al Ogres
 Ert détruite par cele lance." 7545

Perceval, ed. Potvin, II, 252.

It is probable that an error exists in verse 7545, and that we should read "has destroyed all the land of Logres."³

¹ Baist disagrees, *Parzival und der Gral*, Freiburg, 1909, pp. 14-15.

² Wolfram says that Kyot composed "en franzoys"; *Guiot* is a French, not a Provençal name.

³ *Fut* for *Ert* in verse 7545 would be an easy emendation, but I leave the texts throughout as printed by the various editors. The prose of 1530 puts the destruction in the past: "la lance . . . de laquelle il est escript que tout le royaulme de Logres, dont Orges [*sic*] en fut roy et seigneur, a jadis par ceste lance esté conquis." The Montpellier ms. substitutes for the four verses 7542-5 of Mons, two entirely different verses:—

" Einsi est escrit en l'ameure
 La pés sera par ceste lance."

Potvin, II, 252.

This variant, as I conjecture, may explain the future tense of Mons. The

Indeed from hints here and there in the poem we may conjecture that this was the lance with which the grail king received his wound, whereupon his land fell to ruin. In verses 6030 ff., Perceval is told that because he did not ask the questions why the lance bled, and whom the grail served, the land will become even more waste and desolate :—

“Tières en seront essilies, 6057
Et pucièles desconsellies ;
Orfenes, veves en remanront
Et maint chevalier en morront.”

Ibid., II, 202-3.

This seems to be a reference to the Enchantment of Britain well known in Welsh legend, which could only be dispelled by breaking a charm, as Perceval might have done had he asked the questions. Rhys in his *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 285 ff., 258, 264, has compared the tale of the Enchantment of Britain in the Mabinogi of Manawyddan son of Llyr, where likewise men, beasts and crops suffer, houses and castles are thrown into desolation.¹

lance caused the destruction and the war, and will (by healing the king's wound) bring restoration and peace. The careless scribe of Mons put the destruction as well as the restoration in the future. Wauchier puts the destruction in the past, see below, p. 15. Compare, however, Heinzel's comments, *op. cit.*, p. 5. At an earlier verse in *Perceval*, Gawain is told to seek and apparently to fetch the lance :

“Querre la lance dont li fers 7491
Sainne tos jors, jà n'iert tant ters
C' une goutte de sang n'ì penge ;
U il cele lance vos rengen.”

Ibid., II, 250.

¹ Rhys and Evans, *The Red Book of Hergest*, I, 46 ff., and translation in Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 100 ff.

In the “Elucidation,” which is not by Chrétien, occurs another reference to the laying waste of Britain :

“Coment et por coi fu destruis 26
De Logres li rices païs.
Moult en sot an parler jadis.”

Potvin, II, 2.

No one has hitherto called attention to the numerous parallels in Irish literature to such destruction by enchantment. The *Acallamh na Senorach*, which is preserved in fifteenth century MSS., but probably, in this place at least, faithfully represents ancient tradition, tells how Aillén mac Midhna of the Tuatha Dé Dunaan used each Halloween to lull every one asleep and then emit "a blast of fire from his mouth that burnt up Tara with all her gear." This destruction continued twenty-three years until Finn put an end to it by the help of the venomous spear of Fiacha.¹ The *Macgnímartha Find* relates that Finn once cast this same spear of Fiacha (Fiachail) into a fairy knoll, and that it would have brought ruin on the land had it not been thrown out again:—

"Venomous the spear
And venom the hand that threw it.
If it is not cast out of the knoll
A murrain will seize the land."²

We are told that the Irish druids could devastate the land³

¹*Acallamh na Senorach*, ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, IV, i, 47–49. For translation see O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 142–4.

² "Neim in gai
Is neim in lám ro lai de,
Mina curthir assim sidh
Gebaid conach in tír de."

Macgnímartha Find, ed. Kuno Meyer, § 26, *Rev. Celt.*, v, 203. Translation in *Ériu*, I, 189. The MS. was written about 1453, but this incident seems at least as old as the twelfth century; for it is referred to in some detail in a poem by Gilla in Chomded in LL, 145^a. (LL = *Book of Leinster*, a MS. of 1150. LU = *Book of the Dun* written before 1106. My references are to the facsimiles published by the Royal Irish Academy. The Newberry Library in Chicago, by procuring recently the R. I. A. facsimiles of Irish MSS. and Rhys and Evans' *Welsh Texts*, has given a much needed encouragement to Celtic students in this region).

³ *Cath Maige Turedh*, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, § 80. On the age of this saga see below, p. 36.

and that dwellers in the *Sídh* could produce an illusion of destruction.¹

Wolfram, like Chrétien, fails to give to his bleeding lance any trace of Christian coloring, and it seems evident that no such coloring could have been suggested to him by the source from which he took the story. Wolfram was not the man to paganize a Christian object. His temper was decidedly mystical and religious, and nothing would have delighted him more than to connect his bleeding lance with Christian teaching. At more than one point in his narrative he is puzzled by the barbaric character of his lance, and somewhat nonplussed² by this brilliant piece of decoration, evidently bequeathed to him by his source. Quite certainly he had never heard of any connection between his bleeding spear and the lance of Longinus which pierced Christ's side, and according to ecclesiastical fable was preserved among the sacred relics of the crucifixion.

Wolfram applies to his lance the epithet "poisonous,"³ which is antagonistic, not only to any Christian explanation, but even to his manifest desire to ascribe to the object a healing force. The lance has a reed-like shaft.⁴ Wolfram, apparently, tries to explain the blood upon it by relating how

¹ *Echtra Nerai*, *Rev. Celt.*, x. 217-219, §§ 6-8, and compare LL, 215^a referred to by Kuno Meyer, *Cath Finntraga*, p. xii (*Anec. Oxon.*, Med. and Mod. Series, I, part 4). Meyer points out that in the greater part of Irish Literature the Tuatha Dé Danaan and the *aés síde* ("fairies"), are substantially identical.

² Cf. ed. Martin, 489, 24 ff.

³ "Mit einem gelüpten sper" 479, 8.

Parzival, ed. Martin, I, 169.

⁴ "in de wunden greif eins arztes hant, 480, 5
unz er des spers isen vant :
der trunzûn was rœrîn,
ein teil in der wunden sîn :
diu gewan der arzet beidiu wider."

it is plunged into the king's wound at times to still the pain.¹ The king was so wounded by the lance long ago in a just against a pagan who thought to win the grail.² Wolfram tells us that the wound was in reality a punishment upon the grail king for having sought forbidden love.³

Any careful reader of these accounts will, I think, be convinced that the lance story as known to Chrétien and Wolfram must have been essentially pagan, and could scarcely have had more than a suggestion of Christian coloring.

II.

It is well to recall at this point that neither Chrétien nor Wolfram surrounds any portion of the scene at the Grail Castle with unmistakably religious associations, nor can we be sure that either one knew of an identification of the grail with any Christian cup. The importance which, in the scene at the Grail Castle, Chrétien attaches to the lance,

- ¹ "dô der sterne Sâturnus 489, 24
wider an sîn zil gestuont,
daz wart uns bî der wunden kuont,
unt bî dem sumerlîchen snê.
im getet der frost nie sô wê,
dem sîezen æheime dîn,
daz sper muos in die wunden sîn :
Da half ein nôt für d'andern nôt : 490, 1
des wart daz sper bluotec rôt."
- Cf. 492, 25 ff.
- ² "eins tages der kûnec al eine reit 479, 3
. . . ûz durch âventiure, 479, 5
durch freude an minnen stiure
des twanc in der minnen ger."
- ³ "swelch grâles hêrre ab minne gert 478, 13
anders dan diu schrift in wert,
der muoz es komen ze arbeit
und in siufzebæriu herzeleit."

mentioning it first, and devoting more space to it than to the grail, seems a hint that he was not following an essentially Christian legend. In any procession borrowed from the Mass the grail would inevitably outshadow the lance.

Moreover Chrétien does not call the object "the holy grail" or even "the grail," but only "a grail" (by which he evidently expected his readers to understand "a dish"). After describing a marvellous sword which is sent by the niece of the fisher king, and is given by him to Perceval as adjudged and destined for him,¹ Chrétien's account runs:—

"Uns varlés d'une cambre vint, 4369
Qui une blanche lance² tint,

¹ This sword of the grail castle must be identical in origin with the sword "as estranges renges," concerning which much is said in the *Queste*, the *Huth Merlin*, etc. (Such is also the conclusion of Miss Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, 263; and of Professor Nitze, in these *Publications*, XXIV, 408-9). The passage in which Chrétien mentions this sword is peculiar:

"Tantost li sire en ravesti 4336
Celui ki laiens ert estranges,
De ceste espée par les ranges
Qui valoient .I. grant trésor."

Ed. Potvin, II, 145.

Could it be that the phrase "estranges renges" stood in the original that Chrétien was following, and suggested the rhyme word "estranges" of verse 4337? If so, Chrétien preferred to keep the grail sword apart from the sword "as estranges renges," making the latter an object of Gawain's quest at Montesclaire, *Perceval*, vv. 6090 ff.

² The whiteness of the lance, dwelt on by Chrétien here, connects the object with the fairy weapons of the Celts. See p. 32 below. Compare v. 4370 with v. 4375, and with vv. 6035-6:

"Por coi cele gote de sanc 6035
Saut par la pointe del fer blanc."

Ed. Potvin, II, 202.

In Wauchier's account of the Grail Castle most of the mss. speak of the whiteness of the lance. Ms. Montpellier (Potvin, III, 369-70) reads: "une blanche lance réonde," v. 8; and "la blanche lance . . . dont la pointe saine," vv. 72-3. Ms. Bib. Nat. 12576, translated by Miss Weston, *Sir Gawain at the Grail Castle*, p. 22, says: "a lance the blade of which was white as snow."

Enpoingnie par emmi leu ;
 Si passa par entre le feu
 Et cil ki sor le lit séoient,
 Et tout cil ki laiens estoient
 Virent la lance et *le fer blanc* :
 S'n ist une goutte de sanc
 Del fer de la lance el somet,
 Et, jusqu'à la main au varlet,
 Couloit cele goutte vermelle." 4379

After this came two lads who carried lighted candles :
 Then :—

"Un graal entre ses . II . mains
 Une damoiseiële tenoit
 Qui avoec les varlés venoit, 4400
 Biële, gente et acesmée ;
 Quant ele fu laiens entrée
 Atout le graal qu'ele tint
 Une si grans clartés i vint
 Que si pierdirent les candoiles
 Lor clarté, com font les estoiles
 Quant li solaus liëve ou la lune ;
 Apriès içou en revient une
 Qui tint le tailléoir d'argent ;¹
 Içou vos di vraiment 4410
 De fin or esmerée estoit ;

 Et li varlés les vit passer 4421
 Et n'osa mie demander
 Del graal qui on en servoit."

Ed. Potvin, II, 146-8.

Chrétien could not have thought of connecting this procession with any part of the ritual of the Mass. Had he done so he would not have put the grail into the hands of a lovely young maiden but of a priest or acolyte. He doubtless regarded the procession as a part of the magnificence with which a great lord was served at meals in the twelfth century, a magnificence striking to the young Perceval.

¹ This is evidently the correct reading. Cf. vv. 4743 ff.

It is true that at a later point in the romance, where Perceval confesses to his uncle the hermit, and is blamed for not having asked concerning lance and grail, the hermit tells Perceval that the father of "le roi Pesceour" is fed by an "oiste" brought to him in the grail which he calls a "sainte cose":

"D'une sole oiste li sains hom 7796
 Quant en ce Gréal li aporte
 Sa vie sostient et conforte
 Tant sainte cose est li Graus
 Et cil est si esperitaus 7800
 K'à sa vie plus ne covient
 Que l'oiste qui el Gréal vient."

Ed. Potvin, II, 260-61.

At first glance, to one who knows the later grail stories, the word "oiste" seems to imply identification with the Mass. A more careful consideration will, however, scarcely allow one to think this. The hermit explains that the king's father was sustained by a single wafer because he was so holy a man, and, presumably, so practised in abstinence. He does not make clear that it was because of any religious character of the grail. "Sainte" may imply only that the grail was a mysterious thing.

Chrétien is certainly alluding here to some legend, but perhaps, as Martin has suggested,¹ to a legend like that about Pachomius, of a saint who was miraculously sustained on a wafer a day, and not to the consecrated wafer. The latter meaning for "oiste" seems excluded; for to the twelfth century, Chrétien would have been guilty of gross sacrilege if he had represented the consecrated wafer² as

¹ *Parnival*, II, liv.

² Cf. Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 17: "Die Hostie, welche von der Graljungfrau dem alten König zur Nahrung gebracht wird, kann nicht konsekriert sein, das wäre eine undenkbare Häresie, sie ist einfach jenes Nachtischgebäck, das man in Deutschland und Frankreich auch Oblate nennt."

The way in which Wolfram handles the story is very difficult of explanation if the grail were already Christianized. Wolfram at no time identifies his grail with any Christian cup, although in accordance with his tendencies he throws some religious associations round it. According to him the grail is a precious stone¹ that furnishes every member of the company with the food that he most desires.² The stone receives this power from a host or wafer that every year on Good Friday a white dove lays upon it.³ The sight of the grail protects a man from death for a week and keeps him from growing older.⁴ Youths and maidens

238, 3 ff.

3 " Ez ist hiute der karfritac, 470, 1
 daz man für wâr dâ warten mac,
 ein tûb von himel swinget :
 ûf den stein diu bringet
 ein kleine wîze oblât.
 ûf dem steine si die lât :
 diu tûbe ist durchliuhtec blanc,
 ze himel tuot si widerwanc.
 immer alle karfritage
 bringet se ûf den, als i' u sage, 470, 10
 dâ von der stein enpfæhet
 swaz guots ûf erden dræhet
 von trinken unt von spîse,
 als den wunsch von pardîse."

‘These life-giving powers of the Grail are mentioned in an earlier passage, and are not, like the food-giving properties, said to be due to the “oblât” brought by the dove. May not this omission be a hint that the story about the dove was a late explanation loosely attached to the account of the marvellous stone?’

are summoned to the service of the grail by writings which miraculously appear and disappear from time to time upon the stone.¹ It was tended of old time by the neutral angels who took no part in the conflict when Lucifer fell.²

III.

It makes no difference whether Chrétien and Kyot (Wolfram's source) are the oldest grail romances, or whether Robert de Borron's *Joseph* or some other romance which interprets the grail procession in a Christian sense was written down a few years earlier.³ In any case one who affirms a Christian origin for the grail story finds it difficult to explain how the story got into such an unchristian and mythological form as in Chrétien and Wolfram. Certainly neither of these writers would have paganized a Christian tale. Even Chrétien, superficial and conventional as he is in matters of religion, would surely not have moved away from ecclesiasticism. On a hypothesis of Christian origin somebody must have paganized the grail story before it reached

¹ 470, 21 ff.

² 471, 15 ff.

“ di newederhalp gestuonden,	471, 15
dô striten beguonden	
Lucifer unt Trinitas,	
swaz der selben engel was,	
die edelen unt die werden	
muosen ûf die erden	471, 20
zuo dem selben steine.”	

As Martin has observed *op. cit.*, II, lvi, the neutral angels may well be a Christian substitution for the Tuatha Dé Danaan in whose possession, according to the Irish, were the talismans of plenty. According to LU, 16^b, the Tuatha were regarded by the learned as of the number of exiles driven out of heaven when Lucifer fell.

³ Cf. the view of Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Gesch. der franz. Lit.*, pp. 146-7, (1900). (But no romance in its extant form could well be earlier.)

Chrétien and Wolfram. Somebody must have taken the most sacred legend of the church and adapted it to the purposes of secular entertainment.

It is hardly credible that this should have happened in the eleventh or twelfth century in western Europe. The current of change was all the other way. It is unnecessary to enumerate heathen superstitions and tales of wonder that in the age of the crusades took on a Christian meaning. One striking example shows the way that growth took place. Zimmer has studied in detail the development during these ages of the heathen Celtic *Imram Maelduin* into the Christian "Legend of St. Brandan."¹

The development of the grail story, so far as we can trace it from Chrétien to the latest prose romance, is steadily in the direction of increased ecclesiasticism. The worldly Perceval gives place to the saintly Galahad. General probability would indicate that this must have been the direction of growth from the moment that the grail story assumed the slightest connection with Christian legend.

That the lance of Longinus discovered at Antioch in the first crusade, about 1097,² could have given rise by any

¹ *Haupt's Zt.*, xxxiii, 148 ff. But Willy Staerk, *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende*, 1903, thinks that development might have taken place in the opposite direction, and instances the, not-to-my-thinking significant, parallel, of the supposed growth of the Yggdrasil myth from the Christian Tree legend.

² This was supposed to be a rediscovery of an older relic at Jerusalem. On the older relic see *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (ed. Tobler and Molinier, i, 57), quoting from a *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (dating about 530): "Et est in medio civitatis basilica illa (of Constantine), ubi est lancea, unde percussus est Dominus, et de ipsa facta est crux, et lucet in nocte, sicut sol in virtute diei." Cf. also Tobler and Mol., i, 65, 103, 126, 153, 217; and, for an early mention of Longinus in connection with the lance, the Anglo-Saxon charm "Wið gestice," Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, i, 393. (The above references I owe to the courtesy of Professor W. H. Hulme). The Longinus legend, because of its appearance in the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, c. 7, must

conceivable development to the bleeding lance of Chrétien and Wolfram is exceedingly improbable. Whether one starts from the Joseph of Arimathea legend or from some fragment of the Byzantine Mass, the difficulty is enormous. Nobody would have ventured to paganize the Mass. One might have assimilated a heathen formula or ritual to the Christian service.¹ A popular, originally heathen and doubtless Celtic tale has become partially Christianized and is gradually almost wholly ecclesiasticized.

Moreover if the grail and spear be of Christian origin, it is hard to understand why they are so universally associated with King Arthur. Were only a portion of the grail stories Arthurian, this might be explained as due to the great popularity of Arthur, which drew all stories, even those of Oriental origin, into his circle. But that every grail story without exception should be Arthurized seems impossible to explain unless the grail was in origin Celtic and came to light along with King Arthur.

There is scarcely a circumstance that makes it easy to derive the bleeding lance of the grail castle from the spear of Longinus, while many things point to a source in pagan and Celtic story. If the scene at the grail castle were taken from the Byzantine Mass, as Professor Golther suggests,²

have been known at an early period in England (Hulme, *Middle-English Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. lxix, E. E. T. S., ex. ser., No. 100). But the lance of Longinus never bled, nor had any particular resemblance to the spear of the Grail Castle. C. Kröner, *Die Longinuslegende, ihre Entstehung und Ausbreitung in der französischen Literatur*, a Münster dissertation, 1899, I have not seen. According to Freymond in Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht*, VIII, 2, 269, it is useless for students of the grail legend.

¹ Even in the most Christian forms of the story, the grail ceremony is never identified with the actual celebration of the mass; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, 179.

² *Parzival und der Gral, in deutscher Sage des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Munich, 1908 (*Walhalla*, iv). Cf. K. Burdach, *Literaturzeitung* (1903) 2821-4; 3050-8; *Archiv*. 108, 131. Burdach's book on lance and grail

how could Chrétien have paganized the lance and grail as he did, and how could Wolfram have thought that the grail was a stone? Clearly, the story starts pagan and the Christianization is late and gradual. The venomous and destructive powers of the lance are surely important. They are antagonistic to the Longinus legend, but in conformity with pagan myth.

IV.

Wauchier,¹ the first continuator of the fragmentary *Perceval*, is interesting to our study because he lacked the constructive ability of Chrétien, and allowed whole sections of his source, which must have been nearly or quite pagan, to remain unaltered, side by side with his later Christian explanations. Wauchier tells us that the lance is the relic of the Crucifixion :

“ C'est la lance demainement 20259
Dont li fuis Diu fu voirement
Féru très parmi le costé.”

Ed. Potvin, iv, 4.

But his description of the lance is more barbaric than Chrétien's, and can surely find no parallel or possible source in any apocryphal gospel or ecclesiastical legend :

“ Et puis si vit, en .I. hanstier, 20151
Une lance forment sainier
Dedens une cope d'argent,
En cel vassiel fu droitment,
Toute fu sanglente environ,
Li sans couroit à grand randon
Del fier jusques à l'arestuel ;

announced in *Literaturzeitung* (1903) 2822, has not yet, to my knowledge, appeared. L. E. Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende*, Halle, 1909, I have not been able to procure.

¹ Cf. Paul Meyer, *Romania*, xxxii, 583.

Par foi, mentir ne vos en voel,
 En cel vassiel d'argent caoit,
 Par .I. tuiel d'or en issoit ¹ 20160
 Puis ceurt parmi .I. calemel
 D'argent, jà mais ne verez tel,
 De la merveille s'esbahit."

Ed. Potvin, iv, 1.

According to Wauchier the "rich grail" of itself supplied the assembled company with food,² much as in Wolfram's *Parzival*. Gawain is the hero of this adventure. He asked concerning the meaning of the lance and sword but fell asleep before he had time to inquire concerning the grail. Wauchier ascribes the Enchantment of Britain, not to a blow of the spear, as in Chrétien, but to a stroke of the sword :³

" Li roiaumes de Logres fu 20288
 Destruis et toute la contrée
 Par le cop que fist ceste espée."

Ed. Potvin, iv, 5.

The account of the Grail Castle in *Diu Crône*⁴ of Heinrich von dem Türlin possesses, though to a less degree, the same interest as that of Wauchier. Heinrich seems to have imperfectly digested and arranged his pagan materials to fit his Christian interpretation. At Gawain's first visit the

¹ To this should be compared the following lines of the "Elucidation" :

" Et li russiaus de sanc couroit 273
 D'un orcuel où la lance estoit,
 Par le rice tuiel d'argent."

Ed. Potvin, ii, 10.

² Vv. 20114-20132.

³ The truth perhaps is that the enchantment was caused both by the blow of the sword that killed the grail king's brother, and by the stroke of the spear that left the grail king himself wounded. See the dolorous stroke of a spear in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Bk. II (discussed in Chap. ix below) and that of a sword, Malory, Bk. xvii, Chap. 3.

⁴ Written about 1220, ed. J. H. C. Scholl, *Stuttgart Litt. Verein*, Vol. 27, (1852).

grail is a "vaz" of crystal containing blood.¹ In it is a golden "rære" through which the aged grail king partook of the blood.² At Gawain's second visit we are told that the grail was a stone.³ In these phrases we seem to have a glimpse of a more archaic account: of a description of the grail which we may suppose stood in Chrétien's original, from which he concluded that it was a dish; but Kyot (Wolfram) took it to be a stone.

Heinrich explains the fresh blood in the grail of which the king partook as coming from the lance which is held over it.⁴ Like Wauchier, Heinrich mentions the mysterious sleep that overcame the visitors at the Grail Castle.⁵ He attributes the condition of the king and his land to the strife of kinsmen.⁶

¹ *Diu Crône*, vv. 14,756 ff. :

"Diu truoc vor ir ein schœnez vaz
Von einer cristalle,
Daz was vol mit alle
Vil gar vrisches bluotes;
Rôtes goldes unde gûotes
Dar inne ein schœne rære lac."

² Vv. 14,776 ff.

³ "Gestein was ez und goldes rîch; vv. 29,384-5
Einer kessen was ez glîch."

⁴ "Do geschach ein michel wunder v. 29,416
Vor Gâweines ougen:
Daz sper von gotes tougen
Wart grôzer tropfen bluotes drî
In dem tobliere, der im bî 29,420
Stuont: die nam der alt dar abe."

⁵ See p. 15 above. The fairy music of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, which could induce sleep, is described in the ancient Irish sagas. See above p. 4, and compare the *Serglige Conculaind*, § 8, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 207, from LU.

⁶ "Wan disiu jâmers nôt geschach, vv. 29,497 ff.
Von sinem vettern den er stach
Sîn bruoder, durch sîn eigen lant."

The romances so far quoted are among the earliest in date, and are those which seem to give the grail castle story most nearly in its primitive form. It will be observed that all of the internal evidence which they furnish points to a heathen source for the bleeding lance. The Christian explanation seems a mere label attached to some strange barbaric weapon. *A priori* considerations favor a source in pagan, presumably Celtic, mythology and legend.

None of the properties of the poisonous, extravagantly destructive, bleeding lance of the grail castle, not even bleeding, are matched by the lance of Longinus. No pseudo-gospel or legend of the time before Chrétien mentions bleeding among the miraculous attributes of the Christian lance. Some of the later grail romances, indeed, by explaining that the lance of Longinus bled no more after the time of Joseph of Arimathea,¹ indicate that bleeding was not in accordance with the tradition generally current concerning the relic of the Crucifixion. The venomous and destructive powers of the spear of the grail castle are altogether antagonistic to the Longinus legend, but in conformity with pagan story. In Celtic literature, then, we should seek for the source of the Bleeding Lance.

V.

No well known bleeding lance is of course to be found in ancient Welsh or Irish literature, else a Celtic source for the grail lance would probably never have been questioned. In the oldest Irish sagas, however, occurs a marvellous spear which possessed all the venomous and destructive powers of the lance of the grail castle; and although this Irish spear is not said to bleed, it is described as held point

¹ Hucher, *Grand Saint Graal*, II, 311.

downward over a caldron of blood into which it is ever and anon plunged—a circumstance that might develop into the idea of a lance bleeding into a vessel, as in Wauchier's and Heinrich's accounts. It is clear that a careful study of this Irish lance, and associated objects, is demanded.

This lance is widely known in ancient Irish story as the LUIN of Celtchar. A description of it under this name appears in the *Bruden Dá Derga* or "Destruction of Dá Derga's Brugh" or "Palace," one of the most ancient of Irish tales, which has been printed and translated by Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxii.¹ The description runs in question-and-answer style. A person called Ingcél tells what he has seen. Another person Fer-rogain explains the names and the character of what Ingcél saw. Ingcél said :

§ 128. "I beheld the room that is next to Conaire. Three chief champions in their first greyness are therein. . . . A great lance in the hand of the midmost man, with fifty rivets through it. The shaft therein is a good load for the yoke of a plough-team. The midmost man brandishes that lance so that its edge-studs hardly stay therein, and he strikes the shaft thrice against his palm. There is a great boiler in front of them, as big as a calf's caldron, wherein is a black and horrible liquid. Moreover he plunges the lance into that black fluid. If its quenching be delayed it flames on its shaft and then thou wouldst suppose that there is a fiery dragon in the top of the house."

In reply Fer-rogain explained the scene thus :

§ 129. "Three heroes (they are) who are best at grasping weapons in Erin, namely, Sencha the beautiful son of Ailill, and Dubthach Chafer of Ulaid, and Goibnenn son of Lurgnech. And the LUIN of Celtchar son of Uthider, which was found in the battle of Mag Tured,² this is in the hand

¹ I quote from Stokes's translation, pp. 299–302. The text is from LU. On the age of the *Bruden Dá Derga*, cf. Zimmer, *Kuhn's Zt.*, xxviii, 554–585, and *Haupt's Zt.*, xxxv, 13.

² The LUIN is evidently identical with the venomous spear of Pezar, "king of Persia," which Lugh obtained in anticipation of the Second Battle of Mag Tured. The name of this spear was Slaughterer, and its

of Dubthach. . . That feat is usual for it when it is ripe to pour forth a foeman's blood. A caldron full of poison is needed to quench it when a deed of manslaying is expected. Unless this come to the lance, it flames on its haft, and will go through its bearer or the master of the palace wherein it is. If it be a blow that is to be given thereby it will kill a man at every blow, when it is at that feat from one hour to another, though it may not reach him. And if it be a cast, it will kill nine men at every cast, and one of the nine will be a king or crown prince or chieftain of the reavers. I swear what my tribe swears, there will be a multitude unto whom tonight the LUIN of Celtchar will deal drinks of death in front of the Brugh."

The statement in this story that the LUIN was found in the Battle of Mag Tured amounts to saying that it was a fairy spear. The Battle of Mag Tured was fought against the Tuatha Dá Danaan, from whom this weapon evidently came. Moreover the Brugh of Dá Derga is a marvellous abode, which seems to be confused with, or at least to have borrowed some of the attributes of the fairy castle. King Conaire on the road to the *Bruden* fell in with a monstrous woodman who had but one hand, one eye and one foot.¹ This giant herdsman, sometimes called the *Fáchan*, is, as I have pointed out in a previous article,² regularly encountered by the visitor to the Otherworld Castle. He tells Conaire that his coming has been long foretold,³ another commonplace of the Otherworld journey. The three reds wearing red mantles and all red even to their teeth who likewise preceded Conaire into the *Bruden* are from the fairy mounds and ride the horses of the *sídh*. They correspond to the mysterious warrior in red generally encountered at the entrance to the Other World.⁴

blazing point had to be kept in a great caldron of water. It is also called "the red spear." See "The Fate of the Children of Tuirenn," translated in Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances* (from a MS. of about 1416), pp. 59, 71-4, 80.

¹ § 38 of the *Bruden Dá Derga*. *Rev. Celt.*, xxii, 41-2.

² Vol. xx of these *Publications*, pp. 682-5.

³ § 39, p. 42. Cf. the *Imram Maílduin*, § 17, *Rev. Celt.*, ix, 490, from LU.

⁴ See these *Publications*, xx, 678. The passages from the *Bruden Dá Derga* relating to the three reds are so curious that the main portions may

The six cupbearers of the Brugh are also from the *sídh*.¹ Da the Red (Dá Derga), who built the Brugh, and "whose

be conveniently quoted: § 30. "Conaire marked before him three horse-men. . . Three red frocks had they, and three red mantles; three red bucklers they bore, and three red spears were in their hands; three red steeds they bestrode, and three red heads of hair were on them. Red were they all, both body and hair and raiment, both steeds and men." In § 31 Conaire bids his son overtake the three. § 32 "He goes after them, lashing his horse, and overtook them not. There was the length of a spear-cast between them: but they did not gain upon him and he did not gain upon them. . . He overtook them not but one of the three men sang a lay to him over his shoulder." [In the Mabinogi of Pwyll is a striking parallel from the Welsh. Pwyll is likewise unable to overtake a fairy lady though well mounted, and she speaks to him from her position in advance. Rhys, *Red Book*, I, 8-10; Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 42]. § 35 [One of the three reds said] "Weary are the steeds we ride. We ride the steeds of Donn Tetsorach from the elf mounds [*a sídh*]. Though we are alive we are dead." § 134 "Red were they all together with their teeth. . . Three champions who wrought falsehood in the elf mounds. This is the punishment inflicted upon them by the king of the elf mounds to be destroyed thrice by the king of Tara. Conaire is the last king by whom they are destroyed. . . But they will not be slain." [Compare my conjecture that the red guardian of the Other World is not really slain, *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII, 98-9].

The ancient Irish regarded the Tuatha Dé Danaan as able to appear in red. The Dagda is called in *Cormac's Glossary*, p. 144, "*rúad rofessa*," "red man of all knowledge." Windisch to be sure assumes, probably wrongly, another word "*ruad*" and translates "lord of great knowledge" (see his vocabulary, *Irische Texte*, *sub voc.*). A gloss in *Harl.* 5280, f. 69b, tells us that a red color used to be on Lugh from sunset to morning: "*dath derc nobid fair o fuine gréni co matain*," Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 127. Bobd Dearg ("B. the Red") is another well known prince of the Tuatha Dé Danaan. In recently collected Irish folk-tales the magician in charge of the talismans of food and defence is often red. For example in Curtin's *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, p. 66, appears a "Red Haired Man," who owns the Sword of Sharpness, the Table-Cloth of Plenty, and the Cloak of Darkness. In the *Cóir Anmann*, in *H.*, 3, 18, a MS. written about 1500, Roch (Mother of Fergus) is said to be daughter of *Ruad* ("Red"), son of *Derg Dath-fola* (Red-Blood-Hued) from the elf mounds (*a sídhaibh*), ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 2, 407. Another MS. of the same date calls the wife of Gobbán the smith, "*Rúadsech the Red*," *Rev. Celt.*, XXVII, 285.

¹ § 108, p. 284.

caldron has never been taken from the fire, but has been boiling food for the men of Erin," and who "supplies attendance of every room in the house with ale and food," is a sufficiently marvellous personage.¹ Probably his ever serving caldron belongs with the shield and sword of Mac-Cecht,² and the LUIN of Celtchar, likewise seen in the Brugh, and is an equally marvellous object.

It makes no difference, however, whether we regard the Brugh of Dá Derga as a fairy abode or not, in any case it is clear that the LUIN is depicted as a fairy spear. One of the three champions that held the LUIN is Góibniu, the Celtic Vulcan, the smith of the Tuatha Dá Danaan. Doubtless he was regarded as the maker of the LUIN. According to *Cormac's Glossary*, Góibniu³ made a fiery spear at the Battle of Moytura. In the text called the "Second Battle of Moytura," Góibniu is represented as supplying the Tuatha Dá Danaan during the battle with constant relays of fresh lances.⁴ "No point which his hand forged made a missing cast. No skin which it pierced tasted life afterwards." He was wounded by one of his own spears, but slew his antagonist therewith, and made himself whole by a magic bath.

If the reader, while he has freshly in mind the wild barbaric exaggeration of this description of the LUIN will turn back to the account of the bleeding lance in the Wauchier section of the *Perceval*, he will detect, I think, traces of the same half-grotesque Celtic fancy. The Irish lance held vertically over a caldron of blood is in much the same position as the lance of Wauchier. The LUIN like the lance of Wolfram is a poisonous weapon.

¹ §§ 132, 133, pp. 306-7.

² § 87, pp. 187-8.

³ Ed. O'Donovan (1868), p. 123. "Góibniu made a pole that burned those that he touched with it."

⁴ Ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, 89-95.

Another account of the LUIN of Celtchar is in the story called *Mesca Ulad* (the Intoxication of the Ultonians). This saga, again, is in question-and-answer style :¹

“ ‘I saw’ said Crom Deróil “a prodigious royal band. One man in front of it with coarse black hair. . . A large knightly spear to the height of his shoulder. When its spear-ardour seized it, he would deal a blow of the handle of the mighty spear upon his hand, when the full measure of a sack of fiery particles would burst over its side and edge, when its spear-ardour seized it. A blood-black caldron of horrid, noxious liquid before him, composed through sorcery of the blood of dogs, cats and Druids. And the head of the spear was plunged in that poisonous liquid when its spear-ardour came.”

“ ‘That is Dabthach the Chafer of Ulad’ said Curui. . . “The quick, deedful LUIN of Celtchar is in his hand, on loan, and a caldron of crimson blood is before it, for it would burn its handle or the man that is bearing it unless it was bathed in the caldron of noxious blood. And foretelling battle it is.”

Still another account of the LUIN of Celtchar is in the “Battle of Rosnaree,” a saga preserved only in less ancient MSS. :²

“Wonderful indeed were the attributes of that spear; for flood-great streams of fire used to burst out through its sides, and there were four hired soldiers before him with a brazen bright caldron between them filled with blood in which that venomous spear was dipped every hour to quench its venom.”³

The streams of fire that burst from the LUIN might suggest the lance of the grail quest which bleeds in streams. Compare, for instance, the description of the latter in *Peredur* :⁴

¹Quoted from Hennessy’s translation. Hennessy also prints the text from LL. R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Series*, I, 37–38.

²R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Series*, IV, 79. Quoted from Hogan’s translation. Hogan also prints the text from Egerton, 106, a MS. copied in 1715.

³So Wolfram describes the poison of the bleeding spear as hot :

“sît man daz gelûppe heiz 490, 13
an dem spers isen weiz,
die zlt manz ûf die wunden leit.”

⁴Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 59–60 ; Rhys and Evans, *Red Book*, I, 203.

"Two men enter the hall bearing a spear of mighty size with three streams of blood flowing from the point to the ground."

Perpetual bleeding is not mentioned in the above accounts among the marvellous properties of the LUIN, although if it were continually dipped in a caldron of blood it might well be described as "bloody." It seems to be identical with the marvellous spear of King Cormac, which was called the *Crimall* or "Bloody Spear."¹ Perhaps therefore bleeding was in Irish tradition an attribute of the LUIN.²

The ancient Irish indeed attributed almost every kind of miraculous and extraordinary property to their lances and swords. Their weapons expanded like a rainbow,³ or had demons in them, so that they executed slaughter by them-

¹ Hennesy makes the identification, *Mesca Ulad*, R. I. A. Todd Lecture Series, I, part 1, pp. xiv-xvi. O'Curry translates *Crimall*, "Bloody Spear," *MS. Materials*, p. 48. This meaning is confirmed by a passage in LL. 107^a8, which gives the name of Cormac's wonderful shield, *Croda Cormaic*. Stokes translates this "Bloody (shield) of Cormac," see *Ériu*, iv, 29 and 35.

² Later Irish tales call the LUIN "a red spear." The description of the marvellous weapons brought to Finn in the *Cath Finntraga* (edited and translated by Kuno Meyer from a fifteenth century MS., *Anec. Ox., Med. and Mod. Series*, I, 4, 32) should be compared:

"There arose from them [the weapons] fiery flashes of lightning and most venomous bubbles, and the warriors could not endure looking at those weapons. . . . For the balls of fire they sent forth no dress or garment could resist them but they went through the bodies of the men next to them like most venomous arrows."

In the same tale, on pages 38-9, Caisel Clumach's flaming shield is described:

"A venomous shield with red flames which the smith of hell (*gabha ifrinn*) had wrought for him." Druimderg son of Dolor slew the owner of this shield with a venomous spear that had been in the possession of the Clanna Rudraige one after another, and *Croderg* ("the Red-Socketed") was its name.

³ *Táin Bo*, ed. Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, Extraband (1905), p. 872, lines 6020-23.

selves,¹ or testified against those who swore falsely by them;² or they could foretell a battle,³ or relate all the former exploits of the spear or sword.⁴ If bleeding were not often made prominent by the ancient Irish among the properties of their weapons, this may well have been because they were chiefly interested in other more exaggerated and more marvellous qualities. Had bleeding been made the main attribute of a lance in ancient Irish, we may be sure that it would have bled, like the lance of Wauchier, in so exaggerated a way that spout and conduit would be needed to carry off the blood.⁵

¹ Cf. Maelodrán's lance, K. Meyer, *An. Ox. Hibernica Minora*, p. 81.

² *Serglige Conculaind*, ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 205-6 (from LU., 43^a).

³ The "Caindel Chuscraid" in the *Táin Bo*, ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Extraband, line 5226, (from LL).

⁴ *The Second Battle of Moytura*, R. C., XII, 107, "Ogma the champion found Orna the sword of Tethra a king of the Fomorians. Ogma unsheathed the sword and cleansed it. Then the sword related whatsoever had been done by it; for it was the custom of swords at that time when unsheathed to set forth the deeds that had been done by them—demons used to speak from the weapons."

⁵ Reasons exist for thinking that blazing and bleeding were more or less interchangeable attributes of a marvellous weapon. Wolfram speaks of the hot poison of the bleeding spear, p. 22 above. In the *Perlesvaux*, ed. Potvin, I, 74, the sword of John the Baptist which belongs to King Gurgalon bleeds every day at noon. In Hucher, *Grand St. Graal*, III, 217, the sword of Joseph of Arimathea bleeds. The sword among the "thirteen marvels of the Isle Britain" flamed from hilt to point, p. 27 below. In the *Perlesvaux*, ed. Potvin, I, pp. 15-16, MS. Berne, occurs a blazing spear that can be quenched only in blood:—

Arthur slew a black knight who carried a blazing spear: "Et si estoit li glaives anson gros près du fer et ardent à grosse flambe laide et hideuse, et descendoit la flambe dusque sor le poing del chevalier." The spear was not extinguished except by the blood of King Arthur when he was wounded by it in the arm.

The unusual adjectives for a flame "laide et hideuse" recall the Irish LUIN, which had to be plunged into a "black and horrible liquid." See p. 18 above.

The *Prose Lancelot* contains a version of the Grail Castle story in which

VI.

Attention has never been sufficiently called to the way in which all our oldest accounts of Arthur picture him as chiefly remarkable for the possession of marvellous objects,

is mentioned no bleeding lance, but its place appears taken by a blazing spear. The blazing spear is described immediately after the grail but is connected with the perilous couch on which Gawain was asked to lie. No sooner had he stretched himself upon the couch than "there came forth swiftly from a chamber a lance whereof the blade was all afire, and it smote Sir Gawain so hardly that despite shield and hauberk it pierced his shoulder" (Miss Weston's translation from MS. 123, Bib. Nat., *Sir Gawain at the Grail Castle*, p. 59). The blazing lance may have found its way here in connection with the "Lit Merveil," and have nothing to do with the grail talismans (cf. Chrétien's *Lancelot*, vv. 518-533). It is at least curious, however, that in this grail story no *bleeding* lance appears.

It is not improbable that the ancient Irish thought of the LUIN of Celtchar not only as blazing, but also as shedding poison in the shape of drops of blood. Celtchar's death came about through the agency of the LUIN. The text has been edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, from LL, 118^a, in R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Series*, XIV, 25-31 (cf. *Rev. Celt.*, XXIII, 335):

"Celtchar slew with his LUIN his marvellous dog that had been a pest to all Ireland. As he held up the spear a drop of the dog's blood ran along the spear shaft and went through Celtchar so that he died."

It is possible to hold that Celtchar's death was due entirely to the venomous character of the hound's blood, but it seems more plausibly attributed to the poisonous agency of the LUIN.

The sword of Sivard in the Danish ballad sheds such poisonous drops (*Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, no. 3). Hagan has asked Sivard for his enchanted sword. Sivard replies: "My good sword Adelbring may you have, indeed, but keep you well from the tears of blood that are under the hilt, keep you from the tears of blood that are so red. If they run down upon your fingers it will be your death."

That the same weapon might be described at one moment as wrapped about with blazing fire, and the next moment as dripping with poisonous blood, the lay of Angantheow shows. The sword Tyrfinn made by the dwarves had three curses upon it: it ever brought death to its bearer! No wound made by it could be healed; three deeds of dolour should be wrought by it. As it lay under Angantheow's head he declared "Tyrfinn is all wrapped about with fire," *C. P. B.*, I, 166, but only 28 lines later as

and for his wonderful quests in search of such objects. This statement is true both of the scanty remains of Welsh literature and of the earliest Latin, French, and English chronicles.

Perhaps our best glimpse of what Arthur was like in the fancy of the Welsh, before their ideas were influenced by French Arthurian romance, is gained in the story of "Kulhwch and Olwen." "Kulhwch and Olwen" and "The Dream of Rhonobwy" are the only Arthurian tales in the *Red Book of Hergest* that show no traces of the influence of French and English romance. In "Kulhwch and Olwen" Arthur is altogether concerned with marvellous objects. Near the beginning of the tale he recounts the valuables in his possession, doubtless all of them marvellous: "My ship; and my mantle; and Caletvwlch my sword; and Rongomyant my lance; and Gwyneb-gwrthuchr my shield, and Carnwenhan my dagger, and Gwenhwyvar my wife."¹ Elsewhere in this story the name of Arthur's ship "Prytwenn" is mentioned.² Moreover the entire action of the tale concerns itself with the quest by Arthur and his warriors of some sixteen or more marvellous objects. Two of these objects are connected with the boar Trwyth which must be hunted. Another is the sword of Gwrnach the giant.³ "The Twrch Trwyth will

he gave it to Hervor he said, "Keep it aye sheathed . . . touch not the edges, there is venom upon them, this doomer of men is worse than a plague," *C. P. B.*, I, 167. In the preceding lay it is called "the blood-grooved blade tempered in venom," *C. P. B.*, I, 161: "hvass blóð-refill herðr í eitri."

¹ Ed. Rhys and Evans, *Red Book of Hergest*, I, 105. The translation given is my own. Loth's version of the passage (*Les Mab.*, I, 200) seems to be defective; for, without any apparent reason, he omits the reference to Arthur's ship.

² Rhys, I, 132, 136-7; translation in Loth, I, 267, 272.

³ "Gwrnach gawr," Rhys, I, 125; Loth, I, 256. Nitze in these *Publications*, XXIV, 408, adopts Rhys's idea that the Garlan of the *Huth-Merlin*,

never be slain except therewith." Still another is the "Basket of Gwyddneu Garanhir":¹ "If the whole world should come together, thrice nine men at a time, the food that each of them desired would be found within it."² "The Dream of Rhonobwy" is less archaic in appearance than "Kulhwch and Olwen." It is not the story of a quest, but it too gives prominence to Arthur's marvellous belongings. It mentions the name of Arthur's mantle, and describes it. "Gwenn was the name of the mantle, and it was one of its properties that whoever was wrapped in it could see everyone without being seen by any."³ It also describes Arthur's sword which had two serpents graven on it; "and when the sword was drawn from its scabbard it seemed as if two flames of fire burst from the mouths of the

the Garlon of Malory, and the Welsh Gwrgi Garwlwyd, accused of cannibalism in the Triads (see Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 288-9), are identical. Nitze further equates Gorlagon "werewolf" (see Kittredge, *Stud. and Notes*, VIII, 205), and King Gurgalon who in the *Perlesvaux* has possession of the sword of John the Baptist which bleeds at noon and (like *Caladbolg*, see below, p. 33) expands when drawn from its sheath. Gurgalon has cannibalistic traits. Gwrnach the giant, with his sword, evidently resembles Gurgalon even more closely. No stranger has ever left Gwrnach's castle alive (Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 257), a fact that suggests him to be also a cannibal. Gwrnach's sword is perhaps identical with "*Dyrnwyn*" the sword of Rhydderch Hael, which is mentioned in an old MS. as one of the thirteen marvels of the isle Britain. "If any man drew it except its owner it burst into a flame from the handle to the point" (Jones, *Welsh Bards*, London, 1802, II, 47; cf. Lady Guest, *Mab.*, II, 354).

¹ Garanhir means "long crane," and Welsh legend assigned to him a marvellous fish weir. On Gwyddneu Garanhir, and his never failing basket, as a prototype of the Fisher King, see Nitze, these *Publications*, XXIV, 397-8.

² Ed. Rhys, I, 122; Loth, I, 244. The Basket of "Gwyddno" is one of the "thirteen marvels of the isle Britain." If food for one were put into it, food for a hundred might be taken out; Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 47.

³ Ed. Rhys, I, 152-3; Loth, I, 302. Arthur's Mantle, which made the wearer invisible, is also one of the "thirteen marvels of the Isle Britain," *op. cit.*

serpents, and then so wonderful was the sword that it was hard for anyone to look upon it.”¹

The poems of the Four Ancient Books of Wales contain, as is well known, only tantalizing glimpses of Arthur. A whole poem, however, “The Spoils of Annwn,” is devoted to the quest by Arthur and his warriors of a caldron and sword contained in the marvellous castle of the Other World.

The Spoils of Annwn which is in the *Book of Taliessin*, is archaic and obscure and is evidently uninfluenced by French romance. To reach Annwn, Arthur and his warriors sailed the ocean in his ship Prytwenn. The marvellous power of this ship to hold any number of men however great is alluded to,² and the castle of the Other World is described as “the city of the revolving wheel,”³ as “four times revolving,” and as “the Island of the Strong Door.” Here Arthur sought the “caldron of the monarch of Annwn.” . . . “A ridge about its edge and pearls. It will not boil the food of a coward”; and “a sword brightly gleaming.” “Except seven, none returned from Caer Sidi.”⁴

That the caldron would not boil the food of a coward is perhaps a crude way of expressing the idea that only the brave and pure in heart may see the grail. That few of Arthur’s knights returned alive from the grail quest is a commonplace of the romances.

From the few fragments of really ancient Welsh literature that exist it would seem as if Arthur’s chief claim to dis-

¹ Rhys and Evans, I, 152; Loth, I, 301.

² “Tri lloneit prytwen yd æth gan Arthur.” See my note in *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 79. Manannán’s canoe “Wave-Sweeper” had this power; Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 63, from a MS. of 1416.

³ “Caer Sidi”; see Rhys, *Art. Leg.*, p. 301.

⁴ Quoted from Skene, *Four Books*, I, 264-266; for the text see II, 181-2.

tion was that he kept and obtained marvellous treasures prominent among which were a sword and other weapons, and a vessel of plenty.

Nor is the case at all different in the older chronicles. The earliest known mention of Arthur, that of the so-called Nennius, implicitly ascribes to him a marvellous shield and sword :

"The eighth [battle] at the fortress Guinnion, when Arthur bore the image of the Virgin Mary on his shoulders¹ and a great slaughter was made of the pagans ; . . . The twelfth on Mount Badon when Arthur alone in one day killed nine hundred and sixty men."²

The statement that Arthur bore the image of the Virgin on his shoulders is paralleled by the next known reference to him, the entry in the *Annales Cambriae* :

"516. Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ for three days and three nights on his shoulders and the Britons were victors."³

Professor R. H. Fletcher has, I think, demonstrated⁴ that this statement of Arthur's having carried on his shoulders the image of the Virgin (or the cross), a statement of course resting on Welsh tradition, is due to a mistake between the Welsh words *ysgwydd*, "shield," and *ysgwyd*, "shoulder." Geoffrey of Monmouth in taking over this section of Nennius restores the sentence to what must have been its original form :

"[Arthur] fastened on his shoulders his shield Prydwen, on which was represented the image of the Holy Mary."⁵

¹ *Super humeros suos.*

² Translated from the text of Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Antiq.*, XIII ; *Chron. Min.*, III, Cap. 56, pp. 199-200.

³ Ed. Phillimore, reprint by Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, 347.

⁴ *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, Studies and Notes*, x, 32-33.

⁵ Ed. San Marte, IX, 4, 17-19 (date about 1136). Fletcher thinks it possible that this reading may have stood in Geoffrey's copy of Nennius.

The entry in Nennius, then, is an implied reference to Arthur's marvellous armor. In like manner we may be sure that Arthur's exploit of slaying nine hundred and sixty men was due to his possession of Caliburnus. Geoffrey, in the corresponding place, tells us that Arthur "slew four hundred and seventy men single-handed with his sword Caliburnus."¹

The *Mirabilia*² attached to "Nennius" ascribe to Arthur a marvellous dog, Cabal.³ They mention a stone which they say can still be seen, on which is the foot-print "made by Cabal, who was the dog of Arthur the warrior,⁴ when he hunted the boar Troynt." This is a reference to the most striking quest of "Kulhwch and Olwen," and verifies the early existence of at least the kernel of that tale.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, besides mentioning Arthur's shield Pridwen and his sword Caliburn in the passages just quoted, refers in three or four other places to Caliburn,⁵ calling it "the best of swords that was forged in the Island of Avalon." Although Geoffrey may not have understood this, his chronicle shows clearly that, like the Irish marvellous swords, Caliburn was drawn at the crucial moment in battle, and always brought victory. Geoffrey also mentions Arthur's lance Ron,⁶ "a tall lance and a stout, full meet to do slaughter withal."

Wace, besides repeating Geoffrey's list of arms, mentions Arthur's Round Table, "Dont Breton dient mainte fable."⁷

The English chronicler Lazamon adds, to what is in

¹ IX, 4, 40-41.

² Chap. 73, ed. Mommsen, p. 217.

³ "Kavall" in *Kulhwch*, Loth, *Les Mab.*, I, 272, 6.

⁴ *Arthuri Militis*.

⁵ IX, 4, 20-21; IX, 11, 75; X, 11, 16-17 and 30-31.

⁶ IX, 4, 21-22.

⁷ *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, II, 74, v. 9999. Wace's date is 1155.

Geoffrey and Wace, a long account of the origin of the Round Table which indicates its marvellous properties. It would seat sixteen hundred men and more, and yet Arthur could carry it with him wherever he rode, and set it where he would.¹ Lazamon further adds that Arthur's burnie was named Wygar, and was the work of Witeze, an elfish smith;² that his helmet was named Goswhit,³ and that his spear Ron was wrought in Caermarthen by a smith named Griffin.⁴

¹ Ed. Madden, II, 539-540, vv. 22,901 ff., (date about 1200).

² Vv. 21,129-34. Here I disregard Madden's version and follow the manifestly correct translation of Professor Kittredge. See p. 5, footnote 4, of my article in *Modern Philology*, I, 99. The text is:

MS. A	MS. B
"pa dude he on his burne ; Ibroide of stele. pe makede on aluisc smið ; Mid aðelen his crafte. He wes ihatē Wygar ; pe witeze wurhte."	"And he warp on him ; 21,129 One brunie of stele. pat makede an haluis smiþ ; Mid his wise crafte. He was i-hote Wigar ; pe wittye wrohte."

Of course Professor Kittredge emends "he" in v. 21,133 to "heo," and "Witeze" is an easy corruption of *Widia*, the name in Anglo-Saxon of *Weland's* son. *Weland*, the Germanic smith-god, is often in the romances connected with the magic weapons of Arthur and his knights. This has come to pass, I believe, by substitution of the better known smith for unfamiliar Celtic smiths and magicians. I agree with Nitze, therefore (these *Publications*, xxiv, 407, note 3), as opposed to Brugger (*Zt. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, xxxi, rev. section 132) in thinking "Garlon" to be a more original form of the name of the magician in *Huth Merlin* than "Gallan," and explain the latter form as due to confusion with *Weland* (Valland).

³ V. 21147.

⁴ Vv. 23,781-4. Perhaps Griffin is an English distortion of the Welsh *gofan*, "smith." Imelmann (*Lazamon, Versuch über seine Quellen*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 31-33) has certainly not shown that Griffin may not be a corruption of *gofan*, although, as I indicated in my article referred to, the name Griffin is too common to dogmatize about. Proper names are often the least permanent portions of a plot or story, and their use in investigating the origins of the romances is fraught with danger, as Professor Nitze (*Modern Philology*, VII, 146-7, 161) has learned.

All the evidence that can be collected points to a conclusion that Arthur was chiefly interesting to the ancient Welsh and Bretons because of his ownership of superhuman weapons, and because of the quests undertaken by him and his warriors for other marvellous objects. Can anyone think it probable that the quest for the grail was a late and accidental addition to the story of such a hero — especially if one reflects that of the three or four extant fragments of ancient Welsh literature of any length dealing with Arthur,¹ two, *Kulhwch and Olwen*, and Taliessin's *Spoils of Annwn*, describe him with his warriors as searching (among other objects) for a vessel of plenty?

In the invention of marvellous objects suitable for quests the Welsh were extraordinarily prolific. No student of Celtic literature will feel it likely that the French redactors of the Arthur stories could easily have added anything to the marvellous objects already associated with King Arthur by the Welsh.

The marvellous objects belonging to Arthur or sought by him or his warriors, including the talismans of the grail castle, probably all belong together; and whatever their ultimate origin, have all passed through the crucible of Celtic fancy. They are all fairy objects, connected by the Celts with the supernatural race known both in Wales and Ireland, and called in the latter country the Tuatha Dé Danaan and the Sídh. The whiteness or the glittering character of the objects was a sign of their fairy origin.

In a previous article I have pointed out that most of the marvellous belongings of Arthur have names in Welsh that imply luminosity or whiteness.² The whiteness of the

¹ None exist in ancient Breton or Cornish.

² *Mod. Phil.*, I, 101-111. *Pridwen* (the ship), means "white form"; *Wynebworthuher* (the shield), "night gainsayer"; *Carnwenhau* (the dagger), "white haft"; *Ehangwen* (the hall), "broad white"; *Gwenhwyfar*

Bleeding Lance, on which both Chrétien and Wauchier lay stress,¹ (as well as the dazzling brilliancy of the grail) is, therefore, significant and goes far by itself to prove that the talismans of the Grail Castle belong with the marvellous possessions of King Arthur, and have a like origin in Celtic legend.

VII.

It is now nearly twenty years since Professor Zimmer demonstrated the pan-Celtic character of Caliburn, Arthur's sword,² proving that it is practically identical with *Caladbolg*, the sword of Leite in Irish saga. Arthur's sword was naturally the first of Arthur's belongings to have its Celtic

(Arthur's wife), "white enchantress." Also *goswhit*, Lajamon's name for Arthur's helmet (v. 21,147) is evidently a translation of a Welsh name meaning "goose white." [Imelmann's suggestion, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, that *Goswhit* might come from a hypothetical Middle-Welsh **gospeit* "polished," may be disregarded as a last straw clutched at by one who is in dread of being forced to admit that the English of Lajamon's day knew of Arthur, and may have had names for his marvellous arms. But Imelmann is right in saying that this one name did not justify my assumption that Lajamon himself understood any Welsh].

To this I might add that the name of Arthur's mantle, *Gwenn*, referred to above, pp. 26-7, means "white," and that the arms of Manannán and of other chieftains of the Tuatha Dé Danaan were, in Irish story, white or luminous.

¹ See above, p. 7.

² *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 516-7. Besides the evident relation of name: in Malory *Excalibur*, in Geoffrey *Caliburnus*, in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, *Caledwlech*, and in Irish *Caladbolg*; the swords agree in the possession of three remarkable qualities. Both are drawn at the decisive moment in battle and always bring victory. Both flash or glitter: the sword of Leite might expand into a rainbow (*Táin Bo*, ed. Windisch, lines 6022-23). Both came from fairy land: Caliburnus was made in the Isle of Avallon: the sword of Leite came out of a *síd*, or fairy knoll ("Claideb Fergusa, claideb Leiti a sídib é," Windisch, *l. c.*, lines 6021-2). Windisch conjectures (*Táin Bo*, pp. 860 and 869, footnotes) that *Caladcholg* was perhaps an older form of the name than *Caladbolg*.

character pointed out. It is the best known of them all. Mentioned implicitly as we have seen in the first reference to Arthur, it is likely to be prominent in the last Arthurian tale ever penned. Wordsworth, with a poet's insight, caught the importance of this sword to Arthur's character in the well known lines :¹

"Of Arthur,—who to upper light restored
With that terrific sword
Which yet he brandishes for future war."

No one has yet drawn with sufficient emphasis the obvious conclusion that if Arthur's sword be Celtic, all of the marvellous objects associated with him must be Celtic, and must have had their parallels in Irish saga. These marvellous objects all belong together, and come from Avallon (the Other World) or from Annwn (Hades). In like manner the marvellous weapons and other objects in Irish story seem to belong together and come from the *sídh* or from the Tuatha Dá Danaan. They are perhaps all, in Irish, developments of an original set of talismans attributed to this race of wizards and fairies.

The Tuatha Dá Danaan were, as Alfred Nutt has shown,² originally the gods of life and increase, and became gradually rationalized by the chroniclers into a supposed race of invaders, against whom the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were thought to have fought. They were pan-Celtic divinities recognized on both sides of the Irish channel. The four genuine Welsh Mabinogion are altogether concerned with tales of their doings. Both Irish and Welsh attributed marvellous treasures to this race. It is obvious, therefore, that the Irish and Welsh stories will have considerable parallelism, and that a study of the Irish talismans

¹ "Artegall and Elidure."

² See the *Voyage of Bran*, vol. II.

of the Tuatha Dá Danaan will throw light on those of Welsh or Breton origin associated with King Arthur.

Keating, who was endeavoring to set forth ancient Irish legend under the guise of history, says that the Tuatha Dá Danaan came to Ireland from Greece. Before their coming they used to help the Athenians against the Syrians; "for they would put demons into the bodies [of the slain Athenians] to restore them to life."¹ Keating relates that the Tuatha Dá Danaan brought with them to Ireland "four noble jewels,"² namely the Lia Fáil, or Stone of Destiny, the function of which was to announce the rightful king by roaring under him, the sword and spear of Lugh the long-handed, "the Caldron of the Daghdha, a company would not go away unsatisfied from it."³

It can hardly be a chance coincidence that the talismans of the Grail Castle are usually four: a sword, a spear, a plenty-giving grail, and a silver dish. Wolfram indeed introduces two knives, but he calls his grail a stone⁴ and thus comes very close, after all, to the Irish set of talismans.

It is probable that the magic powers of these talismans were somewhat vaguely believed to be almost boundless. The power of restoring the dead to life, attributed by Keating to the Tuatha Dá Danaan, doubtless resided in one of these talismans, perhaps in the plenty-giving caldron which may have been a caldron of regeneration as well.

¹ Keating's *History of Ireland*, edition and translation by D. Comyn, *Irish Texts Society*, IV, 203.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 209. On the Irish talismans cf. Nutt, *Voy. of Bran*, II, 171, and his footnote in Miss Weston's *Leg. of Sir Perceval*, II, 314-5. To Mr. Nutt belongs the credit of having brought a comparison between the Irish talismans and the treasures of the Grail Castle into prominence.

⁴ That Wolfram combined two objects in his grail, which is both a stone and a source of food, is perhaps indicated by the peculiar phrase which he employs: "der stein ist ouch genant der grâl." 469, 28.

Wolfram attributes a similar power to the grail, which, he says, protects those who behold it from death for a week, and prevents their growing older. In the Lia Fáil, or stone that cried out under the man who should be king, we have probably the original of Wolfram's grail as a precious stone which announced those who should be its rightful servants by the inscriptions that appeared from time to time upon it.

The antiquity of the tradition of the "Four Jewels" given by Keating cannot, I think, be doubted. The Stone of Destiny is referred to in a poem by Eochaid ua Flainn in the *Book of Leinster*,¹ and its properties, including its power of designating a king, are described in the *Baile in Scáil*,² a tract extant in a fifteenth century MS., but mentioned by Fland Manistrech, who died in 1056,³ and assignable on evidence of language to the tenth century.

Moreover the *Cath Maige Turedh* or "Second Battle of Moytura," which is in a fifteenth century MS., but which from the evidence of grammatical forms appears to go back to a far earlier period, contains detailed mention of these four talismans :

"The Stone of Fál which was in Tara. It used to roar under every king that would take Ireland. . . . The Spear that Lugh had. No battle was ever won against it or him who held it in his hand. . . . The Sword of Nuada. When it was drawn from its deadly sheath, no one ever escaped from it and it was irresistible. . . . The Dagdae's Caldron. No company ever went from it unthankful." ⁴

¹ Nutt, *Voy. of Bran*, II, 171.

² Nutt, *Voy. of Bran*, I, 186-8.

³ See LL, 132^a, lines 47-48; *Irische Texte*, III, 229, and Nutt, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

⁴ Edited and translated from MS. Harleian 5280 by W. Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, XII, 52-130 (1891). The Irish text of the above passage is: "An Lia Fail bui a Temraig. Nogesed fo cech rig nogebad Erinn. . . . An tsleg boi ac Lug. Ni gebtea cath fria no frisinti an bidh il-laimh. . . . Claidiub Nuadot. Ni terládh nech dei o dobirthe asa idntiuch bodhuhaocus ni gebtai fris. . . . Coiri an Dagdai. Ni tegehdh dam dimdach uadh" (pp. 57-58).

Although the four jewels of the Tuatha Dá Danaan do not happen to be mentioned in the oldest Irish tales, nothing can be plainer than that all the oldest Celtic fairy tales agree in ascribing to their Other World marvellous objects and especially marvellous food. The crude fancy of early times often described the food as due to marvellous trees or animals. The name Avallon was explained by the Welsh as coming from *afal*, "apple," and the Irish called *Mag Mell* "Emain of the Apples." According to one of the oldest of Irish fairy tales, Connla subsisted for a month on a fairy apple.¹ In the *Serglige Conculaind*² not only are the marvellous trees described: "There are three score trees . . . three hundred men are nourished by each tree;" but a plenty-giving vessel as well: "A cask there of joyous mead, a distributing to the household. It continues ever without wasting and is always full." The *Echtra Lóegaire* after mentioning food, drink and music, refer also to a marvellous sword:³ "I was master of a blue sword."

The usual thing in the Irish tales is to represent the Other World under the form of a palace containing a collection of marvellous objects. Like the Grail Castle this palace was very difficult to find, and was generally met with after sunset; like the fisher king its inhabitants had the power of shape-shifting,⁴ and of becoming invisible. As in the Grail Castle food was often served by invisible hands, and a mysterious drowsiness was wont to overcome the visitors. Like the Grail Castle it was apt to vanish over night.

Such a place was the Brugh or Mansion of the Dagda

¹ The *Echtra Condla*; Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*, pp. 118-120, prints the text from LU.

² *Irische Texte*, I, 197-227, from LU.

³ *Cours de litt. Celtique*, II, 361, from LL.

⁴ On the shape-shifting of the Fisher King see the "Elucidation," v. 222.

described in the *De Gabail int-Shída* or "Conquest of the Sídh" from *LL*. It passed by a trick into the possession of Aengus who was thereafter known as "Aengus of the Brugh:"¹

"On y voit trois arbres auxquels pendent toujours des fruits; on y voit deux cochons, l'un sur pied et toujours vivant, l'autre tout cuit, et par conséquent prêt à manger; à côté est un vase qui contient une bière excellente; là, enfin, personne ne mourut jamais."

The Brugh of the Dagda is evidently only a special form of the abode of the Tuatha Dé Danaan as described in the "Legend of Eithne"² in the *Book of Fermoy*, a fifteenth century MS. Manannán, we are told, settled the Tuatha Dé Danaan in the most beautiful valleys, drawing round them an invisible wall impenetrable to the eyes of men and impassable. He also supplied them with the ale of Góibniu the Smith, which preserved them from old age and death, and gave them for food his own swine, which, although killed and eaten one day, were alive again and fit for eating the next, and so would continue forever.

In the *Siaburcharpát Conculaind* in *LU*,³ we are told how Cuchulinn voyaged to the land of *Scath* ("shadow"), and, after escaping terrible dangers, carried off three marvellous cows and a caldron of plenty. According to what seems to be another form of the same story,⁴ Cuchulinn slew Curoi, the lord of a revolving castle, and carried off his cows and his caldron.

In these ancient tales of cows, pigs, and caldrons we get the peasant notion of the plenty of the Other World. The

¹ Quoted from the summary by d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours*, II, 270 ff. The text is in *LL*, 245^b, 41-246^a, 14.

² From Todd's summary, *R. I. A.*, *Irish MS. Series*, I, i, 46.

³ Translated by O'Beirne Crowe, *Proceedings of Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, fourth series, I, 387 (1871).

⁴ In *LL*, 169^b, lines 42 ff. Printed by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 482, (translation at p. 530).

stories of the Grail Castle express the same conception in a more refined form. For the present research the significant point is that the marvellous objects seem to belong together as it were in a set. Thus O'Curry tells from LL¹ the story how St. Maedhog of Cluain-Mór brought four presents to Bran Dubh: a boiler made by Gressach the Smith, a flesh fork [these objects seem to supply food], the Sword of Crimthann who was never vanquished, the Shield of Enna which was all red with blood.

In the *Fate of the Children of Tuirenn*² are described the magic belongings of Manannán, the great chieftain of the Tuatha Dé Danaan:

"[Lugh] rode Manannán's steed *Enbarr* "foam of the water." No one was ever killed on this steed, for she travelled with equal ease on land and on sea. He wore Manannán's coat of mail through which no one could be wounded. He had on Manannán's breast-plate that no weapon could pierce and Manannán's helmet *Cannbarr*, that glittered with dazzling brightness (p. 49). Manannán's sword, *The Answerer*, hung at his side; no one ever recovered from its wound. Those opposed to it in battle had no more strength in looking at it than a woman in violent sickness."

The treasures of Manannán, kept in a Crane-Bag, were thought to have passed into the possession of Cumhal, the father of Finn.³ After Cumhal's death Finn slew his father's murderer and recovered the Crane-Bag with its treasures: Manannán's shirt, his knife, the belt of Góibniu, the shears of Alba, and the helmet of Lochlann.

Magic arms and armor are very often, in Irish saga, connected with Góibniu, the smith of the Tuatha Dé Danaan,

¹ *Manners and Cust.*, II, 338-9. Cf. Crimthann's treasures, *Cours*, II, 364.

² Translated by Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 37 ff., from the *Book of Lecan*, compiled about 1416.

³ *Duanaire Finn*, *Irish Texts Soc.*, VII, text, pp. 21-2; translation pp. 118-9, MS. of 1627. Cf. *Magnímartha Finn*, *Rev. Celt.*, v; translation in *Ériu*, I, 180-5.

who was one of the three that held the LUIN. He made a fiery spear and was smith at the Battle of Moytura. His belt as well as his never failing pigs and ale have been referred to.

VIII.

Cormac mac Airt, whose reign is put by the annalists in the third century, is next to Conchobar the most famous king in Irish heroic legend. He was reputed to have obtained from the Tuatha Dá Danaan a collection of several of their talismans. The text *Echtra Cormaic*, which relates this story, is preserved only in fourteenth century MSS., but it is mentioned in the list of sagas in *Rawlinson B 512*¹ and the incidents which it relates are doubtless matters of ancient tradition. This seems certain in spite of the fact pointed out by Nutt,² that the present form of the *Echtra Cormaic* (Adventures of Cormac) has been worked over and allegorical features have been introduced:³

Cormac mac Airt was inveigled into intrusting his two children and his wife to a fairy messenger, receiving in exchange a branch of silver bearing golden apples. When the branch was shaken it gave forth marvellous music.

But Cormac grew dissatisfied, and made his way to Manannán's palace in the Other World. Here he bore himself so well that Manannán restored to him his wife and children, and moreover made him a present of the marvellous branch and of the Golden Cup of Truth. This cup had such a property that it would break if three lies were told, but three true things would make it whole again.

Cormac then retired for the night in the fairy palace.⁴ "On the morrow morning when Cormac arose, he found himself on the green of Tara, with his wife and his son and daughter, and having also his Branch and his

¹ M. d'Arbois de Jubainville attributes this list to the tenth century: *Cours*, I, 355.

² *Voyage of Bran*, I, 192.

³ Text and translation by W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 189-229, from the *Book of Ballymote* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.

⁴ *L. c.*, p. 216, text 198.

Cup. Now that was afterwards called 'Cormac's Cup,' and it was used to distinguish between truth and falsehood with the Gael. Howbeit, as had been promised him by Manannán, it remained not after Cormac's death."

This cup and branch are marvellous belongings like the spear and the grail. Manannán's palace, like the Grail Castle, disappears over night. The cup goes back ultimately to fairy land, just as the grail remained not forever in Britain.

The same text relates that Cormac possessed a Caldron of Restitution,¹ "*Coire aisc.*"

"It used to return and give to every company their suitable food." . . .
 "No meat was found therein save what would supply the company, and the food proper for each would be taken thereout."

Also, a little farther on, this text assigns to Cormac the possession of Cuchulinn's sword,² "*Cruadin coiditcheann.*" This sword shone at night like a candle. And the narrative concludes:

"Neither battle nor combat was ever gained against that sword and against him who held it in his hand. And it is the third best treasure that was in Erin, namely, Cormac's Cup and his Branch and his Sword."

It is not said in this text that Cormac's Caldron of Restitution or his sword came originally from the Tuatha Dá Danaan, but the student of Irish story will, I think, feel sure from the above particulars that the ancient Irish believed that King Cormac possessed some or all of the talismans of the Tuatha Dá Danaan. The modern Irish version of the *Echtra Cormaic*, printed and translated by S. H. O'Grady,³ makes Manannán give to Cormac, besides the Cup of Truth and the Branch, a magic Table Cloth, *sgóraid*, which furnished all food, however dainty, that might be demanded of it. That Cormac possessed magic

¹ *L. c.*, pages 205-6.

² *L. c.*, pages 218-20; text 199-202.

³ *Ossianic Society*, III, 212-229 (1857).

talismans seems a widespread and continuous tradition in Ireland.

Among the possessions of King Cormac, Irish tradition tells of a marvellous spear called the *Crimall* or "bloody spear," an epithet suggesting that it bled of itself, like the spear of the Grail Castle. This *Crimall* was the same or at least was confused with the LUIN of Celtchar.¹ In any case one can hardly doubt that it belonged with Cormac's other possessions, and came, like them, from the Tuatha Dé Danaan.

IX.

One of the most significant of Arthurian tales for the study of the bleeding spear is the story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke, well known to English readers from the second book of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. I summarize the story from the *Huth Merlin*² which represents the French source of Malory's second book:—

Balin's first adventure was the untying of the sword "as estranges renges"³ from its straps, a feat which only the bravest knight in the land could perform.⁴ Balin girded on this sword, in addition to his own,

¹ The opinion of Hennessy, R. I. A., *Todd Lect. Series*, I, 1, xiv. (The blazing spear of Lugh named Slaughterer was also called "the red spear," see above, p. 19).

² Ed. Paris et Ulrich, *Société des Anciens Textes* (1886).

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 213–5. This precise phrase is not in the text but we are told, "n'iot nul qui les renges [de l'espee] peust desnoer."

⁴ As the story stands, the sword "as estranges renges" is not connected with the Dolorous Stroke; for we are expressly told that Balin did not use that sword in the adventure of the Dolorous Stroke, but his own weapon. (I, 253, II, 27.) However, anyone who has observed how constantly a sword corresponding to the sword "as estranges renges" is associated with the bleeding lance of the Grail Castle cannot doubt that its presence here in a story of the lance is not accidental. In a more primitive form of the story it must have been this sword which broke in Balin's hand. Then the condition of things at the Castle of Pellam (Pellehan) when Balin left it would be exactly as described in Wauchier, viz.: the sword of "estranges renges" broken, the king's relative dead, the king himself wounded, and his land laid waste.

contrary to the advice of Merlin, and was thenceforth called the Knight of the Two Swords. Merlin then predicted that Balin would deliver the Dolorous Stroke and would thus put three kingdoms into distress for twenty-two years, and would wound the most holy man there was in the world.¹

King Arthur, while alone one day in his tent at the hour of noon, beheld a strange knight accompanied by a damsel ride past.² Arthur sent Balin to bid the strangers turn back. Balin, after taking oath to assume if necessary the strange knight's quest, accomplished the errand.³ But the strange knight had returned only a short distance in Balin's company before he fell to the ground with a sudden cry and died. Balin could see nothing except that a spear had been thrust through the stranger, leaving a truncheon still in the wound. Balin was deeply grieved and pledged the damsel that he would follow her, and would avenge the death of her knight. He mounted the dead knight's horse and, giving her to carry the truncheon of the spear, rode away after the damsel. Merlin appeared and buried the slain knight.⁴

After this Balin fell in with a knight hunting, who insisted on joining in the quest. Balin told the stranger that the slain knight could be avenged only by means of the "tronchon meismes" with which he had been killed, and which the damsel carried.⁵ But as they were riding through a cemetery the newcomer too was slain like the first knight by an invisible foe.⁶

Merlin appeared disguised in white⁷ and told them that their invisible adversary was Garlan,⁸ brother to King Pellehan. He urged Balin to for-

¹ I, 231. In an episode, which I omit at this place, Balin slays "Lancer, fuis au roi d'Irlande." The mention of Ireland may have a bearing on the question of a Celtic source.

² I, 275.

³ I, 277.

⁴ I, 279. ✓

⁵ II, 6, Garlan, like the Irish Cuchulinn, could evidently be slain only by his own weapon.

⁶ II, 9. ✓

⁷ In the Spanish version, *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. Bonilla, Madrid, VI, 103, we are told that Merlin was clad in white "por ser desconocido." The appearance at crucial points in the story of an important character (a magician) in different manifestations is a well known feature of Irish tales. See *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 100 ff. and cf. 201. The successive appearances of Merlin in different disguises and unrecognized by Balin goes far by itself to prove the Celtic character of the story.

⁸ II, 7. The *Huth Merlin* here reads "Gallan," a form evidently due to the Germanic *Weland* (Valland). But in most places the French reads "Garlan," cf. II, 21, 22, 24, 26; and Malory has always "Garlon." The latter form seems to me more original, and I should identify him with Gwrnach the giant, see above, pp. 26-7; and, as Nitze suggests, with King Gurgalon who in the *Perlesvaux* owns the bleeding sword. Garlan is a

sake the quest and not to strike the Dolorous Stroke. "You will deliver a blow from which there will be so great grief in the realm of Logres that never befell a greater grief or pestilence by the blow of sword."

They came next to a castle where every visiting damsel was forced to yield a basin of her blood to cure a lady.¹ By a trick Balin was separated from his damsel and was shut up within the castle. He heard her screams and mounted in his desperation into a high tower. "Lors dist a soi meismes que mieus vient il morir, se a morir vient, que la damoisele muire par defaute de lui, si se saingne et se commande a nostre signeur et saut erramment de la tour a val. Et li avint si bien que il ne se conquaissa de riens. Et puis monte tout contremont le fossé. . . . Et cil qui orent veut le saut qu'il avoit fait sont tuit esbahi de la merveille qu'il en orent."²

In spite of this hero's leap Balin arrived too late to save the damsel from being bled. However she survived the bleeding and continued the journey with Balin. The grievous custom was kept up till Perceval's sister accomplished the adventure and healed the lady.³

After they had journeyed many days, and had come to a country where they scarcely understood the language, Balin and the damsel arrived at a castle where they were bountifully entertained. Balin inquired concerning a lamentation which came from an adjoining chamber. The host said that it was his son groaning, who had been wounded at the hour of noon through enchantment. Balin then declared that the wound was doubtless

magician and goes invisible like Góibniu, the Irish smith. The name of such a magician might easily be changed by French romancers to Galan. Cf. my remarks on the variation between *Gaban* and *Galan*, in the *Polistorie*, as the maker of Gawain's sword: *Modern Philology*, I, 100.

¹ II, 13-14. No one would urge that this forcible bleeding of guests is a distinctively Celtic feature. Yet it may well have formed a part of the Celtic Tale of Balin. The use of blood to dispel enchantment is common in Celtic tales. See the favorite Irish story called *The Fairy Palace of the Quicken Trees*, where the blood of the sons of a king is required to release Finn and his warriors: MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, 58 and 270-5. A list of versions of this story is in *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 209-10, footnotes. General references to cure by the use of blood are collected by Mead, *Selections from Malory*, p. 266.

² II, 15. The basis of this incident is perhaps the Celtic "hero's leap," well known in ancient Irish story. See Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 19; and for Cuchulinn's *cor n-tach n-eirred* or "salmon-leap" executed over castle walls, cf. *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, *Irish Texts Soc.*, II, §§ 87, 88, from LU.

³ II, 19.

due to Garlan who rides invisible. The host readily agreed to this explanation since he once had struck down Garlan in a tournament, and Garlan had vowed to secure vengeance within a year. He told Balin that Pellehan, king of Listinois, would hold a great feast "au chasteil del pallès perilleus,"¹ at which feast Garlan would serve. "My son," he added, "can only be healed by the blood of Garlan."

The host guided Balin and the maiden to the castle of King Pellehan. No knight might enter the feast unless he were accompanied by his sister or his "amie"; the host was, therefore, left outside.² The attendants sought to remove Balin's sword, but he refused,³ saying that to wear his

¹ II, 22. Balin's journey to this perilous castle is evidently patterned after the Celtic Otherworld Journey (see my "Knight of the Lion," in these *Publications*, xx, 676 ff.). The damsel messenger and guide, the journey to a very distant land, the Hospitable Host, who entertains the adventurer for the night, and points out the way to the mysterious castle; and the combat with the Red Magician, are stock incidents of the Otherworld Journey. Garlan the Red Magician, called "cel rous chevalier" and "Gallans li rous," should be compared with the red "riders of the sídh" in *Dá Derga's Brugh*, p. 20, above. "Red were they all together with their teeth." "We ride the horses of the sídh, and though we are alive, we are dead." The thoughtful student of Celtic story will perceive that the Hospitable Host and the Red Magician were originally fairy chieftains at war with each other. The Host had been worsted and was seeking the help of a mortal hero to slay his foe. Such is the situation in the *Serglige Conculaind* (in LU), where Cuchulinn slew three fairy usurpers; in the *Echtra Lóegaire* (in LL), where Lóegaire slew a fairy adversary, Goll, and restored his Hospitable Host, Fiachna, to the dominion of fairyland; in the Welsh "Pwyll and Arawn" one of the four ancient *Mabinogion*, and in the mediæval Irish story *In Gilla Decair*. Such, as I sought to demonstrate seven years ago ("Iwain," *Studies and Notes*, vol. VIII), must have been the original situation in Chrétien's *Yvain*, where the Hospitable Host and the Red Champion of the Fountain were evidently foes. But I hope to return to this matter in another article.

² Such was the custom of the ancient Irish. When Eochaid Airem became high king of Ireland, and invited his subjects to a feast, the men returned this answer: "They would not come till he had a wife, because no man went to a feast at Tara without his wife." Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1890, p. 519, note, quoting from LU, 129b, 25 ff.

³ It was the rule in Conchobar's palace at Emain Macha to pile the arms of the chiefs out of reach at a feast, lest during the revel somebody should run amuck for a rough word. "Cech ní gargg ro-chluintís," see LL, 106b, 49.

sword at the king's court was the custom of his country, and if they would not suffer him to follow the custom of his country he would go away to the place from which he had come.¹ So they allowed him to wear his sword. At table each knight sat with his "amie" opposite to him.² Balin learned from the knight at his left that Garlan was, "cel rous chevalier a cele sore chaveleure," who was serving the tables. Balin waited till "Gallans li rous" came up to him and then slew him with a blow of his sword. He also thrust the truncheon, which the damsel had brought, through the seneschal's body and cried out to the host to take of the blood to heal his son.

But King Pellehan, angry at the death of his brother, seized a wooden beam and attacked Balin. In the struggle Balin's sword broke.³

[At this point two entire leaves, ff. 136 and 137, are missing from the unique Huth ms., but the story may be supplied from the ancient Spanish version].⁴

Balin now weaponless and closely pursued by King Pellam fled from room to room in search of some implement of defence.⁵ "And he looked

¹ Moral pressure exerted upon a host to extort a favor is common in Celtic tales. See Kittredge, *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 210-11.

² II, 24. The suggestion that this arrangement at table was a Celtic custom, is due to Miss Lillian Huggett, a graduate student at Northwestern University, who is preparing a paper on the Celtic elements in the Tale of Balin.

³ II, 27.

⁴ "Demanda del Sancto Grial," or as the editor has entitled it "El Baladro del Sabio, Merlin," *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. Bonilla, Madrid (1907), VI, 91-120.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 109: "E miro por todo e vido otra camara abierta, y entro dentro, pensando de ay fallar alguna cosa con que se defendiesse, y el rey, que lo seguia muy ayna, quando quiso entrar oyo una boz que le dixo: "Por tu mal ay entraras, que no eres tal que deuas entrar en tan alto lugar santo," y entendio bien la boz, mas no dexo de entrar; e vido la camara tan hermosa e rica, [p. 110] que no penso que en el mundo no pudiesse auer su par: e la camara era muy grande y quadrada, de muy buen olor, assi como si todas las buenas especies del mundo ay fuesßen, y en medio de aquella camara auia una gran mesa e de plata por razon, puesta en quatro pies de plata; y sobre aquella mesa avia un gran bacin de oro, e dentro en aquel bacin estaua una lança derecha, la punta ayuso, y quien arriba la mirasse, marauillarse ya, ca no estaua fincada, ni acostada, ni assentada a ninguna parte. Y el cauallero de las dos espadas [Balin] vido la lança, mas no la miro bien, e el fue por la tomar, e dixole una boz: '¡No la tomes, peccador!' mas no dexo de tomarla por esso con anbas manos, e firio con ella a Pelean, que contra el venia, tan rezio, que le passo anbas las cuxas, y el rey se sintio mal ferido, cayo en tierra; y el cauallero torno la lança do la tomara, e tan ayna como la puso se tuuo como antes."

everywhere and saw another chamber open and entered into it, thinking to find there something with which to defend himself, and the King, who was following very closely, when he sought to enter heard a voice that said to him : 'To your misfortune will you enter there ; for you are not such an one that you ought to enter into so very holy a place.' He [Balin] heard indeed the voice but he did not refrain from entering ; and he saw the chamber so beautiful and rich that he did not suppose that in the world could exist its equal. And the chamber was very large and square, of a very rich fragrance as if all the fine spices in the world had been there. And in the midst of the chamber was a great table, and of very rich silver, placed upon four legs of silver ; and upon this table was a great basin of gold, and within this basin stood a lance, perpendicularly, point downward, and any one looking at it would have marvelled because it was not inserted, nor supported, nor fastened anywhere. And the Knight of the Two Swords saw the lance but did not consider it carefully, and he was on the point of taking it, and a voice said to him : 'Do not take it, sinner !' But he did not refrain on this account from taking it with both hands, and he struck with it Pellean who was coming against him so vehemently that he thrust it through both of his thighs, and the King perceiving himself severely wounded fell to the earth. And the knight returned the lance to the place from which he had taken it, and, when he had replaced it, it stood as before."

At this instant the castle walls began to totter and fall, and there was heard a voice which said :¹

"Now commence the adventures of the Adventurous Realm, which will never cease until shall be dearly paid for the deed of that one who took with his filthy and vile hands the Sacred Lance, and therewith wounded the best man among the princes, and the great Master will take vengeance for it so that shall suffer in consequence those who may deserve to do so.

And all those in the palace lay as dead for two days and nights. It was found that more than half of them were really dead and that the surrounding country was laid waste.

Merlin, who was aware that this destruction could only have been wrought by a stroke of "*la lança vengadora*," appeared, and came to the door of the chamber, "*do la sancta lança estaua y el santo vaso que llaman el Santo Grial*," (where was the holy lance, and the holy vessel that is called the Holy Grail). Merlin found a white monk, and having

¹ "Agora comiençan las aventuras del reyno auenturado, que jamas nunca falleceran, fasta que sea caramente conprado el fecho de aquel que la santa lança tomo con sus manos lixosas e viles, con que llago al mejor hombre de los principes, y el gran maestro tomara dende venganca, assi que lazeraran por ende [*de sic*] los que lo merescieren."

caused him to put on the garments of the Mass, made him enter the chamber and fetch Balin out. Balin revived from his swoon when Merlin cried out: "Baalín leuantate!" Merlin shewed him that both his host who had accompanied him, and his damsel were dead under the fallen walls of the castle.

After revealing himself, for Balin had not recognized him,¹ and after procuring Balin a horse, Merlin disappeared. Balin rode off and saw on all sides people dead and wounded. From that time the realm of Listinois was called "li roïames de terre gastee."²

Balin was afterwards slain in a duel with his brother, in "l'isle Merlin," or "l'isle de merveilles." In this island Merlin established a number of marvels: a perilous couch, Balin's sword on the hilt of which he inscribed "De ceste morra Gavains," a bridge of dread, and a sword fixed in a block of marble which only Galahad should draw out.³

The story just summarized demands, of course, a sequel which should narrate the achievement of the grail and the termination of the Adventures of Britain. But neither Malory nor the "Demanda" (the *Huth Merlin* breaks off before this point), gives a conclusion which can at all represent the original form. Both indeed represent Galahad as winning the grail, as restoring the broken sword, and as curing the wounded king with blood from the bleeding lance; both however call the wounded king "Pelles" (not Pellam or Pellehan), and ascribe his injury, not to a thrust by the Knight of the Two Swords but to his own fault. Because of his "hardiness" in handling the mysterious sword, says Malory, xvii, 5, he received the wound.

The original conclusion is no doubt more nearly represented in the extract printed by Sommer,⁴ from ms. Bib. Nat. fr. 343:

Galahad arrived at Corbenic, and entered "la mestre fortreesce très devant le palleis aventureux." He and his companions left their arms at the door. An old man after leading Galahad from chamber to chamber

¹ At this point the *Huth MS.* recommences.

² Paris et Ulrich, *Huth Merlin*, II, 29-30.

³ II, 57-60.

⁴ *Romania*, xxxvi, 573-9, (1907).

pointed him to the room where the wounded king lay, and bade him enter alone: "Entres i por la guerison del roi Maahaigne qui leienz a longuement trauuaille non mie por sa deserte mes por le pechie d'autrui." Galahad entered: "Et voit maintenant en mi leu de la chambre qui mult estoit granz et riche la table dargent et le santime vessel si hautement et si bel aorne com nostre estoire a ia autre foiz devise." . . . et il voit tres de sus la table dargent celle meesmes lance dont la santime car ihesu christ avoit este navree. Et ele estoit mise en lair la pointe de souz et li fust de sus. et pendoit merueilleusement que mortex hom ne peust pas ueoir qui la sostenoit. et sachiez que ele rendoit par la pointe gotes de sanc qui cheoient en un moult riche vesse dargent assez espesement. Mes apres ce que eles estoient venues el vessel ne pooit nus savoir qui li sanz devenoit. Quant Galahaz voit ceste merveille il pense bien maintenant que ce est sanz faille la lance aventureuse." A voice bade Galahad take the vessel of blood beneath the lance, and anoint the wounded king therewith. As Galahad approached Pellean, "cil descouvre ses cuisses, et dit, veez ci li doloireux cop que li chevaliers as deus espees fist." When three drops of blood had fallen from the vessel on the wound, King Pellean arose cured, and embraced Galahad. Lance and Cup ascended mysteriously into the sky. "En tel maniere avint de la lance vencheresse que ele se parte del roiaume de Logres, voiant Galahaz, et s'en ala es ciex. com la veraie estoire le tesmoigne."

This passage agrees with the Tale of Balin in describing the chamber of the Grail as large and rich, in mentioning a table of silver, and the Lance of Vengeance, which miraculously floated in the air above it, point downward, and in referring the wound of King Pellean to the Dolorous Stroke that the Knight of the Two Swords [Balin] dealt.

Any reader of this Tale of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke will be impressed with its pagan atmosphere, and with the barbaric extravagance of its details, which resemble the exaggerated fancies of the ancient Celts. But no one has ever called attention to the surprising number of admittedly Celtic features that it contains.

Not to dwell on the incidents borrowed from the Celtic Otherworld Journey: the damsel messenger, the wandering to a remote land, the Hospitable Host who acts as guide to the mysterious palace, and Garlan the Red Magician;

the tale contains, besides, the following features which are characteristic of Celtic story. The enchanter Merlin, who appears at every crucial turn in the plot, and is always unrecognized, at least at first; the invisible Garlan, whose fairy arrows fly at noontide, and who is invulnerable except to his own weapons; Balin's hero's leap; the prohibition against bringing arms into a royal banquet hall; the moral pressure put upon a host to secure a boon; the refusal to admit a warrior to the feast without a lady companion; the peculiar way in which the warriors are seated at table each opposite to his lady; and, finally, the destruction or enchantment of three kingdoms that followed Balin's stroke; are all features of common occurrence in the ancient Irish sagas.

The overwhelming evidence of the Celtic origin of the Balin story has never been presented; nor has anyone, I think, called attention to the fact that this story is in the whole range of Arthurian romance, so far as I am acquainted with it, the most coherent and detailed explanation of the machinery of the grail quest. It tells why and by whom the king was wounded and his land laid waste. Moreover so closely does the apparatus of the grail quest in the Tale of Balin correspond to that of Gawain's visit to the Grail Castle as related in Wauchier's continuation of the *Perceval* (the correspondence is closer than to the conclusion of the *Demanda* given above), that it seems almost certain that the two tales must have a common origin in some lost romance, and must be related to each other as introduction and conclusion to the Enchantment of Britain. Attention has already been called to the strikingly barbarous and pagan details of Wauchier's account of Gawain's grail quest.

Both tales open in a precisely similar way: We find King Arthur in the Balin story, and in Wauchier, Queen Guinevere, in a pavilion pitched beside a meadow. A strange

knight passes who refuses at first to return but is persuaded to do so under Balin's (Gawain's) safe conduct, and is presently slain by a mysterious knight who rides invisible. Both Balin and Gawain are urged by the dying knight to take his armor, mount his steed, and undertake the quest. In Wauchier, Gawain learns from the dying knight that this steed will carry him on the road that he ought to go, and will guide his journey,—a circumstance hinted at in the Tale of Balin. Gawain's adventure at the Chapel of the Black Hand probably corresponds to Balin's at the cemetery. Both adventurers travel far before they reach the Grail Castle. Both stories know the broken sword, and both conclude by an explicit statement that the kingdom of Llogres¹ was destroyed by the dolorous stroke (in Wauchier of a sword, in the Tale of Balin of a lance) and by a reference to the Waste Kingdom.

The account of Galahad's curing of the wounded king, quoted from the French ms. Bibl. Nat. fr. 343, also agrees with Wauchier in several striking details. In both the lance bleeds into a cup very plentifully. The channel by which according to Wauchier the blood was led without the hall "so that Gawain might not see whither it ran,"² is doubtless hinted at in the Balin story by the words: "Mes apres ce que eles [the blood drops] estoient venues el vexel ne pooit nus savoir que li sanz devenoit."

These relationships will be explained if we suppose that the Tale of Balin and Wauchier's Gawain story represent the introduction and the termination of some lost grail story, which must have been of an exceedingly primitive character, and may have been one of the pagan originals to which Chrétien and the other grail writers ultimately go back.

¹ *Merlin*, II, 4, "Llogres," (see p. 44 above), elsewhere "Listinois."

² See pp. 14-5 above, and for the last phrase Miss Weston, *Sir Gawain at the Grail Castle*, p. 22, translating from ms. 12,576, Bib. Nat.

X.

The plot by which the Grail Adventures are set in motion is in the Tale of Balin sufficiently simple. A fierce warrior, offended at a wrong done him, and in spite of a difficulty about carrying arms on such an occasion, forced his way into a royal banqueting hall at meal time. He recognized his foe in the person of a near relative of the king, who was serving at table, and killed him at a blow. Attacked by the king, he seized a marvellous spear which he found in the palace, and struck his assailant down. He escaped after causing great destruction, and left the king wounded and incapacitated for further kingship.

The barbaric elements of the tale thus briefly summarized prove it to be a euhemerization of some half-mythological Celtic story. The interpolated character of the Christian explanation of King Pellehan and of the Lance, which is attached, is sufficiently obvious. One learns with astonishment that Pellehan is "the most holy man in the world," so long as he keeps with him in his castle his brother, the coward Garlan, who, riding invisible, strikes down innocent knights. One is astounded to have the Lance explained as the relic of the Crucifixion. Its destructive powers, so frightful that a blow of it left a wound that could not be healed, and devastated three countries, as well as its name, "La Lanche Vencheresse," show that it belongs in origin among the deadly weapons of Celtic mythology and legend.

For this reason a parallel which I have pointed out,¹ between Balin's dolorous stroke, and an ancient Irish story concerning the mischief wrought by one of the Irish marvellous spears, must be felt to possess significance.

¹ In a previous article, *Mod. Philology*, VII, 203-6.

King Cormac, one of the central figures in Irish legend, owned a collection of marvellous objects, derived from the Tuatha Dá Danaan, and roughly corresponding, as has been shown, to the talismans of the Grail Castle. Among these was the *Crimall* or "bloody spear."¹ One of the ancient Irish law treatises, the *Book of Aicill*, begins with an account of how Cormac was blinded by a thrust of this spear. The ms. is of the fifteenth century, but the text of the *Book of Aicill* was written down, it is believed, in the tenth century;² and although this introductory story is later, it can scarcely be more recent than the eleventh century.³ Text and translation may be found in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*:⁴

"The place of this book is Aicill close to Tara, and its time is the time of Coirpri Lifechair son of Cormac, and its author is Cormac, and the cause of its being composed was the blinding of the eye of Cormac by Aengus Gabhuaidech." [A. of the terrible or venomous spear]. . . . "This Aengus was a champion who was avenging a family quarrel in the territories of the Luighne."⁵ . . . [He was told that his sister had been dishonored by Cellach son of Cormac and resolved on vengeance]. . . . "He went forward toward Tara and reached Tara after sunset. And it was a prohibited thing at Tara to bring a hero's arms into it after sunset; so that no arms could be there except the arms that happened to be within it. And Aengus took the *Crimall* ["ornamented spear" according to the *Laws*; "bloody spear" according to O'Curry⁶] of Cormac down from its rack⁷ and gave Cellach the son of Cormac a blow of it and killed him;

¹ See p. 23 above.

² See Zimmer, *Haupt's Zt.*, xxxv, 85-87.

³ Unlike Cormac stories of later origin it does not connect Finn with Cormac.

⁴ The *Senchas Mór*, etc., III, 82-84.

⁵ "Airi echta in tAengus Gabhuaidech, ac dígail greisi ceniuil atuathaib Luigne" (*op. cit.*, p. 82).

⁶ *Ms. Materials*, pp. 48, 512; *Manners and Customs*, II, 325-6.

⁷ Compare, in the *Acallamh na Senórach*, (ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, 47; translation in *Silva Gad.*, II, 142), how Ilbhrec took down from its rack, at a time of need, the venomous spear of Fiacha which came originally from the Tuatha Dá Danaan; see p. 4 above.

and its edge grazed one of Cormac's eyes and destroyed it : and in drawing it back out of Cellach its handle struck the chief of the king's household of Tara in the back and killed him. And it was a prohibited thing that one with a blemish should be king at Tara.¹ And Cormac was therefore sent out to be cured to Aicill close to Tara : and Tara could be seen from Aicill but Aicill could not be seen from Tara. And the sovereignty of Ireland was given to Coirpri Lifechair son of Cormac."

No careful study is needed to trace the parallelism between this Irish tale and the story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke. In both, the hero comes to the palace of a king at the time of a feast as an avenger of a personal wrong. In both is the prohibition against carrying arms into a royal palace. Such a prohibition is in entire accordance with ancient Irish custom ("*geis*") but is not very natural in mediæval France. Balin, indeed, remarks that to wear one's sword at a feast is the custom of *his* country. In both tales the mischief is wrought by a spear kept in the palace as a relic or marvel. In both cases the king's chief steward or seneschal is slain, although not quite in the same manner. In both, the aggressor escapes and the king is left wounded in such a way as to be incapacitated for kingship.

The redactor of this account of the Blinding of Cormac told it as history, and perhaps did not himself regard the *Crimall* as anything more than one of the crown jewels. From what has been learned concerning the marvellous character of Irish weapons, however, it is difficult to avoid suspecting that we have here a euhemerization, such as was thought proper in a book of law, of some ancient half-

¹ "Ocus geis do Temraig airm laich do breith indte iar fuined ngreine, acht na hairm do ecmaitír indte [budein]. Ocus ro gab Aengus in crimall Cormaic anuar da healchaing ocus tuc buille di a Cellach mac Cormaic, cor marbustar he ; cor ben a heochair dar suil Cormaic co ro leth chaeach hé ; ocus ro ben a hurlunn a ndruim rechtaire na Temrach aca tarraing a Cellach, co ro marbustar he. Ocus ba geis rig co nainim do bith a Temraig" (*op. cit.*, p. 82).

mythological tale concerning the destruction wrought by a spear from the *sídh*—a tale like that of the Enchantment of Britain, from which it has been suggested comes the Dolorous Stroke. Only in this way can we understand the remarkable parallelism of plot between the “Blinding of Cormac” and “Balin’s Dolorous Stroke.”

That Cormac was blinded by a spear thrust, and abdicated his throne in accordance with Irish custom (“*geis*”) which forbade that a man having any blemish should rule at Tara, is a circumstance often referred to in Irish story and annals, and several versions of the incident exist. The Blinding of Cormac forms a part of the tale called *The Expulsion of the Dessi*, which appears in two principal versions. The older version is found in two fourteenth century MSS., Laud 610, and Rawlinson B. 502,¹ but has been shown by Zimmer to date from 750 A. D.² The later version is in LU, 53^a–54^b; and in H. 3. 17, and H. 2. 15.³ This version Zimmer thinks was the work of Cuan O’Lócháin who died in 1024. O’Lócháin, he thinks, confused King Cormac of the third century with Cormac Bishop of Cashel who died in 903.

These versions of the Blinding of Cormac differ from that in the *Book of Aicill* by representing Aengus as having brought his deadly spear with him, instead of finding it at the palace of Cormac. They supply however several details which, on the whole, greatly strengthen an hypothesis that the “Blinding of Cormac” and the “Dolorous Stroke” have their source in Celtic tales that belonged to one and the same type.

¹ The Laud text is printed in *Ériu*, III, 135–142 (1907); the Rawlinson text has been printed and translated by Kuno Meyer in *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 101–135 (1901).

² *Haupt’s Zeitschrift*, XXXV, 121 ff., (1891).

³ The text from the last two MSS. has been printed in *Anecdota from Irish Mss.*, I, 15–24 (1907).

In these versions Aengus is described not only as *airi echta*,¹ "an avenging champion," but as "a savage, fierce man,"² or according to LU, as "a rough warrior."³ (Cf. "Balaain le Sauvage." *Huth Merlin*, 1, 225, etc.)

These versions not only call the spear "terrible" but add that it was "poisonous,"⁴ and that it had two, or according to the later version, three, chains upon it. Each of these chains, when the spear was drawn, demanded the life of a man,⁵ or according to other MSS., each chain required three men to carry it.⁶ "It was from these chains that his [Aengus'] name was Oengus of the Dread Lance."⁷ Whichever MS. one follows it is clear that the spear was a marvellous one, and was probably confused or perhaps identified with the LUIN of Celtchar. The LUIN, it will be remembered, required three men to hold it.⁸

Both versions of the *Expulsion of the Dessi* sum up the destruction wrought by the spear of Aengus in a way that suggests the Dolorous Stroke:

"So there fell Cormac's son, and his steward, and Cormac's eye was put out, and nobody was able to lay hold of Aengus before he escaped into his house and he killed nine of Cormac's warriors as they were pursuing him."⁹ Cormac was not king after that but lived the rest of his life in retirement at Aicill near to Tara. And Aengus was ever afterward called "Aengus of the Terrible Spear."

¹ See p. 53 above.

² "Fear garg amnus," *Anecdota*, I, 15, l. 15.

³ "laech garb," LU, 53a.

⁴ "gaibuafnech idon nemnech," *ibid.*

⁵ "Ar ba hécen fer cehtar a da slabrad side dogres" (Rawlinson B. 502), *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 104, and footnote on p. 105.

⁶ "Triar fer cacha slabraidh ig a tarraing" (H. 2. 15), *Anecdota*, I, 15, ll. 17-18.

⁷ "Is arna slabradaib tra ba Hoengus Gæbuaibthech a ainm-seom," *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 106-7.

⁸ P. 18 above.

⁹ "Immalle dorochratar in mac ocus in rehtairi ocus romeбайд súil Cormaic ocus ní roachtas greim fair corrócht a theg ocus romarb nonbur do churadaib Cormaic occá thafund" (*Ériu*, III, 136. The translation is my own).

XI.

In the preceding pages it has been pointed out that neither Chrétien nor Wolfram gives any Christian coloring to the Lance, to which, however, they appear to attach as much importance as to the Grail. In neither of these writers has the Christianization of the Grail gone very far. The Lance is venomous, and, at least in Chrétien, enchants the land. Such a venomously destructive lance is often described in Irish saga. Such a lance, with other fairy objects of marvellous attributes, was evidently a familiar object of quest on the part of Irish heroes.¹ Our oldest accounts of Arthur represent him as engaged in similar quests. All stories about the Grail are connected with King Arthur.² It is natural, therefore, to suppose that this connection is old, and goes back to Welsh or Breton tales of Arthurian quests. This supposition is further greatly strengthened by the whiteness or luminosity of Grail and Lance, which associates them with Arthur's other marvellous belongings, as for example with his gleaming sword Excalibur which has been proved identical with the Irish fairy sword *Caladbolg*. Grail, Lance, and Sword, therefore, go back in origin to the shining talismans of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, viz.: the Stone of Destiny, the Caldron of Plenty, the Spear and the Sword of Lugh.

The investigation might have been brought to a close at this point (page 42 above) but it has gone on to consider the Arthurian Tale of Balin which seems to present the machinery of the grail quest in its most coherent form. To

¹ See "The Adventures of Cormac," p. 40 above, and especially "The Fate of the Children of Tuirenn," Joyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.

² An apparent exception is the curious grail episode in the *Sone de Nausay*, ed. Goldschmidt; *Stuttgart Litt. Verein*, vol. 216, (1902).

the Tale of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke has been found in ancient Irish a parallel, which if not absolutely convincing, at least demands explanation. The most rational explanation is, that Arthurian story and Irish tale are alike partial rationalizations of ancient mythological Celtic narratives concerning the destruction wrought by a weapon from the *sídh*. This conclusion accords perfectly with my explanation of the Grail Castle and its contents as identical in origin with the fairy palace of the Tuatha Dé Danaan.

The Irish talismans were wont to be found in a marvelous abode, difficult of access, and, like the Grail Castle, apt to vanish over night. Its inhabitants were shape-shifters like the Fisher King. King Cormac, who occupied in Irish legend a position not unlike that of King Arthur among the Welsh, was believed to have had possession of these talismans. The tale of King Cormac's wounding by one of his talismans, the "bloody spear," has a plot almost identical with the account of the wounding of the Grail King by Balin the Savage. Garlan the magician of the Grail Castle resembles Góibniu the guardian in Irish legend of the fiery LUIN. Nearly every incident in the Tale of Balin can be paralleled from Irish story.¹

In view of these facts it is not absurd to see in the similarity of plot between the "Blinding of Cormac" and the "Tale of Balin," traces of a kindred origin in Celtic mythological tales of the same type; nor to believe that Garlan, who lives in the Castle of Spear and Grail, is independent in origin from the Germanic *Weland*, being in reality a Celtic smith or magician like Góibniu who in ancient Irish story held the flaming LUIN. But, whatever may be the final decision of scholars concerning the validity of the Blinding of Cormac parallel, the main conclusion of

¹ See above, p. 49.

this paper has an independent force, that in the Tuatha Dá Danaan palace with its marvels is to be sought the origin of the Grail Castle with its dish of plenty, its sword that broke in one peril and its perpetually bleeding spear.¹

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

¹ This article was written before I received Professor Nitze's interesting study of the Fisher King (these *Publications*, xxiv, 365-418), to which, however, I have been able to insert several references. Nitze's idea that the procession of the Grail Castle shows traces of a heathen ritual or cult is plausible, always premising that the traces of this ritual must have reached the French from the Bretons or Welsh. Nitze with excellent judgment, in my opinion, holds aloof (pp. 380, 395, note 1) from Miss Weston's attempt to explain Grail and Lance as phallic symbols, and from her appeal to practising mystics (see her *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, pp. 253-4 ff.). Miss Weston's studies have been of value to all workers in the Arthurian field. She has held to what I regard as the common sense position that the Arthurian legends developed in Wales as well as (although not to the exclusion of) Brittany, and that they are the outcome of long growth rather than of literary invention. It is disappointing, therefore, to find her credulous of explanations furnished by modern occultists. This line of research seems as little likely to lead to scientific results as the discredited solar myth theory, upon which, by the way, Miss Weston has also cast a lingering eye.

II.—AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ATTEMPT AT A CRITICAL VIEW OF THE NOVEL: THE *BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE* *DES ROMANS.*

The eighteenth century, which saw the development of the novel into definite form, saw also the beginnings of careful criticism of the novel. The amount and character of this criticism, however, and the extent of a critical attitude among eighteenth-century novel-readers, have received too little attention from students of fiction. Not to speak of the books of the time dealing with the novel and allied forms, which deserve perhaps more attention than they have received,—notably the bibliography, with comments, in Lenglet-Dufresnoy's *L'Usage des Romans* (1734), and the lectures of LaHarpe, which, though published much later, were delivered before 1800,—there is a mass of interesting material in eighteenth-century periodicals, French, English, and German. There is also a great amount of criticism in prefaces to novels, in memoirs, and in collections of letters, which if systematically examined would perhaps modify current notions regarding our ancestors' views of prose fiction.

There is much to be learned specifically concerning the tastes and standards of eighteenth-century novel-readers from the Collections or sets of Novels and Tales which were issued in large numbers during the century, particularly in the two great novel-producing countries, France and England. By the term Collections, as used here, I do not mean the collective editions of the works of a single author. Such issues as Murphy's ten-volume edition of Fielding, with critical and biographical introductions (1762), in Eng-

land, or the thirty-nine-volume edition of Prévost (1783), in France, undoubtedly tend to show the existence of a public of novel-readers who made some critical requirements, and who desired to preserve in dignified form such works of fiction as had come to be recognized, so to speak, as classics. Such collective editions, however, were comparatively few; in France, during the century, perhaps about forty, and in England, apparently, no more than ten. Nor do I include the sets of stories by single writers; neither those originally published in volume form, like Mrs. Manley's *Power of Love* (1720), and the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* by Mme. de Gomez (1735), nor the many volumes of *Contes* or *Novels* by a single author, collected from the pages of magazines.

The Collections with which I am concerned are those which reprinted together, in one or more volumes, stories by several writers. The fashion of Collections of this sort, not only of Novels and Tales but of Poetry, Plays, Travels, Biography, etc., was almost as marked a feature of the eighteenth century as of the nineteenth; and most of the works of prose fiction popular with eighteenth-century readers found their way into one or more of the Collections. The number of these issues is hard to fix exactly; being reprints, they are not always noticed in the usual sources of bibliographical information, and when noticed, are not always correctly described. By collating the chief modern lists of eighteenth-century books (the catalogue of the British Museum, Querard's *La France Littéraire*, Gay's *Bibliographie des Livres Relatifs à l'Amour*, etc.), with the records of "Books Published" in eighteenth-century French and English periodicals we find at least 102 such Collections in England and 65 in France.¹ Why there should

¹The French list includes several works marked on the title-page as issued in Holland and elsewhere, which were in all respects French works,

have been, apparently, more of them in England than in France I cannot tell; inasmuch as more fiction was produced in France, we should expect to find there a larger number of Collections. Possibly the number of French Collections was kept down by greater strictness in the operation of the copyright laws, possibly by the more frequent issue of collective editions of the works of individual novel-writers; very likely I have overlooked many of the smaller French issues not readily identified by their titles.

These publications were of many kinds, ranging in size from the single volume of three hundred pages or so, containing several novelettes or a larger number of shorter tales, up to elaborate compilations filling many volumes. Some were general in scope, others restricted to a particular type of story, like the *Cabinet des Fées* (41 volumes in its latest form, 1791), or the *Voyages Imaginaires* (36 volumes, octavo, 1787). Some were crude *mélanges* of stories, jests, riddles, and useful information; some merely reprinted, without remark, a number of well-known works; others gave a large amount of biographical and critical comment. In some the names of authors and editors were emphasized, in others no names whatever were given. Sometimes a large Collection was issued, like the *American Seaside Library* of a generation ago, in serial form; examples of this practice are to be seen in the *Novelist's Magazine* in England, in the *Bibliothèque Choisie et Amusante*, or the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in France. Sometimes, apparently, a Collection which failed to hit the public taste was re-issued two or three times, with change of title-page. Whatever their differences, however, the Collections all go to show (the more elaborate compilations, of course, the more strongly), the beginnings of a critical spirit among contemporary novel-readers.

perhaps even printed in Paris; the English list is made up almost wholly of books published in London;—I have not yet traced the books issued in Dublin or in Scotland.

There is great disparity between the French and the English Collections, in size, in range, and in the amount of criticism included. Of the 102 English publications only nine (and only five of much importance) filled more than two volumes each: Croxall's *Select Novels*, a six-volume work containing chiefly matter of the late seventeenth century, was issued in 1722, and frequently reprinted; between 1780 and 1800 there was one set of four volumes (*Arabian Tales: or, a Continuation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, etc., 1792), one of twelve volumes (the *Britannic Magazine*, 1795–1807), and one of twenty-three volumes (the *Novelist's Magazine*, 1780–1789), and one of twenty-four volumes (*The Children's Friend*, a translation of a French compilation by Berquin), which was followed the same year, 1788, by a sequel (*The Friend of Youth*) in twelve volumes. A good many of the English issues, moreover, throughout the century, seem to have been merely adaptations of portions of contemporary French Collections. On the other hand, of the 65 French Collections, there were 33 of more than two volumes each, 20 of five volumes or over, and 6 of twenty volumes or over. During the decade from 1780 to 1790 there were eight French Collections of five volumes or over: the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans* (224 volumes, 12mo., 1775–1789); the *Bibliothèque Amusante* (89 volumes, 18mo., 1782 et seq.); the *Collection de Romans Historiques* (15 volumes, 12mo., 1782–1790); the *Décaméron Anglais* (six volumes, 8mo., 1783–1786); the *Cabinet des Fées* (41 volumes, octavo, 1788–1791); the 24 volumes of "Romans" included in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Dames* (which filled altogether 156 volumes, 12mo., 1785–1797); the *Bibliothèque Choisie de Contes Nouveaux* (nine volumes, 18mo., 1786–1790); and the *Voyages Imaginaires* (36 volumes, octavo, 1787 et seq.). One Mercier, a French journalist who conducted at Amsterdam, from 1782 to 1788, a periodical

called *Le Tableau de Paris*, makes fun of the contemporary craze for Collections: "Le compilateur met tout son talent et son génie dans le prospectus, et, dès qu'il est achevé, sa besogne est finie, car il n'a plus qu'à déchiqueter les livres, et mettre en in-quarto ce qui était en in-octavo. . . . Quelquefois le compilateur n'a besoin que de trouver un titre² neuf et singulier; *Bibliothèque des Romans*, *le Voyageur François*, etc. Après ce coup de génie, le libraire n'a plus qu'à payer: il paye et s'enrichit," etc., etc.

The larger French Collections of fiction, however, represent really a good deal of editorial work. They are wider in range than the English, including more works of other countries and earlier ages, and they contain more criticism. In the largest English Collection, the *Novelist's Magazine*, 41 of the 58 works included, nearly three-fourths, are English, and only two, *Don Quixote* and its continuation by Avellaneda, are earlier than the eighteenth century. Moreover, although in most of the novels of the English set the authors' names are given, in very few is there any editorial comment. In the French *Voyages Imaginaires* although only 22 of the 75 works are foreign, 26 are earlier than the eighteenth century, several of the stories have been either condensed or revised, and in nearly all cases there are good though brief Introductions by the editors.

The most notable of the eighteenth-century Collections, in every way, was the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, which was published from July, 1775, to June, 1789, in 224 volumes of about 215 pages each. This work, which began to appear three years after the completion of the great *Encyclopédie*, was a sort of "Encyclopédie" of the world's prose fiction, aiming to present to contemporary readers the "meilleurs romans," not only of eighteenth-century France, but of classical antiquity, of the Middle Ages, of all modern European literature, and of the Orient, accompanying them

with appropriate comment. The editors, so far as their names have been preserved, seem to have been of no great prominence. The leading figures for the first few years were two noblemen of literary tastes, LeVoyer D'Argenson, Marquis de Paulmy, whose magnificent library furnished many of the manuscripts and rare books which were "analysés" in the *Bibliothèque*, and LaVergne, Comte de Tressan, a soldier and diplomat, who had been long a reader of the romances of chivalry. There were also several professional writers, chief among them one J. F. de Bastide, a mediocre but fertile writer of "Romans" and "Contes," who had a hand in several periodicals and other Collections, and who seems to have become later the controlling editor of the *Bibliothèque*. Finally, there were several specialists: LeGrand D'Aussy and J. M. L. Coupé, both connected with the royal library, and D. D. Cardonne, royal interpreter of Oriental languages, who had completed some of the translations begun early in the century by Galland. The serial was published, at first at least, by Lacombe, the publisher of the *Mercure de France* and some dozen other periodicals.¹ Who was the real projector, who were the financial supporters, I have not been able to learn. The enterprise seems to have paid its way; an abortive English translation of 1780, indeed, asserts that 20,000 copies of the original had been sold. It was issued at the rate of sixteen parts, or volumes, a year, two each in January, April, July, and October, and one in each of the other months, at a yearly subscription of 24 livres. For fourteen years it proceeded with great regularity and uniformity, although during the last months there are evidences both of haste and of delay,—for instance the imprimatur of the royal censor, in

¹ After the first few volumes the title-page bears merely the address: Au Bureau.

the last few volumes, bears a date several months later than that of the title-page. In the Revolution year, from what cause I do not know, it came to an end, and the last volume was devoted to an index which is remarkably complete and accurate. Some nine years later there appeared a sort of continuation, conducted by different hands, the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Romans*, which lived in its turn for seven years, and completed its 112th volume.

To modern eyes the plan of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* is odd enough. With the whole field of fiction to be covered, any attempt at complete reproduction of the works presented was of course out of the question. Accordingly, all the longer works, and nearly all works of whatever length written before 1700, are given in condensation, with occasional extracts. Sometimes these condensations are themselves pretty long; not infrequently two hundred pages, the greater part of a volume, are given to a work of special importance—LaCalprenède's *Cassandre*, for example, fills three volumes. In making the condensations, moreover, the editors take great liberties with their texts. They avow repeatedly that their main object is to render the old stories interesting to readers of their own day. To this end the fictions of whatever age are retold in the correct and graceful prose of 1780. To this end, also, the structure of the originals is modified whenever the editors see fit. Details which they regard as indecent or absurd are suppressed (for example, in the version of *Anecdotes de la Cour de Childeric, Roi de France*, by Mlle. de Lussan, in the volume for September, 1779, they have suppressed a "double intrigue incestueuse"). Books left incomplete by their authors are fitted with endings (for example, *Les Annales Galantes de Grèce*, by Mme. de Villedieu, in November, 1779), or sometimes the original endings, if not satisfactory, are replaced by others (as in the version of *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, in

January, 1780). Sometimes two wholly independent stories are combined to make one which the editors like better (as in "*Le Lingot*, Histoire tirée en partie d'un ouvrage François, intitulé *La Pistolet* [by the Abbé Tallemant], en partie d'un ouvrage Anglois, intitulé *Chrysal, ou la Guinée*"). As an additional appeal to popular favor, and possibly to fill the inevitable gaps caused by delay of contributors, the editors frequently print little unsigned contemporary *Contes* (114 altogether), of from ten to fifty pages each, some of them very clever, many appearing, evidently, for the first time, and many, certainly, written by the editors.

The tables of contents of a few volumes will show both the effort for variety within the volume and also the general constancy of taste throughout the fourteen years. The first volume, for July, 1775, contains :

Prospectus, and Discours Préliminaire. (Pp. 3-24.)
Les Affections de divers Amans . . . par Parthénus de Nicée. . . . (25-53.)
L'Âne d'Or d'Apulée . . . (53-109.)
Le Roman de Merlin . . . (109-34.)
Les Prophéties de Merlin . . . (134-140.)
Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux . . . (141-166.)
Astrée . . . (166-227.)

Here are two romances of antiquity, two of the Middle Ages, one sixteenth-century popular romance, and the *Roman* with which, according to general agreement, the French novel of modern times begins. It is not often that so many works are covered in one volume of the *Bibliothèque*; the average number of works presented is four.

The contents of the second volume of April, 1779, are:

Histoire de Bliomberis, Chevalier de la Table Ronde . . . (3-90.)
Anecdotes de la Cour d'Édouard II, Roi d'Angleterre. Par Madame la Marquise de Tencin, et Madame de Beaumont. Paris, 1776. . . . (96-124.)
Les Amans de la Belle du Luc, où est démontré la vengeance de l'amour envers ceux qui médifient de l'honneur des Dames. Paris, 1698. Par Jean Prévot, sieur de Gontier. (125-145.)

médifient

Histoire des Amours de Gertrude, Dame de Château-Brillant, et de Roger, Comte de Montfort. Cologne, 1609. (146-214.)

The contents of the first volume of July, 1784, are :

Le Véritable Ami ; ou la Vie de David Simple, trad. de L'Anglois, de Fielding [Or rather of Sarah Fielding]. . . . 1782. (3-55.)

L'École des Filles, ou Palmerin et Gerailli. Histoire Morale. Manuscrit. Par M. le Chev. de Cubières. (56-106).

Mémoires de Rigobert Zapotza. Publiées par M. de Lignac. 1780. . . . (106-166.)

L'Entreprise Difficile. 1758. (166-192.)

Toward the end there are fewer works from classic and mediæval times ; there are more from foreign literatures, particularly from English ; there are more entire volumes given to single works. On the whole, however, the editors stick to their plan more consistently than one would expect.

The critical matter of the *Bibliothèque* appears in three forms. At the head of every "Extrait" there is a short notice of the book, or the author, or both, sometimes reproducing the title-page of the original and often noting the date and place of publication ; sometimes there are additional notes at the end of the "Extrait." Now and then, usually at the beginning of a volume, there are little essays, "Avis," of a more general character. Finally, the editors endeavor to classify the works presented under various captions, which are modifications of those used by Lenglet-Dufresnoy in *L'Usage des Romans* ; it is their general practice to print the appropriate caption at the head of every story, although in this they are very inconsistent.

The first thought of a reader of to-day, looking through these 224 volumes, with their 43,000 pages, in which, altogether, 926 works of fiction are noticed, is of course the hugeness of the big serial. Looking a little more carefully, one is astonished at the range of matter presented. Of the 43,000 pages, about 29,000 are given to French works,

ranging over the larger part of French literary history. Some 3500 pages are given to French works of the Middle Ages, or, in the editors' phrase, "Romans de Chevalerie"; 1400 pages to the sixteenth century; 2000 to the Heroic Romances of the generation of LaCalprenède, and 700 pages to the Comic Romances of the same time; about 3600 pages to the short "Nouvelles" of the later seventeenth century and the earlier eighteenth; 5500 pages to the group of great novel-writers of the early eighteenth century,—LeSage, Marivaux, Prévost, etc.; and about 8800 pages to contemporary works, including about 2500 pages given to the little *Contes* already mentioned.

The 14,000 pages devoted to foreign literatures are distributed as follows: to romances of Græco-Roman antiquity, about 900 pages; to Italian works, mostly of the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, about 3100 pages; to Spanish, chiefly of the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth, about 3500 pages; to English, mostly of the eighteenth century, about 3000 pages; to German, nearly all of contemporary date, about 2000 pages; to other literatures of modern Europe, mostly earlier than the eighteenth century, about 700 pages; to translations of genuine Oriental stories about 800 pages.

Recapitulating, there are 900 pages given to fiction of classical antiquity,—much less space, in proportion, by the way, than in the Wilson revision of Dunlop; there are some 10,000 pages given to the fiction of the Middle Ages and of the sixteenth century, representing all the leading European vernaculars as well as Latin; there are about 30,000 pages given to the fiction of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—in which practically all forms of European fiction are represented; in the 800 pages given to Oriental fiction,—surprisingly few, it must be admitted, in a French Collection of the eighteenth century,—works are considered from

the Arabic, Turkish, Persian, "Indien," and Chinese. Well may Brunetière, in his *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de la Littérature Française*, speak of "les laborieux compilateurs de la Bibliothèque des Romans !"

That these hard-working editors had the deliberate purpose of presenting to contemporary readers a systematic view of the fiction of the world,—as "the world" was then conceived,—may be seen from the *Prospectus* which begins the first volume. The grandiloquent manner does not hide the serious purpose.

"La lecture de quelques Romans isolés amuse l'oisiveté, trompe l'ennui, peut donner de fausses idées et de plus faux sentimens. Mais cette même lecture, dirigée par la Philosophie et embrassant la généralité des fictions, devient l'étude la plus sûre et la plus suivie de l'Histoire la plus secrète et la plus fidèle, par les faits qu'elle rassemble et les mystères qu'elle dévoile. C'est une chaîne d'un nouveau genre, dont il faut saisir et suivre la progression, elle lie tous les temps, et marque, pour ainsi dire, les progrès de la Monarchie, par les progrès du génie et la peinture des passions. . . .

"Ce journal des Romans donnera, (comme nous l'avons dit), la miniature de chaque Roman : le fond du tableau sera relevé par le piquant des anecdotes et par la lumière des recherches, de la critique et des traits historiques. Nous tâcherons que chaque volume de cette bibliothèque soit d'une lecture diversifiée, instructive et amusante, en nous attachant à faire contraster les genres, les temps, et l'intérêt des fictions dont nous rendrons compte. On sera bien étonné de voir dans ce Journal, combien les Romans de tout genre, ceux même de l'imagination la plus folle, sont historiques ; combien ils intéressent la nation, par les mœurs et par les personnes ; combien des fictions sont des vérités. *Cadit persona, manet res* : le masque ôté, on reconnoîtra le personnage ou le fait, déguisé sous le voile de l'allégorie ; et la fable deviendra le meilleur commentaire de l'Histoire.

"Nous aurons l'avantage de faire connoître aussi beaucoup d'excellens Romans, qui sont d'anciens manuscrits, renfermés, comme des trésors, dans l'immense bibliothèque qui nous est ouverte ; et de faire renaître beaucoup d'autres Romans, auxquels la rareté ou la vétusté avoient ravi les avantages de la publicité, en bornant, à un très-petit nombre, les exemplaires en quelque sorte mystérieux, qu'on ne peut que très-difficilement trouver. Des Romans trop connus ne seront point analysés. Notre travail, à leur égard, se bornera à de simples notices, pour en expliquer les circonstances, donner l'intelligence du dessein, et faire sentir leurs rapports avec l'Histoire.

Cet exposé suffit, sans doute, pour justifier les avantages de cette entreprise, agréable à l'homme du monde qui veut s'amuser ; utile à l'homme de Lettres qui veut s'instruire ; féconde pour les Poètes qui cherchent des fictions heureuses, propres au théâtre ; nécessaire à l'Historien et à l'Observateur des mœurs, des temps et des usages anciens et modernes."

The inclusiveness of the editors' conception of the French generic term, "Roman," in such contrast to contemporary English conceptions of the English generic term, "Novel," may appear from a few items. The *Bibliothèque Universelle* includes many works in verse, not only mediæval romances but some sixteen poems of later date. It includes the various books of fairy stories popular during the first part of the eighteenth century, not only the rather sophisticated and half-satirical *Contes de Fées* of Mme. d'Aulnoy and Mme. de Murat but the Mother Goose tales of Perrault as well. It includes a few publications of frankly licentious nature, such as the *Académie des Dames*, noticing them briefly, however, and with disapproval. It notices with much the same brevity of attention a few specimens of what to-day might be called "Sunday-School books," not only the more or less artistic tales of Bishop Camus but certain biographies by Jesuit worthies. It notices, finally, among "Romans de Spiritualité, de Morale, et de Politique," the sets of engravings of the English Hogarth, not of course reproducing the pictures but describing them briefly and criticising Hogarth as a social satirist.

It is worth remark, I think, first, that the emphasis of the *Bibliothèque* is distinctly upon serious fiction, not upon the comic or satirical ; secondly, that surprisingly little space is given by these representative men of letters of 1775-1789 to the fictions of classical antiquity, to Oriental works, —although the royal interpreter was for a time, at least, one of the editors,—or to the strong contemporary fashion of sentimental romance.

Strangely enough, this big Collection is very little referred to in later studies of the Novel. So far as I know, the only work in English to notice it at all is the Wilson revision of Dunlop, which makes frequent reference to it, but without comment. Koerting's *Geschichte des französischen Romans im XVII. Jahrhundert* refers to it often, but in the same way. Hardly anything can be found regarding it in the common encyclopædias and bibliographical works. The French sketches of the Novel either ignore it,—as for instance the Petit de Juleville history,—or give it a bare mention,—as Lomente does in his articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1858–1860. In fact, the only considerable treatment of the *Bibliothèque* which I have found is that of Léon Gautier, who devotes to it some ten pages of the second volume of his *Épopées Françaises*, and his remarks are not enthusiastic:

“ Au lieu de donner de bonnes et sincères traductions où les originaux auraient été sévèrement reflétés, M. de Paulmy résolut de parer, d'attifer, d'embellir les fictions qu'il reproduisait. Il ne les embellit que trop; car il les défigura entièrement. . . . Tous ces héros furent obligés de revêtir la jaquette et les dentelles. Mais rien ne fut aussi défiguré que nos chansons de geste. . . . Quant au style de la *Bibliothèque des Romans* . . . il est partout le même. C'est une suite de bergeries, signées Watteau.”

Gautier's strictures upon the treatment of the Chansons de Geste in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* are correct, so far as they go. The same faults, moreover,—lack of the historical sense, capricious disregard of the spirit and letter of the originals,—appear, though less markedly, in its treatment of other forms of fiction. For example, much space is devoted, month after month, for several years, to a department which the editors entitle “ Romans relatifs à l'histoire de France,” which is merely a sketchy account of French court history, pieced together from the numberless “ Romans,” “ Nouvelles,” “ Histoires secrètes” and similar works of various

ages, and rewritten by the editors with such corrections of fact as they think necessary, in which there is often but the vaguest mention of any particular work as authority. In one case, indeed, the editors remark that a historical novel might easily be constructed from the existing anecdotes and legends concerning Agnès Sorel, and a few months later, in the second volume for October, 1778, they print an *Histoire d'Agnès Sorel*, which they say they have thus constructed. Gautier's criticisms, no doubt, are themselves lacking in breadth of view, and in humor, but the irresponsibility often shown by the editors of the *Bibliothèque* is really exasperating to the student.

Irresponsibility appears, moreover, in their distribution of space. Although some 29,000 pages are given to French fiction, representing the work of over 130 writers, there is absolutely no treatment of Voltaire, and no mention of Rousseau beyond the sketch of an anonymous work which the editors suggest may be one of his early productions. The writings of these two great men, as well as those of other contemporaries of note, may have been inaccessible to the editors because of copyright restrictions, or it may have seemed to the editors needless to give lengthy notices of works "trop connus;" but it is strange that they are not even mentioned when the writings of other contemporaries are noticed and even "analysés." We find, moreover, an extraordinary lack of perspective when we note the ten French authors to whom the most space is devoted. LaCalprenède receives 1106 pages; Prévost, 613 pages; Mlle. de Scudéri, 589 pages; Mme. de Villedieu, a writer of "Nouvelles" of the late seventeenth century, 477 pages; M. de Bastide, one of the editors, 419 pages; Marivaux, 380 pages; the unnamed author of a contemporary novel, *Les Scrupules d'une Jolie Femme*, 310 pages; Mme. de Gomez, a writer of "Nouvelles" of the early eighteenth

century, 304 pages; J. Bardon, a minor contemporary writer, 253 pages; Mlle. de Lussan, a writer of "Nouvelles" of the early eighteenth century, 229 pages.

The same strange distribution of space appears in the treatment of foreign literature. With 14,000 pages devoted to foreign fiction, far more than is to be found in any other eighteenth-century Collection in French or English, one cannot complain of short measure. One must make allowances, too, for incomplete appreciation of masterpieces in a foreign tongue,—as when the editors omit from their version of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, in November, 1788, among other "tédieux" passages, the poem "sur la mort d'un chien enragé, qui ne nous a paru assez intéressante." One feels, however, that foreign literature is to be represented in such a work primarily by its masterpieces. In the *Bibliothèque Universelle* this principle is not maintained. Of the 3100 pages occupied with Italian fiction, representing the work of at least 31 authors, only 515 pages are given to the most characteristic form, the "Novelle." Boccaccio is given in all 331 pages, five of his works being noticed; Marini is given 221 pages; Grazzini, 144 pages; Algarotti and Chiari, two of the three eighteenth-century writers to be noticed at all, 100 pages each; on the other hand, Loredano, whose historical works were widely read in the seventeenth century, receives only 58 pages. Several "romans" in verse are noticed, with strange distribution of attention: Dante's *Inferno* receives 61 pages; Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* receives 103 pages, but his *Rinaldo Innamorato*, which is attributed to his father, receives in all 370 pages, being "analysé," or rather paraphrased twice over, first in July, 1778, and again,—a different rendering, with no reference to the earlier version,—in February, 1786. One may notice here the emphasis, already mentioned, upon serious romance, as opposed to comic and satirical pieces.

The 3500 pages given to Spanish literature are distributed among a large number of minor writers, some of them not listed by Ticknor. Much attention is given to the "Romans de Chevalerie" of the Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century, very little, relatively, to the "Picaro" tales, and very little to the "Novelas" of the seventeenth century. The author who receives fullest treatment is Lope de Vega, with 256 pages; Castillo Solorzano receives 199 pages; Baltasar Gracian's *Criticon*, for some reason, is given 197 pages; Montemayor's *Diana* is given 98 pages. On the other hand, Cervantes is given only 146 pages altogether, and only 51 pages are allowed to *Don Quixote*! The much less elaborate English Collections had given Cervantes much fuller representation.

Of the 3200 pages given to English fiction, 2400 pages are given to writers of the eighteenth century. Here again one notices the large number of minor authors represented, while there is nothing at all from Richardson, nor from Sterne, nor, though this is less surprising, from Smollett. The English book which is given fullest treatment is *The Injur'd Daughter, or The History of Miss Maria Beaumont*, Londres, 2 volumes, 1768, which receives 278 pages. Goldsmith is given 267 pages altogether; the worthy Thomas Day, with his *Sandford and Merton*, receives 231 pages; *Robinson Crusoe*, praised highly but without mention of the author, receives 143 pages; Swift is given 130 pages for *Gulliver* and is credited also with Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull*, in a notice of 12 pages; Fielding's *Tom Jones* receives 128 pages and high praise, and he is credited also with his sister's *David Simple*, which is also praised; Fanny Burney's *Evelina* is praised very discriminatingly, in a notice of 101 pages; *The Female Quixote* of Mrs. Lennox receives 95 pages; several of Mrs. Haywood's stories are noticed briefly, in 87 pages altogether. Among the 50 other works

noticed more briefly are : a story entitled *Léonor et Eugénie*, attributed (incorrectly) to Chaucer, which I cannot trace ; More's *Utopia* ; Sidney's *Arcadia* ; Addison's opera, *Rosamond*, and several extracts from the *Spectator*. There is little from the contemporary adventure-novels of the Smollett type, and comparatively little from the novels of sentimental romance.

German fiction, though it receives some 2000 pages, almost wholly given to contemporary writers, is very inadequately represented. Of the 35 works noticed, 12 are by Wieland, who is praised repeatedly, one of his works being given twice, differently condensed, and four are by Meissner. There is no mention of *Werther*.

There are other irregularities of form in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Several works are given twice over, and in three cases, at least, no mention is made, when the work is repeated, of the earlier rendering. One of these, *Les Lutins du Château de Kernozzy*, when first "analysé," in June, 1776, is attributed, correctly, to Mme. de Murat ; but when it is printed again, in January, 1787, it is attributed to Mlle. de La Force. The system of classification, to which the editors give a good deal of attention, is ill maintained. They begin with eight classes, based upon Lenglet-Dufresnoy, and defined with some precision in the *Discours Préliminaire*, July, 1775, as : "Romans de l'Antiquité" ; "Romans de Chevalerie" ; "Romans Historiques" ; "Romans d'Amour" ; "Romans de Spiritualité, de Morale, et de Politiqué" ; "Romans Satiriques, Comiques et Bourgeois" ; "Nouvelles et Contes" ; "Romans Merveilleux." In January, 1778, they change abruptly to a purely alphabetical arrangement, and within a few months they change back, without explanation, to a modification of the original plan. Yet a large number of the works treated have no caption at all.

But it is possible to make too much of these faults, in

what was, after all, a periodical of indeterminate existence, addressed to the general reader of literary tastes. Considered merely as a record of the standards and practice of the pre-Revolutionary generation in France, the *Bibliothèque Universelle* is extremely significant to students of literature. The fact that its editors were not the leading men of their time only adds to this significance. Yet it may be noted by the way, that the *Bibliothèque* received favorable attention from some of the leaders. Grimm and Diderot, after remarking¹ that they had at first paid little attention to the *Bibliothèque*, having supposed that it was to be chiefly under the control of M. de Bastide,—a prospect, they admit, which left them “dans une grande indifférence à ce sujet,”—record their hearty approval both of the plan and of its execution. “Il y règne en général un excellent choix, un goût très-sage, et une variété infiniment agréable. La plupart des extraits sont parfaitement bien écrits, d’un style simple et rapide, et l’on trouve dans les notices historiques une érudition très-curieuse.”

These contemporary critics, it may be noticed, speak of the *Bibliothèque* as of a popular work, addressed to the general reader. Considering it as such, the student of the history of fiction must be impressed, I think, by the amount of accurate information and sound criticism scattered through its 223 volumes of text. The bibliographical information, one discovers, is surprisingly full and correct. Even if we leave out of account the 114 *Contes*, which are printed, as I have said, without mention of the authors’ names, we find that the *Bibliothèque* notices, more or less carefully, 812 distinct works. When we compare the bibliographical accounts of these 812 works, as given in the *Bibliothèque*, with the accounts of the same books in the bibliographies of to-day—

¹ *Correspondance*, July, 1776.

and in all but twenty cases such a comparison is easily made—we find that the serious errors on the part of the *Bibliothèque* editors are very few. The critical comments, moreover, are better than in most popular periodicals. There are some twelve “Avis” dealing with the fiction of particular nations: Spanish, Italian, English, German, Flemish, Irish and Gaelic, Scandinavian, Slavonic, Oriental, Turkish, Persian, and Portuguese. So far as I can venture an opinion, these notices seem to be both sympathetic and discriminating. The notice of English fiction is quite as good as one could look for in a foreign publication addressed to the general reader.¹ It should be added that the comment on particular English books “analysés” in the *Bibliothèque* is usually appreciative and just. There are similar “Avis”

¹ This “Avis,” which fills about eleven pages in the first volume for October, 1776, may be summarized by paragraphs as follows:—(1) The English care little for long romances; the only English work of the kind known in France is Sidney's *Arcadia*; there are also *Pandosto*, *Roi de Bohême*, and *Dorastas et Faunia*, but they are unknown in France. (2) Many interesting episodes in English history have been made into “romans.” (3) One modern historical novel which is much liked is the *Atlantis* (sic!) of Mrs. Manley; there is also the *Histoire de la Reine Zara*; these two works might be classed as satiric or political. (4) “Romans moraux,” especially those combining comedy and the portrayal of manners, are especially popular in England; for example, Fielding and Richardson. (5) There is one “Roman de Spiritualité,” *Le Pèlerinage d'un nommé Chrétien à la céleste Jérusalem*. (6) The fashion of “Nouvelles,” “petits romans,” which came from Italy to Spain and to France, was not known in England until rather late, but it has greatly flourished there; there are some very good English works of this kind. (7) There are a few small collections of *Contes* in English, but (8) hardly any original *Contes de Fées*; the old English poets, however, speak of fairies, and there is a long poem called *La Reine des Fées*, by Spenser. (9) There are several “Romans Merveilleux,” the *Gulliver* of Dr. Swift and others. (10) A new form has recently appeared, the “Romans aux lettres,” with which the English are now setting the fashion in France; the English got the suggestion of this from Crébillon's charming *Lettres de la Marquise de M. . . . au Comte de R. . .*, which appeared in 1731.'

dealing with types of fiction, one of which, about thirty pages long, in October, 1780, is an earnest and intelligent defense of the seventeenth-century Heroic Romances. There are about twenty "Avis" dealing with the works of particular authors, most of them authors who were little known even in 1780; these latter notices, fewer and briefer than one could wish, are rarely unintelligent. Finally, the comment on the individual works reproduced is nearly always suggestive, and frequently shows insight and reflection. The persons who prepared the singular compound of paraphrase, quotation, and abstract, must have taken their work more seriously than might have been expected of the ordinary literary hack.

The *Bibliothèque Universelle* is chiefly significant as showing the wide range of interest of the novel-reading public of pre-Revolutionary France. Not many works of European literature noticed in later and more scholarly publications are overlooked in the *Bibliothèque*, and many are included which have been left out of account by later students. One is surprised, for instance, at the number and variety of books cited by these editors of 1780 from the sixteenth century, and from the early seventeenth. Indeed, the attention paid to the mass of minor writings quite forgotten to-day increases considerably one's respect for the knowledge and the critical curiosity of the public of 1780. In the generation of the *Encyclopédie* the time was perhaps not ripe for deeply intelligent criticism; there was not yet sufficient knowledge of history, nor of psychology; but the critical attitude was there, in the catholicity of their conception of the "Roman," in their wide though superficial interest in the work of other ages and countries, and, let us add, in the thoroughness of their bibliographical knowledge.

It is significant of the different stages of development of the reading public in France and in England that the

Bibliothèque Universelle was almost unnoticed across the Channel. Apparently there was but one effort to translate or imitate the French work, and that seems to have had little success. The catalogue of the British Museum lists the following title: "*A New Volume of Knowledge and Entertainment, being a translation of . . . the Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans. Vol. 3. London, 1780, 8vo. . . . Imperfect copy, wanting all after page 358.*" In a Chicago book-store I found recently what may be the same work with a different title-page, an octavo volume of 392 pages, entitled: "*A New and Complete Collection of Interesting Romances and Novels; Translated from the French, By Mr. Porney, Teacher of the French Language at Richmond, Surrey. . . . With . . . Copper-Plate Prints . . . by . . . Mr. Dodd and . . . Mr. Dighton, etc. . . . London: . . . Printed for the Proprietors, and Sold by Alex. Hogg, No. 18, Paternoster-Row.*" No date is on the title-page, but the prints are dated 1780. In the Preface the book is said to be a translation from "the French Original, lately published at Paris, with universal applause. . . ." It contains direct translations of thirteen articles in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, selected from the volumes from 1775 to 1780. It may be noted, first, that page 358 of this work is the end of a sheet; secondly, that Alibone's *Dictionary*, while making no reference to any title, refers to Porney as editor of a volume of Novels from the French.

The English had, in the *Novelist's Magazine*, a reprint of some of the better-known novels of the eighteenth century, mostly English; by 1810, after the 224 volumes of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* had been followed by the 112 volumes of the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, they had obtained in Mrs. Barbauld's fifty-volume edition of *British Novelists*, another reprint, somewhat more inclusive, of the popular works of their own language. But it was not until 1814 that the

first edition of Dunlop attempted to cover, in three slender volumes, the ground traversed by the "laborieux compilateurs" of the Ancien Régime.

APPENDIX.

Eighteenth-Century Collections of Prose Fiction.

The English list has been compiled from Arber's reprint of the London Term Catalogues for 1700–1711, the catalogue of the British Museum, and the monthly lists of books in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Monthly Review*, and the *Critical Review*. For completeness I have included some works, such as the Medleys, in which fiction formed probably a small part. The French list, compiled from the catalogue of the British Museum, Querard's *La France Littéraire*, and Gay's *Bibliographie des livres relatifs à l'amour* etc., 3rd edit., Turin, 1871, is probably much less complete than the English list; there were doubtless many small publications which I have not traced. As a rule I have listed only the first eighteenth-century edition of each work, but when a Collection was enlarged to twice the original size, or more, I have listed the enlarged form separately. Works which are in the British Museum have the notation (Br. Mus.). I should be glad to receive corrections or additions to the lists.

ENGLISH COLLECTIONS.

1. 1700. A Collection of Pleasant Modern Novels. 2 vols., 8vo. Printed for R. Wellington. Price 5 shillings. (Brit. Mus.) (Contains: Vol. 1, The Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex. The Happy Slave; and The Double Cuckold [by G. de Brémond]. The Art of Pleasing in Conversation [Attrib. to Cardinal de Richelieu but really by Ortigue de Vaumoriere]. Vol. 2, The Heroine Musqueteer, or the Female Warrior, in four parts [By de Prechac]. Incognita, or

Love and Duty Reconciled, by Mr. Congreve. The Pilgrim, in four parts [First half of this by de Brémond, second half by Peter Bellon]).

2. 1700. Youth's pleasant Recreation, or merry Pastime. Containing delightful Stories and Novels : merry Jests, Sayings, and Tales ; the Original of the Word Cocknee, and throwing at Cocks : Bulls and blundering Discourses : Pindaric Odes on Love matters : short Epigrams and Satyrs : Banter, or sharp Repartees : Puns and Drollery : Riddles : witty Fables ; familiar Letters ; merry Dialogues ; Directions for training up Youth ; the Art and History of Love, etc. By L. C. Gent. 12mo. Printed for T. Ballard. (Term Cat. Easter.)
3. 1703. England's Jests refin'd and improv'd : with the addition of eight new Novels, never before printed ; and an excellent receipt to Cure Mad Love. With several new and diverting Letters and Answers, extremely comical and entertaining. The Third Edition. 12mo. Printed for E. Harris. (Term Cat. Hil. ; 1704, Mich. 4th ed., price 1 sh.).
4. 1703. Apollo's Feast, or Wit's Entertainment. Consisting of Pleasant Intrigues, Ingenious Poems, Witty Repartees, Merry Bulls, Old Tales, Novels and Prologues, and Epigrams, and Epilogues, Spoke and Writ by Tho. Haynes and Mr. Pinkeman, and others the most diverting Comoedians. All Collected from the most Ingenious of the Age ; and now published by the Author of the Pills to Purge Melancholy [i. e. T. D'Urfey.] Sold by H. Playford. (Term Cat. Hil.)
5. 1708. The Turkish Tales ; . . . with the History of the Sultanness of Persia and the viziers. . . . (Brit. Mus. Earlier known in English as the Seven Sages of Rome).
6. 1708. Arabian Nights Entertainments. Vol. VII, etc. (Term Cat. Easter and Trinity. This may be part of the first edition, of which, according to the Brit. Mus., the date is unknown. Brit. Mus. has the fourth edition. London, 12mo. Vols. 1-6, 1713-1715).
7. 1709. The Spanish Libertines. Containing I. The Life of the Country Jilt, giving, etc. II. The Town Bawd ; shewing, etc. III. The Life and Extravagant Actions of [Estevanillo] Gonzales, an Arch Villain. . . . Written by himself. To which is added, An Evening Adventure, a Play ; newly Translated from the Spanish [by Captain John Stevens]. Printed for J. How. 8vo. Price 1 sh. (Term Cat. Mich ; 1709, Easter. Brit. Mus.).
8. 1709. The Monthly Amusement. No. I, for April, 1709. Containing La Gitanilla, The Little Gipsie. A Novel . . . by . . . Cervantes. . . . (Term Cat. East.)

9. 1711. A Collection of Six New Delightful Novels. I. The Unlucky Fair One, Or, The Amours of Melistrate and Prazimene, illustrated with Variety of Chances of Fortune. In Two Novels. II. Three Ingenious Spanish Novels, viz. 1. The Loving Revenge, Or, Wit in a Woman 2. The Lucky Escape, Or, The Jilt Detected. 3. The Witty Extravagant, Or The Fortunate Lovers. 4. Cynthia, Or The Tragical Account of the Unfortunate Loves of Almerine and Desdemona. Printed for E. Tracy. (Term Cat. East.)
10. 1714. The Thousand and One Days, Persian Tales. Translated from the French by Mr. Ambrose Philips, etc. (Brit. Mus.)
11. 1722. A Select Collection of Novels. In Six Volumes. Written by the most Celebrated Authors in several Languages. Many of which never appear'd in English before; and all New Translated from the Original By Several Eminent Hands. London: Printed for J. Watts. 8vo. (Br. Mus. Other editions in 1729, and at various times later in the century. This Collection, edited by S. Croxall, was the chief English issue of the first half of the century, containing 26 translations, chiefly from the French and Spanish most of which had been published separately in England before 1700. There are 12 works translated from Cervantes and 2 each from Mme. de LaFayette, St. Réal, de Brémond, and Machiavelli).
12. 1732. A Select Collection of Novels. 2 vols. Printed for J. Brotherton. (Gent. Mag., Sept. This may be a re-issue of part of No. 11).
13. 1737. English Miscellanies, etc. (The dedication signed J. T.) 8vo. (Brit. Mus.)
14. 1737. The Ladies Miscellany: or travelling Adventures. No. 1. Price 1 sh. (Gent. Mag., Aug.)
15. 1743. Leisure Hours Amusement. In a Collection of 150 humorous and diverting Stories. Price 3 sh. Cooper. (Gent. Mag., Nov.)
16. 1743. A Select Collection of singular and interesting Histories, from the French. In 2 vols. 12mo. Price 6 sh. Millar. (Gent. Mag., Nov.)
17. 1744. Oriental tales, collected from an Arabian manuscript in the king of France's library. In 2 vols. with cuts. Price 5 sh. Cooper. (Gent. Mag., Dec. Ibid., 1749, May. Br. Mus., 1745. From the French of de Tubieres, Comte de Caylus.)
18. 1744. The Compendious library, or, companion for winter evenings. Vol. 2. Price 3 sh. Smith. (Gent. Mag., Nov.)
19. 1745. Polite Amusements, containing select histories, instructive and entertaining. Price 2 sh. 6d. (Gent. Mag., May.)

20. 1745. *The Merry Medley*. . . . Containing . . . stories . . . jokes . . . and . . . songs, etc. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
21. 1746. *The Penny Medley, or, Weekly Entertainer*, containing something to suit every one's taste and pocket. Being a choice collection of short and pleasant stories, etc. Nos. 1-12. London, 8vo. (Br. Mus. ; listed among the Periodical Publications).
22. 1746. *The General Entertainer : or a collection of near three hundred polite tales and fables, etc.* [Dedication signed A. F.] London, 8vo. (Br. Mus.)
23. 1746. *Novellas Espanolas ; or, moral and entertaining Novels*. Selected from the most celebrated authors. Printed for J. Chaney. Price 3 sh. (Gent. Mag., Nov., Dec.)
24. 1748. *The Agreeable Medley ; or, Universal Entertainer* (A collection of pieces in prose and verse). Malton, 8vo. (Brit. Mus.; Gent. Mag., 1753, Jan. 3 sh. Griffiths.)
25. 1749. *Instructive histories*. 2 vols., 12mo. Price 6 sh. (Gent. Mag., Nov.)
26. 1750. *Fairy tales*. 2 vols. 12mo. Price 5 sh. Davis. (Gent. Mag., March ; Brit. Mus. has, 1750 ? *Fairy Stories*, containing I. *The Blue-bird and Florina*. II. *The King of the Peacocks and the Princess Rosetta*. To which is added an excellent song entitled, *The Fairies dance*. [A chap-book.] Two editions: one at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8vo., and one at London, 12mo).
27. 1750. *Modern story-teller*. 6 sh. Mechell. (Gent. Mag., April. Cf. Ibid., 1751, Nov., *The Modern story-teller*. 2 vols. 12mo. 6 sh. Griffiths. Cf. Br. Mus., 1767, *The modern Story Teller, or Universal Entertainer ; being a collection of merry . . . and improving tales, etc.* 2 vols., London, 12mo.)
28. 1751. *Polite companion ; in two pocket volumes*. 6 sh. Baldwin. (Gent. Mag., Dec.; listed among the Novels.)
29. 1752. *The court of Queen Mab ; containing a select collection of only the best, most instructive, and entertaining tales of the fairies*. 12mo. 3 sh. Cooper. (Gent. Mag., Feb.)
30. 1752. *Leisure hour amusements for town and country*. Two pocket volumes. 6 sh. Dodsley. (Gent. Mag., Feb.)
31. 1753. *Forty select histories, etc., from the Spectators, etc.* 1 sh. Whitworth. (Gent. Mag., Aug.)
32. 1753. *The winter evening's companion, or compendious library*. A collection of instructive and entertaining relations. 3 vols. 9 sh. Rivington. (Gent. Mag., Oct.)
33. 1754. *A collection of novels*. No. I. 2 pence. Godfrey. (Gent. Mag., Aug.)
34. 1754. *A new translation of the Persian tales*. 3 sh. Owen. (Gent. Mag., Oct.) (Perhaps merely a re-issue of No. 10.)

35. 1758. A collection of novels, never before printed. 2 sh. 6d. Trye. (Gent. Mag., May; Monthly Rev., May, p. 498.)
36. 1758. The theatre of love; a collection of novels. 1 sh. Reeve. (Gent. Mag., Nov. Br. Mus., 1759, The theatre of love: a collection of novels, none of which was ever printed before. 12mo.)
37. 1758. The gentleman and lady of pleasure's amusements. 3 sh. Thrush. (Gent. Mag., Nov.)
38. 1759. The Amours of Cupid and Psyche, translated from the French of La Fontaine, by a Gentleman of Gray's Inn, to which is added the Adventures of Miranda and Lucinda. Plates. 2 vols. 12mo. (In Catalogue No. 126, November, 1904, of B. Dobell, London.)
39. 1760. The Narrative Companion, or Entertaining Moralist: Containing Choice of the most elegant, interesting, and improving Morals and Allegories, from the best English Writers, viz., the Spectator, Rambler, World, Adventurer, Connoisseur, etc., etc. 12mo. 2 vols. 6 sh. Becket. (Monthly Rev., March, p. 330; reprinted 1789, 12mo., pp. 324. 2 sh. Monthly Rev., 1789, Aug., p. 174.)
40. [1760?] Select Histories of Human Nature. I. Of Giants. II. Of Dwarfs. The whole collected from the best authors in various languages. With miscellaneous notes. London. 8vo. (Brit. Mus.)
41. 1760. The Soldier's Amusement. A Novel. By the Author of the Memoirs of —. 8vo. Price 1 sh. Marcus. (Monthly Rev., June Supplement, p. 549; "Some old Spanish stories revived. . . .")
42. 1762. The Country-Seat; or Summer Evening Entertainments. Translated from the French. 2 vols. 12mo. Price 5 sh. T. Lownds. (Br. Mus.; noticed in the Monthly Review, July; one of the pieces is from the German.)
43. 1762. The matrons. 2 sh. 6d. Dodsley. (Gent. Mag., Sept.; Monthly Rev., June Appendix, p. 509. "A compilation of six idle tales against women, viz.: 1. The Ephesian Matron, from Petronius. 2. The Chinese Matron: a tale from DuHalde. 3. The French Matron: a story contained in a letter from Sir George Etheredge to the Duke of Buckingham. 4. The British Matron: an abstract of a little volume published in 1755, entitled The Widow of the Woods. 5. The Turkish Matron: from a MSS. 6. The Roman Matron: from the old story book entitled The Seven wise men of Rome.")
44. 1764. Tales of the Genii; or, Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar. Trans. from the Persian manuscript by Sir C.

- Morrell (or rather, by James Ridley.) 2 vols. 8vo. (Br. Mus. has also editions of 1766, 1780, 1785, 1794.)
45. 1764. *The School of Virtue, or polite Novelist. Consisting of Novels, Tales, Fables, Allegories, etc., etc., moral and entertaining in Prose and Verse.* 12mo. 2 sh. Cooke. (Monthly Rev., Nov., p. 399.)
46. 1765. *The Instructive and Social Companion.* 12mo. 1 sh. Field. (Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 79; praised by reviewer.)
47. 1765. *The Novellist, or Tea-Table Miscellany; containing the select Novels of Dr. Croxall: with other polite Tales and Pieces of Modern Entertainment.* 12mo., 2 vols. 6 sh. Lownds. (Crit. Rev., Nov.; Monthly Rev., Dec. Besides part of No. 11 of this list, it contains stories from the Rambler, the Adventurer, etc.)
48. 1767. *The Entertaining Medley: being a collection of genuine anecdotes, delightful stories, etc.* London, 12mo. (Br. Mus.; 2d ed., London, 1767.)
49. 1767. *Great events from little causes; or, a selection of interesting and entertaining stories, drawn from the histories of different nations, . . . from the French of M. A. Richer. . . . Newberry.* (Gent. Mag., May; Monthly Rev., June, p. 481; "A useful miscellany for young readers.")
50. 1767. *The Instructive Novellist: a Collection of moral, entertaining, and improving Stories, on various Subjects, compiled from the best Authors.* 12mo. 1 sh. 6d. Noble. (Monthly Rev., July, p. 76.)
51. 1768. *The Companion for the Fire-side: or, Winter-evening's Amusements. . . .* 12mo. 3 sh. Cooke. (Monthly Rev., July, p. 83; Brit. Mus. has edit. of 1772, 12mo.)
52. 1768. *The Moral and Entertaining Story-teller: being a Collection of the most genuine and instructive Tales of the most approved authors, ancient and modern, calculated to promote Virtue in Youth, and render Vice hateful to it, by striking Examples of their several Consequences.* 12mo. 2 vols. 7 sh. Williams. (Monthly Rev., March, p. 243.)
53. 1769. *Novellas Espanolas: 7 moral and entertaining novels. Transl. from the original Spanish, by a Lady. Never before published in English or French. Price 2 sh. 6d.* (Listed among books published by F. Newberry, 1769, in *A Book-seller of the Last Century*; possibly a re-issue of No. 23.)
54. 1769. *The Ladies Miscellany; in two volumes: the whole calculated for the amusement and instruction of the British Fair.* 12mo. 5 sh. Lownds. (Gent. Mag., Oct.; Monthly Rev., Dec., p. 480.)

55. 1770. *Allegories and Visions for the Entertainment and Instruction of younger Minds, selected from the most eminent Authors.* 12mo. 3 sh. Pearch, etc. (Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 78.)
56. 1770. *The Amusing Instructor : or, Tales and Fables in Prose and Verse, for the Improvement of Youth. With useful and pleasant Remarks on different Branches of Science. Adorned with Cuts.* 12mo. 2 sh. Harris. (Monthly Rev., March, p. 255.)
57. 1770. *The Portrait of Human Life : or, the various Effects of Virtue and Vice delineated ; as they daily appear on the great Theatre of the World. In a Collection of interesting Novels.* 12mo. 2 vols., etc. (Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 71 ; reviewer praises, as containing nearly forty novels, well chosen, etc. ; Gent. Mag., April, gives price as 5 sh.)
58. 1771. *Sentimental Tales.* 2 vols. 12mo. 5 sh. (Gent. Mag., May ; Monthly Rev., April, p. 333. In Br. Mus. there is "Sentimental Tales, etc.," viz., *Harley's Visit to Bedlam* [from Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*], the *Military Mendicant* [by C. I. Pitt], etc. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1804, 12mo. This may be a re-issue, in one volume.)
59. 1771. *The British Moralist ; or, Young Gentleman and Lady's Polite Instructor. Being a new Collection of Novels, Tales, Fables, Visions, Dreams, Allegories ; selected from the most celebrated Moderns that have been published during the last ten years. To which are added, I. Rules for acquiring true Politeness. II. Parallels between ancient and modern Characters. III. A concise View of the British Constitution.* 12mo. 2 vols. 6 sh. Robinson and Roberts. (Listed, with some favor, in Monthly Rev., p. 499 ; "pieces from . . . Johnson, Hawkesworth, Sterne, Langhorne, Shenstone, Goldsmith, Brooke, etc.")
60. 1773. *A Companion in a Post-Chaise ; . . . containing a selection from . . . pieces in verse and prose, etc.* Salisbury. 8vo. (Br. Mus. ; Monthly Rev., 1774, Jan., gives price as 3 sh.)
61. 1774. *A companion for the summer-house, or amusement for the summer season ; consisting of select pieces by several hands, translated from the French.* 12mo. 2 sh. Grant. (Gent. Mag., June ; Br. Mus. same title, "with notes, etc., pp. 138, R. Snagg : London, n. d. [1800?], 12mo.")
62. 1774. *The winter medley ; or, amusement for the fire-side. Containing a curious collection of entertaining stories, interesting novels, remarkable tales, curious anecdotes, essays, allegories, visions and select pieces of poetry, etc.* 12mo. 2 sh. Snagg. Gent. Mag., Feb. ; Monthly Rev., April, p. 322 ; cf. No. 32 of this list.)

63. 1774-5. *The Fugitive Miscellany* : being a collection of such fugitive pieces, in prose and verse, as are not in any other collection. With many pieces never before published. [By J. Almon.] 2 pt. J. Almon : London. 8vo. (Br. Mus.; *Monthly Rev.*, July, p. 72, gives price, 3 sh.)
64. 1776. *New Idyls*. By Solomon Gessner. Translated by W. Hooper, M. D. With a Letter to Mr. Fustin on Landscape-Painting. And *The Two Friends of Bourbon*, a Moral Tale, by M. Diderot. Hooper and Robinson. (*Gent. Mag.*, Feb.)
65. 1777. *A Collection of Novels* selected and revised by Mrs. Griffith. 3 vols., London, 12mo. (Br. Mus.; Works by Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Aubin, Mrs. Haywood, and some translations.)
66. 1778. *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, selected from the Works of Marmontel, and other celebrated Authors. 12mo. 2 vols. 6 sh. Laidler. (*Monthly Rev.*, Nov., pp. 397, says "absurd mixture of French stories with English verses . . . from Shensstone and others. . .")
67. 1780. *Choix de Livres Français, à l'Usage de la Jeune Noblesse*, etc. Par Mr. LeJeune, Maître d'Arts dans l'Université de Paris. 8vo. 5 sh. Elmsley. (Br. Mus.; seems to be an English edition; *Crit. Rev.*, pp. 159-160, 1780, commends this selection of "the most celebrated romances, novels, etc.")
68. [1780?] *Moral Tales for Children*. [London?] 12mo. (Br. Mus.; imperfect, wanting title-page, etc.)
69. 1780. *A New Treasure of Knowledge and Entertainment*, being a translation of the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*. Vol. 1. London, 8vo. (Br. Mus.)
70. 1780. *A New and Complete Collection of Interesting Romances and Novels*. Translated from the French, by Mr. Porney, Teacher of the French Language at Richmond, Surrey. With Copper-Plate Prints. London. Sold by Alex. Hogg. 8vo. Pp. 392. (Probably the same work as No. 69, with different title-page; contains 13 works translated from the *Bibl. Univ. des Rom.*, 1775-1780. Alibone : *Dict. of Authors*, under Porney).
71. 1780-89. *The Novelist's Magazine*. Harrison and Co. : London, 23 vols., 8vo. (This work, not listed in the Br. Mus. cat., contains reprints of 58 of the principal works of fiction of the 18th century, 41 of them English, and only 2 earlier than the 18th century.)
72. 1782. *Literary Amusements ; or, Evening Entertainer*. By a Female Hand, etc. 2 vols. S. Price : Dublin. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
73. 1783. *A Collection of Tales and Essays on the most curious and amusing Subjects*. 8vo. Price 2 sh., 6d. Moore. (Noticed, unfavorably, in *Crit. Rev.*, Aug.)

74. 1785. *The New Entertaining Novelist*. Being a selection of stories from the most approved modern authors. Glasgow. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
75. 1785. *Original Tales, Histories, Essays and Translations*. By different hands. Edinburgh. 8vo. (Br. Mus.)
76. 1785. *Recueil Choisi de Traits Historiques et de Contes Moraux*, i. e., A select Collection of Historical Facts and Moral Tales; with the English rendering of the Words at the Bottom of each Page: for the Use of young People of both Sexes, who are learning the French Language. By N. Wanoostrecht. 12mo. 3 sh., 6d. Boosey. (Monthly Rev., June, p. 470.)
77. 1786. *Lane's Annual Novelist: A Collection of Moral Tales, Histories, and Adventures, selected from the Magazines, and other periodical Publications for the Year*. 12mo. 2 vols. 5 sh. Lane. (Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 82; Gent. Mag., April.)
78. 1786. *Tales, Romances, Apologues, Anecdotes and Novels*; humorous, satiric, entertaining, historical, tragical, and moral; from the French of the Abbe Blouchet, M. Bret, M. de la Place, M. Imbert, M. St. Lambert, and the Chevalier de Florian. 2 vols., 12mo. 6 sh. Robinson. (Noticed in Monthly Rev., vol. 75, p. 316.)
79. 1786-87. *The New Novelist's Magazine*; or, entertaining library of pleasing and instructive histories, adventures, tales, romances, and other agreeable and exemplary little novels. 2 vols. London. 8vo. (Br. Mus.)
80. 1787. *The Children's Miscellany*. 8vo. Price 3 sh. Stockdale. (Crit. Rev., Dec., p. 583; Monthly Rev., 1788, Aug., p. 173.)
81. 1787. *The Looking-Glass for the Mind*; or, intellectual Mirror. Being a Collection of Stories and Tales, chiefly translated from *L'Ami des Enfants*. 12mo. 2 sh. 6d. Newbery. (Monthly Rev., July, p. 80.)
82. [1788?] *The Children's Friend*; consisting of apt Tales, short Dialogues, and moral Dramas; all intended to engage Attention, cherish Fancy, Feeling, and inculcate Virtue, in the rising Generation. Translated by the Rev. Mark Anthony Meilan, from the French of M. Berquin. 16mo. 24 vols. 12 sh. Bew. (Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 71.)
83. 1788. *Favorite Tales*. Translated from the French. 12mo. Price 2 sh. 6d. Robinson. (Crit. Rev., Aug., p. 157).
84. 1788. *Fairy Tales*. Selected from the best authors. 2 vols. 12mo. Price 5 sh. Lane. (Crit. Rev., p. 157; Monthly Rev., June, p. 531.)
85. 1788. *The Friend of Youth*; being a Sequel to the *Children's Friend*; and, like that Work, consisting of apt Stories, entertaining

- Dialogues, and moral Dramas, etc. Partly translated from M. Berquin, and other French and German Writers, and partly original, being written by the Editor himself, the Rev. Mark Anthony Meilan. 12 vols. 12mo. 12 sh. Hookham. (Monthly Rev., Sept., p. 269.)
86. 1788. *Tales Entertaining and Sympathetic, inscribed to the Heart.* 2 vols. 12mo. Price 5 sh. Lane. (Crit. Rev., Sept., p. 255; "Collected from some old magazines.")
87. 1789. *The Blossoms of Morality.* Intended for the Amusement and Instruction of young Ladies and Gentlemen. By the Editor of the Looking-Glass of the Mind. 12mo. Pp. 212. 2 sh. Newbery. (Monthly Rev., Aug., p. 172.)
88. 1789. *Pleasing variety; consisting of a collection of original Tales, comic, sentimental, and interesting; to which are added two legendary Tales.* 12mo. 2 vols. Price 5 sh. Allen. (Crit. Rev., Jan., "Very dull"; Monthly Rev., 1791, March, p. 343.)
89. 1790-91. *The Companion; being a choice collection of the most admired pieces from the best authors, in prose and verse.* By a Society of Gentlemen. 3 vols. 8vo. Watson, Elder & Co.: Edinburgh. (Br. Mus.)
90. [1790?] *The Oriental Moralist, or the beauties of the Arabian Nights entertainment; translated from the original and accompanied with suitable reflections.* London. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
91. 1791. *Elegant Tales, Histories, and Epistles, of a moral tendency, etc.* By the author of *Woman: or, Historical Sketches of the Fair Sex.* 12mo. Price 4 sh. Kearsley. (Brit. Mus.; Crit. Rev., Jan. "Taken from old magazines, etc."; Monthly Rev., Jan., p. 93.)
92. 1791. *Popular Tales of the Germans.* Translated from the German. 2 vols. 12mo. Price 6 sh. Murray. (Gent. Mag., Dec.; Monthly Rev., Aug., p. 467; Crit. Rev., Sept.)
93. 1792. *Tales of a Parrot; done into English, from a Persian manuscript, etc.* 8vo. Price 4 sh. Robinson. (Crit. Rev., Nov.; Br. Mus. By Nakhshabi Ziyai, transl. by B. Gerraus.)
94. 1792. *Arabian Tales: or, a continuation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, etc.* Translated into English by R. Heron. 4 vols. 8vo. Price 10 sh. Robinson. (Crit. Rev., Nov.)
95. 1794. *A Collection of Miscellaneous Amusements; chiefly calculated for the Entertainment and Instruction of Youth.* Partly translated from the German, by the Author of *Instruction to Females, from Infancy to old Age.* Vol. i. 12mo. Pp. 120. Lowndes. (Monthly Rev., March, p. 354.)

96. 1794. *The Pleasing Companion* ; a collection of fairy tales, etc. Pp. 288. W. Lane : London. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
97. 1795-1807. *The Britannic Magazine*, or entertaining repository of heroic adventures. 12 vols. London. 8vo. (Br. Mus., listed among Period. Publ.)
98. 1796. *Varieties of Literature*. (A German Miscellany ; see Monthly Rev., 1796, April, p. 472.)
99. 1797. *The German Miscellany* ; consisting of Dramas, Dialogues, Tales, and Novels. Translated by A. Thomson. Author of a Poem on Whist, the Paradise of Taste, etc. 12mo. 3 sh. Perth : Morison ; sold in London by Vernor and Co. (Monthly Rev., March, p. 359.)
100. 1797. *The New Children's Friend* : or. Pleasing Incitements to Wisdom and Virtue, conveyed through the Medium of Anecdote, Tale, and Adventure ; calculated to entertain, fortify, and improve the juvenile Mind. Translated chiefly from the German. 12mo. Pp. 171. 1 sh. 6d. Vernor and Co. (Monthly Rev., 1798, May, p. 91 ; Gent. Mag., 1797, Dec.)
101. 1799. *Choice Tales for the instruction and amusement of young persons*. Pp. 177. Vernor & Hood : London. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
102. 1799. *Moral Amusements* ; or, a selection of tales, histories, and interesting anecdotes, intended to amuse and instruct young minds. 24mo. Pp. 175. Vernor and Hood. (Br. Mus. ; perhaps the same work as No. 101 of this list.)

FRENCH COLLECTIONS.

1. 1700. *Amours des dames illustres de notre siècle*. Cologne. J. LeBlanc. (First edition. Cologne. J. LeBlanc, 1680. Comprising the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* of Bussy-Rabutin and several other works. Many editions between 1680 and 1737, the later ones in two volumes. Br. Mus. has edition of 1680.)
2. 1701. *Les Illustres Aventurières, dans les cours des princes d'Italie, de France, d'Espagne et d'Angleterre*. Cologne. P. Marteau. 12mo. (Comprising : *Les Mémoires de Mme. La Duchesse de Mazarin* (attrib. variously to Hortense Mancini herself, to St. Réal and to others), and *Les Mémoires de Mme. La Princesse Marie Mancini, connétable de Colonne*, (attrib. to G. de Brémond.)
3. 1791. *Les Histoires tragiques de nostre temps, etc.* Lyon. 6 vols. 8vo. (By F. de Rosset ; first edition. Paris, 1619, 8vo. Br. Mus. has, among others, an edition of Rouen, 1700.)
4. 1704. *Les Mille et une Nuits, Contes Arabes, traduits en Français par M. Galland*. Paris. 12mo. 1708, 12 vols., 12mo. (Br. Mus. has 1714.)

5. 1707. *Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Visirs. Contes Turcs, traduites sur l'Original Turc de Chec-Zadé (par M. Antoine Galland).* Paris, 1707, and Amsterdam, 1708, 12 vols.
6. 1707. *Les funestes Effets de l'amour, et les désordres de cette passion.* Luxembourg. 2 parts. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
7. 1710. *Histoires Françaises, galantes et comiques.* Amsterdam. 12mo. (Lenglet-Dufresnoy : *L'Usage des Rom.*, 1734.)
8. 1710-12. *Les Mille et un Jours, Contes Persanes, traduits du persan en Français, par Pétis de la Croix.* Paris. 5 vols. 12mo. (See Querard.)
9. 1711. *Le Passe-Temps Agréable, ou Nouveaux Choix de Bon-Mots, de Pensées Ingenieuses, de Recontres [sic!] Plaisantes, et de quelques Nouvelles Histoires Galantes.* Rotterdam. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
- ✓ 10. 1711. *Amusemens des Dames, ou Recueil d'histoires galantes des meilleurs auteurs de ce siècle.* LaHaye. 2 parts. 12mo. (Re-issued, 1747, etc., enlarged to 8 vols. 18mo. For contents see Gay.)
11. 1711. *L'Amant oisif, contenant cinquante nouvelles espagnoles.* Bruxelles. 3 vols. 12mo. (Edited by Garouville. Br. Mus.)
- ✓ 12. 1714. *Aventures choisies, contenant L'Amour innocent persécuté; L'Esprit folet, ou le Silphe amoureux; Le Cœur volant, ou l'amant étourdi; et La Belle avanturière; par différents auteurs.* Paris. 12mo. (Several editions; enlarged to 6 vols., 1738. See Gay.)
- ✓ 13. 1718-23. *Histoires tragiques et galantes, etc.* 3 vols. Paris. 12mo. (For contents see Gay.) (Br. Mus.)
14. 1717. *Le Cabinet des Fées, contenant les Contes des Fées.* Amsterdam. 8 vols. 12mo. (Lenglet-Dufresnoy : *L'Usage des Romans*, 1734. Enlarged to 37 vols., 1785, etc. Br. Mus. has this edition.)
15. 1719. *Divers prodiges de l'amour, en quatorze contes par les meilleurs plumes d'Espagne.* IVieme edit. augmentée, 4to. (A translation of a Spanish collection by Isidore de Robles; Br. Mus. has editions of the original, 1692, 4to.; 1709, 4to., but not of French trans.)
16. 1722. *Nouveaux Contes à rire et aventures plaisantes, ou Recréations françaises.* Cologne. 2 vols. 8vo. (Br. Mus.)
17. 1724. *Contes et Fables indiennes de Bidpai et de Lockman, trad. (posth.) par d'Ant. Galland.* Paris. 2 vols. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
18. 1733-35. *La nouvelle Mer des Histoires.* Paris: Guillaume. 6 vols. 12mo. (Querard says edited by Ch. Guillaume, the bookseller.)
19. 1736. *Recueil de divers écrits sur l'Amour.* (Edited by H. Cordonnier de St. Hyacinthe. Paris. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)

20. 1738. Amusements agréables, ou Nouveau passe-temps à la mode pour la ville et la campagne ; ouvrage en prose et en vers, et mélange d'histoires curieuses. LaHaye. 12mo. (Gay.)
- ✓ 21. 1738. Aventures choisies etc. (Enlarged from edition of 1714.) 6 vols. 12mo. (See Gay.)
22. 1738. Nouvelles et Aventures choisies, de differens genres. Amsterdam. 2 vols. 12mo. Criticised in *Bibl. Univ. des Romans*, Avril, 1777.)
- ✓ 23. 1739. Les Étrennes de la Saint Jean. Troyes (Paris). 12mo. (By the Comte de Caylus, the Comte de Maurepas, Vadé, the Comtesse de Verrue, Montesquieu, Moncrif, Crébillon fils, Salle, la Chaussé, Duclos, d'Armenonville, Voisenon.) (Br. Mus.; see Gay.)
- ✓ 24. 1740. Amusemens des Dames, ou Recueil, etc. (Enlarged from edition of 1711.) LaHaye. 8 vols. 12mo. (See Gay.)
25. 1740. Amusemens du beau Sexe, ou Nouvelles histoires et aventures galantes. LaHaye. 7 vols. 12mo. (Br. Mus. Per. Publ.)
- ✓ 26. 1742-3. Amusemens de la Campagne, ou Récréations historiques, avec quelques anecdotes secrettes et galantes. Paris. 7 vols. 12mo. (Querard says it was edited by Vignacourt. See Gay.)
27. 1745. Quelques Aventures des Bals de bois. [Paris?] 12mo. (By the Comte de Caylus and the Abbé de Voisenon. Br. Mus.)
- ✓ 28. 1746. Recueil de romans historiques. Paris. 8 vols. 12mo. (Edited by Lenglet-Dufresnoy. Br. Mus.)
29. 1748-52. Bibliothèque choisie et amusante. 6 vols. Amsterdam. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
30. 1749. Bibliothèque de Campagne, ou amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur. (Edited by E. A. Philippe de Prétot.) Nouvelle édition . . . augmentée. (Lettre de Monsieur Huet . . . de l'origine des romans.) 18 vols. LaHaye, et à Genève. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
- ✓ 31. 1752. Recueil d'histoires intéressantes, amusantes et galantes. LaHaye : van Cleef. 12mo. (See Gay for contents ; nine short Nouvelles. Br. Mus.)
32. 1753-55. Bibliothèque amusante et instructive, contenant des anecdotes intéressantes et des histoires curieuses. Paris : Duchesne, 3 vols. 12mo. (Edited by J. P. Nicéron and F. J. Duport-Dutertre. Br. Mus.)
33. 1756. Amusemens de la Toilette : ou Recueil des faits les plus singuliers, tragiques, et comiques de l'amour, passés en Hollande-en Angleterre, et en France, etc. 2 vols. LaHaye. 12mo. (Br. Mus. Per. Publ.)
34. 1761. Romans traduits de l'anglais de Lytleton et Madame Behn : par Mme. d'Arconville. Amsterdam. 12mo. (Br. Mus., 8vo., 1761 ; trans. by Mme. Thieux d'Arconville.)

35. 1761. Supplément à la Bibliothèque de Campagne, ou amusemens de l'esprit et du cœur. 7 vols. Genève. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
36. 1769. Nouvelle Bibliothèque de Campagne, ou Choix d'Épisodes intéressans et curieux etc. 3 vols. Paris. 12mo. (Noticed in Monthly Rev., London, 1769, vol. 41, p. 558.)
37. 1770. Contes nouveaux et plaisans, par une société. Amsterdam (Montauban), 2 parts. 12mo. (Edited by Simeon Fagon ; tales by Vergier, Grécourt, Ferrand, Voltaire, Perrault, LaMonnoye, et Piron.) (See Querard.)
38. 1770. Mélanges de Littérature Orientale, traduits de différens manuscrits turcs, arabes, et persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi. 2 vols. Paris. 12mo. (Trans. by D. D. Cardonne. Br. Mus.)
39. 1770. Bibliothèque Bleue, entièrement refondée et augmentée. 4 vols. Paris. 12mo. and 8vo. (Edited by J. Castillon. See Querard.)
40. 1771-2. Mes Délassements, ou Recueil de Contes nouveaux et historiques, traduits de différentes langues. Paris : Pallot. 2 parts. 12mo. (Translator, or author, Laus de Boissy. See Querard.)
41. 1772. Bibliothèque d'un homme de goût, etc. Paris. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
42. 1775. Les Récréations de la Toilette. Histoires, anecdotes, aventures amusantes et intéressantes, etc. 2 vols. Paris. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
43. 1775-89. Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans. Paris, July, 1775, to June, 1789. 224 parts in 112 vols. 12mo. (Earlier volumes are marked as published "Chez Lacombe, Libraire, rue Christine ; près la rue Dauphine" ; later volumes merely : "Au Bureau." Br. Mus.)
44. 1777. Le Passe-Temps du Sexe. Pp. 235. Madrid [sic!]. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
45. 1777. Nouvelle Bibliothèque d'un homme de goût ; ou Tableau de la Littérature ancienne et moderne. 4 vols. Paris. 12mo. (Edited by L. Maieul Chandon. Br. Mus. ; 3rd edit. "augmentée," by N. T. LeMoyne Desessarts, etc. Paris. 1798-9. 8vo. Br. Mus.)
46. 1778. Récréations des Dames, propres à egayer l'esprit, ou Fleurs de Bons Mots, etc. Paris. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
47. 1779. Choix d'histoires, tirées de Bandel, Belleforest, de Boisteau, dit Launay et de plusieurs autres. 2 vols. Paris, 1779, 1783. 12mo. (Edit. by A. A. J. Feutry. See Querard.)
48. 1781. Nouveaux contes turcs et arabes, etc. Trad. de l'arabe et du turc. -2 vols. 12mo. (By J. M. Diglon, "Orientaliste." See Que.)
49. 1781. Bibliothèque amusante, ou Recueil de pièces diverses. Londres (Lyon) : Crowder et Ware. 2 vols. 8vo. (Edited by J. F.

de Los Rios; perhaps first printed at Lyon, 1766. (See Querard, or Gay.)

- ✓ 50. 1782seq. Bibliothèque amusante. Paris: Cazin. 89 vols. 18mo. (Reprints of best-known "Romans," mostly of 18th cent. and French, but containing some from 17th cent. and some from English, German, etc. See Gay, under "Bibliothèque," vol. 2.)
51. 1782. Voyage sentimental [by L. Sterne, trans. by J. P. Frénais], augmentée etc. de L'Histoire de deux folles très célèbres dans le monde. Nouvelle édition. 2 parts. Londres. 12mo. (Br. Mus.)
52. 1782-90. Collection de romans historiques, publiée par de La Borde. Paris: Didot l'aîné. 15 vols. 12mo. (Contains: Hist. secrète de la cour de Bourgogne, par Mlle. de La Force, 3 vols.; Hist. de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre, par Mlle. de La Force, 6 vols.; Le Prince de Condé, par Boursault, 2 vols.; Les Amours du grand Alcandre, 2 vols.; Bianca Capello, imité de l'allemand, 2 vols. (See Gay: Br. Mus.)
53. 1783-86. Le Décaméron anglais, ou Recueil des plus jolis Contes traduits de l'anglais. (Edited by Marie Wouters.) Londres, et Paris: Veuve Ballard et fils. 6 vols. 18mo. (See Quer.: Br. Mus.)
54. 1785seq. Le Cabinet des Fées. (This edition, much enlarged from earlier forms, [cf. No. 14-], contained works by some thirty French authors, mostly of the 18th century; it was edited by C. J. Mayer.) Amsterdam and Paris. 37 vols., 8vo. Illustr. by Montlier. (In 1788 enlarged to 41 vols.) (Br. Mus.)
55. 1785-97. Bibliothèque Universelle des Dames. 156 tom. Paris. 12mo. (Section V of this, filling 24 volumes, consisted of "Romans.") (Br. Mus.)
56. 1786-90. Bibliothèque choisie de contes nouveaux (en partie trad. de l'arabe et du persan par L. Langlés, de l'italien par E. T. Simon, etc.) Paris: Royez. 9 vols. 8vo. and 12mo. (See Querard, and Brunet: Manuel.)
57. 1787. Voyages Imaginaires, Songes, etc. Amsterdam. 36 vols. 8vo. (One of the most important Collections of the century; containing 74 works,—French, 52, foreign, 22; 48 of the eighteenth century, and 26 earlier. The Br. Mus. has edition of Paris, 1787-89, in 39 vols. 8vo.)
58. 1787. Les Folies sentimentales, ou l'Égarement de l'esprit par le cœur, contenant: La Folle par amour, ou Lucile et Lindamore [by Mich. Cubières de Palmézeaux]; La Folle de St. Joseph [by the Marquise de Grave]; et la Folle de Pont-Neuf [by a third author]. Paris: Royez. 2 vols. 12mo. (See Querard.)

- ✓ 59. 1787. *Bibliothèque anglaise ; ou Recueil d'histoires, contes moraux, romans, aventures, anecdotes et caricatures tirées des meilleurs auteurs anglais ; trad. en français.* (Edited by B. C. Gournay.) Paris. 4 vols. 12mo. See Querard.)
60. 1787-8. *Bibliothèque des Boudoirs, ou choix d'ouvrages rares et recherchés.* 4 vols. Paris. 18mo. (Edited by C. F. X. Mercier. See Gay.)
61. 1789. *Choix de petits romans de différents genres, par L. M. D. P.* Nouvelle édition, revue corrigée et augmentée. Londres, et Paris. 2 vols. 12mo. (By A. R. LeVoyer d'Argenson, Marquis de Paulmy ; a reprint of several condensations of romances in the *Bibl. Univ. des Romans*. (See Querard.)
62. 1791-2. *Romans de chevalerie (imités) par Tressan.* Paris. 5 vols. 18mo. (A reprint of condensations in the *Bibl. Univ. des Romans*, by La Vergne, Comte de Tressan. (See Gay : Br. Mus.)
63. 1797. *Bibliothèque des romans Grecs trad. en Français.* (Br. Mus. ; ed. by Guillaume, and Chardon de la Rossette.) Paris. 12 vols. 12mo.
64. 1798. *Recueil de contes et historiettes ; trad. libre de l'anglais et de l'italien.* (Edited by N. F. J. Boulenger.) Cologne. 2 vols. 8vo. (See Querard.)
65. 1798-1805. *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Romans, etc.* (A continuation of No. 43, by different editors.) 112 vols. Paris. 12mo. (For editors, etc. See Br. Mus. : Per. Publ.)

JOHN M. CLAPP.

III.—*EN ALLER À LA MOUTARDE.*

In *Romania* xxx (1901), p. 388, in his article *Villoniana*, M. Gaston Paris seeks to illumine some points suggested by M. Auguste Longnon's edition of the works of François Villon.¹ M. Longnon in his note to l. 1783 *Grand Testament* marks "Aller à la moutarde" as an "expression proverbiale." Of this summary treatment M. Paris ventures the opinion, "cela ne renseigne pas beaucoup le lecteur. Il était d'usage autrefois, au moment du repas, d'envoyer chercher de la moutarde fraîchement broyée; c'était généralement les enfants qui étaient chargés de cette commission, et il paraît qu'ils allaient d'habitude en bandes, et en chantant des chansons plaisantes sur les événements du jour. De là cette locution si fréquente au xv^{ème} et au xvi^{ème} siècle²: 'Les petits enfants en vont à la moutarde' pour dire un scandale dont tout le monde parle."

Here we have the point of departure for the study of this locution which has been so long before the philological public and of which the scholars have copied the interpretation one from the other in a round robin that has made wellnigh impossible the placing of responsibility.³ Did M. Paris merely conjecture or did he have authority for the

¹ *Oeuvres Complètes de François Villon* par Auguste Longnon,—Alphonse Lemerre, Paris, 1892.

² It will be noted that all of the examples are of the xvth or of the xvith century.

³ Wolfgang v. Wurzbach: "*Die Werke Maistre François Villon*": *Rom. Forsch.* 16 (1904), p. 539, note to l. 1783, makes this categorical statement: "Es war üblich vor der Mahlzeit die Kinder um Senf zu schicken, wobei diese Lieder über Ereignisse des Tages sangen (?). Daher kam der Ausdruck zu der Bedeutung allgemein bekannt, im Munde aller sein." The author cites Leroux, II, 147 and *Rom.*, xxx, 388 (G. Paris).

statement that it was the custom to send children out for mustard? Did they usually go in bands and, as they went, sing popular songs? Was he justified in calling the locution "fréquente?" And by what process of change did the locution come to have its present meaning,—“to become common property, general rumor”?

In the following pages I present a comparatively large collection of examples of this locution; I have marshalled much evidence, syntactical and social, in support of M. Paris' statement that it was indeed the custom in the xvth and xvith centuries to send the children out for mustard and that on the errand they sang popular songs; and I have sought to discover the source, and to trace the historical development of this locution from its literal to its figurative meaning.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

There are suggested etymologies of the word *moutarde* to the number of four, of which only one deserves very serious consideration.¹ It is that of Körting and Diez, and is found

¹ The other etymologies suggested are found in Larousse:

- (1) < Cymric *mostardd* = qui émet une forte odeur.
- (2) < Lat. *multum* + *ardens* (against which etymology the most potent argument is the frequency of the writings *mostard* and *moustard*).
- (3) < *moult tarde*, devise des ducs de Bourgogne,—Burgundy and especially Dijon, being famous for its mustard. Concerning this etymology, Furetière, *Dict. Universel*, s. v. *moutardier*, explains that, in 1382, when King Charles, accompanied by his uncle, Philip the Bald, Duke of Burgundy, was going against the Gantois, who were in rebellion, the town of Dijon raised 1000 men for his army. In return for this courtesy the Duke bestowed upon the city the right to use his coat-of-arms, bearing the device "*Moult me tarde*," which, written scroll-shaped, was read by the people *moult tarde*. This caused the troops and afterwards all Dijonnais to be called *moutardiers*—and not the fact that Dijon was famed for its mustard. However, Leroux de Lincy in his *Proverbes Français*, s. v. *Dijon*, con-

also in Littré; Lat. *mustum* > Fr. *moût*; Prov. and Cat. *most*; Span. and Ital. *mosto*; + suffix > Bourgig. *mostaza*; Prov. *mostarda*; Port. and Ital. *mostarda*. (Diez adds "weil es mit Most angebracht wird.")

II. SOURCE.

The earliest example yet brought to light of this locution is found in *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de Charles VI*, p. 641, col. 2, (l'an 1413): "En icelluy temps chantoient les petits enfans au soir, en allant au vin ou [à] la moutarde." Undoubtedly this statement is to be taken absolutely literally, and may well be what is referred to in the note of M. Paris (tho the reference is not given). The attention of the Bourgeois was struck by the singing of the little children as they came out for the wine and for the mustard for the evening meal.

This literal acceptance of this statement is supported by Leroux de Lincy,¹ who notes "Les enfans en vont à la moutarde" as a proverb of the xvth century, and adds: "Quant à ce proverbe, il rappelle l'usage encore assez ordinaire aujourd'hui parmi le peuple d'envoyer les enfans encore inutiles chercher les objets nécessaires au ménage. C'est ainsi que l'auteur du *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* dit en parlant d'une chanson populaire en 1413 'Item, en icelluy temps chantoient les petits enfans au soir en allant

siders this etymology "inventée à plaisir." He finds it noted in a book published at Rouen in 1640: Toineau Arbeau, *Bigarrures et Touches du Seigneur des Accords*. But in the *Dit de l'Apostole*, which dates from the end of the xiiith century, we find mention of the "moutarde de Dijon," which proves that the town already had a reputation for its mustard. "Il n'est ville se non Dijon, Il n'est moutarde que à Dijon" (Prov. de Jeh. Michelet, ms. xv^{ème} siècle). It is far more probable, then, that the successful industry suggested the device to the Dukes of Burgundy than *vice versa*.

¹ Leroux de Lincy, *Proverbes Français*, v. II, 203.

au vin ou à la moutarde, etc.'"¹ Of course in our own day the custom of thus utilizing the services of the little folk is still "assez ordinaire," not only in France but in the other countries of Europe and in America.²

In order to justify the acceptance of this locution in its literal sense it is necessary

(A) To establish the prevalence of the use of mustard in such quantities as to make necessary a daily errand in search of it.

(B) To justify syntactically the use of the phrase *aller à la moutarde* in the signification of *aller chercher de la moutarde*.

(C) To emphasize the extent of the custom of singing popular topical songs in the streets.

(A) *Prevalence of the Use of Mustard.*

The testimony that establishes beyond cavil the widespread use of the condiment is contained in an historical statement of the age of the mustard industry; in the fame of the town of Dijon, a fame based upon the enormity of its mustard industry; in historical references to the amount

¹ Wherever this passage is referred to, as by Littré, Leroux de Lincy, Nisard, du Bellay, *et al.*, the preposition is always inserted (repeated) before *la moutarde*.

² In the Bohemian settlement of New York, in the neighborhood of East 72nd St. and Avenue A, where women are for the most part the wage earners, it is a custom to have a sort of central kitchen for the neighborhood, where one woman superintends the cooking for the whole group of families. At meal-time the children come from all about, armed with granite-ware dishes piled one upon the other and carried by a handle. In these they carry back the family meal from this central kitchen. In Germany, it is customary to send children to fetch cooked foods from the restaurants. Cf., too, the vendors of *pommes frites* in the streets of French cities.

used, the regulation of its sale, the regulation of the Guild of Mustard Vendors ; and in various proverbs and literary references.

Larousse¹ tells us that the history of the use of mustard goes back very far. It was used by the Greeks and also by the Romans. In the IVth century, the Gauls used it prepared with honey, olive oil or vinegar. The use of mustard seems to have been very ancient among all Aryan peoples.

Dijon (Burgundy) has long been famous for its mustard.² That fame goes back to the Xth century, when the foundation of the wealth and repute that came to the city from this industry was laid.

Not only the importance of the industry speaks for the vast consumption of the condiment but also four definite historical statements of the amount consumed on certain occasions. Larousse makes the statement: "Lors des fêtes que le Duc de Bourgogne Eudes IV donna au roi Philippe de Valois 1336 à Rouen on consomma dans un seul jour 300 litres de moutarde." M. Henry Chabœuf³ is supporting authority for the truth of the above statement: "Le Moyen Age a aimé les cuisines incendiaires et les vins épicés . . . n'oublions pas non plus la glorieuse moutarde chère à Rabelais pour laquelle Dijon est en renom dès le XIII^{ème} siècle. En 1336 Eudes IV régale Philippe de Valois à Rouen et on en consomme un poinçon entier, ce qui suppose un formidable goinfre et de terribles beuveries." Larousse is also authority for the statement: "Le pape avignonnais Jean XXII raffolait de la moutarde : il en mettait dans tous les mets. Il créa pour un de ses neveux la charge de 'premier moutardier.' De là le dicton appliqué

¹ Larousse, *Dict. Univ. du XIX^{ème} siècle s. v. moutarde*.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 98, n. 1 (3).

³ Henri Chabœuf, *Dijon, Monuments et Souvenirs*, pp. 36 ff.

aux sots vaniteux de 'premier moutardier du pape,'"—a *dicton* still in common use.¹

The next valuable bit of evidence of the widespread consumption of mustard is contained in an *Essai de Statistique Parisienne du XIV^{ème} au XVI^{ème} siècle*,² where the author gives the average daily expenditure for a series of articles "les plus nécessaires," among them "Item, en saulce verte, cameline, moustarde, troys mille quatre cens frans ou environ."

Taking up, next, references to the regulation of the sale of mustard, we may cite Henri Chabœuf: "Des ordonnances du 10 août 1390 et de 1407 réglementent minutieusement la fabrication et la mise en vente, néanmoins si gros personnages qu'ils soient déjà, les moutardiers ne seront constitués en corporation qu'en 1634, et Louis XIV leur donnera pour armes—d'azur à un entonnoir d'or. . . . On vend la moutarde en boutique, mais on la crie aussi par les rues comme la sauce verte faite de blé vert écrasé, et en général tous les accessoires de la table; jusqu'à la Révolution on brouettera le vinaigre dans les rues de Paris. . . . (p. 60) Le Dijonnais assaisonne sa cuisine de la moutarde nationale, bien entendu."

In the time of Saint Louis, mustard was used in such quantities as to justify its being hawked about the streets. Larousse says: "A cette époque (sous Saint Louis) les vinaigriers avaient seuls le droit de fabriquer et de vendre de la moutarde. A cette époque les sauciers lorsque arrivait l'heure du dîner, portaient des sauces dans les maisons et couraient les rues de Paris, en criant 'Sauce à la moutarde! Sauce à l'ail! Sauce à la ciboule! Sauce au verjus! Sauce

¹ Cf. for example, Daudet, *Mule du Pape*.

² *Histoire Générale de Paris aux XIV^{ème} et XV^{ème} Siècles. Documents et Ecrits Originaux Recueillis et Edités par Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, Paris, 1867, p. 494.*

à la ravigote!’” M. Leroux de Lincy¹ contributes sentences relative to the organization of the “crieurs jurés de Paris, vers 1297,” among which are reckoned the mustard vendors. To have the right of manufacture and sale regulated by law speaks for the considerableness of the industry.

It is to be noted that these historical statements bear out the remark of the Bourgeois de Paris who mentions the time “au soir” which corresponds with “l’heure du dîner” as given by Larousse. Also, the *Journal d’un Bourgeois* says “au vin ou la moutarde,” which emphasizes the fact that the mustard was not sought at the wine-sellers, but may very well have been bought of the street-vendors, the push-cart peddlers, the “vinaigriers” or “sauciers.”

Under the heading of literary references and proverbs indicative of the widespread use of mustard we would cite *Le Mistère du Vieil Testament*:²

“Jetham :—Servirons nous point de moustarde
À ce disner, dy, Suffené?”

A dinner without mustard seems to have been quite as much a matter for astonishment as to-day in France a dinner without wine. Along the same line we have a proverb of Richelet (cf. Larousse):

“De trois choses Dieu vous garde
Du bœuf salé sans moutarde,
D’un valet qui se regarde,
D’une femme qui se tarde.”

Found in Larousse, too, is the proverb: “A Paris on sifflait la moutarde, à Rouen on la criait,” with the signification, “every land has its customs,” “when in Rome do as the Romans do.”

¹ Leroux de Lincy, *Histoire de l’Hôtel de Ville de Paris*. 2^{ème} partie, p. 134 ff.

² *Le Mistère du Vieil Testament*, II, p. 206, l. 13791.

Found in Léroux de Lincy's¹ collection of proverbs is this: "Il n'appartient pas à tout vinaigrier de faire de bonne moutarde," equivalent to our English "there are teachers and teachers." From the same source comes the proverb: "C'est s'y entendre à cela comme un rossignol à crier de la moutarde," equalling "not to understand the thing at all." These proverbial sayings bring out strongly the custom of the street-hawking of mustard, the whistling or crying of the vendors; and it seems superfluous to add that proverbial sayings would hardly have developed about an institution that was uncommon.

(B) *Aller à = aller chercher.*

To justify syntactically the use of the phrase *aller à la moutarde* as equivalent in meaning to *aller chercher de la moutarde*, we have but to call attention to the parallel use of the exactly similar phrases, *aller à l'eau*, *aller aux tripes*, *aller au vin*, *aller au pain*, *aller à la viande*, *aller aux cartes*.

"J'ay faim, si me vueil desjuner
Délivrez-vous, alez au vin!
Et vous, fille, tandis Aubin
Alez querre, si disnerons."

Anc. Théât. Frç., Mir. de Nostre Dame, p. 336.

"Et balent et tripent et saillent
Et vont à Saint Marcel as tripes."

Rom. de la Rose, 5035.²

¹ Léroux de Lincy, *Proverbes Français*, sec. XIII, p. 204.

² Apropos of this example and in view of the similarity of position of the two guilds, the tripe-vendors and the mustard-vendors, the following note is of interest, from Henri Chabœuf's *Dijon, Monuments et Souvenirs*, p. 39: "On est aussi plus sévère pour les tripiers, qui, établis à l'aise dans les maisons de l'ouest ouvrant par derrière sur le Guzon, faisaient librement de son cours le réceptacle de tous les déchets de leur industrie En 1667 Millote, 'l'antique majeur,' qui est voisin des tripiers,—son hôtel existe encore Rue Piron 27, et touche au Bourg par les derrières—obtint qu'il soit interdit aux tripiers de fondre les graisses et de brûler les cornes dans l'intérieur de la ville."

Littre s. v. *eau* says, "aller à l'eau chez un autre" = "empiéter sur ce qui est à lui," and gives one example from *La Fontaine, Pâté*, "N'allez point à l'eau chez un autre," equivalent to our "Do not draw water from another's well." In Normandy especially, and elsewhere in France, one still hears *aller à l'eau, s'en aller à l'eau*, with the distinct meaning of *aller chercher de l'eau*. For example, "Où est cette personne? Elle est allée à l'eau," does not mean that she has gone to the river to swim, or to pluck flowers along the bank, but to fetch water. Cf. *Bescherelle, Grd. Dict.*, p. 133, s. v. *aller*; "aller = se transporter dans un endroit pour se procurer q. ch.; p. ex., aller au bois, aller à l'eau, aller au pain, aller au vin."

Cf. *Jahrbuch*, VI, p. 171, l. 202 :

"Si m'en irai à le viande."

(C) *Popular Songs.*

We have small need to dwell at length upon the prevalence of popular songs or of the custom of street-singing in a country where it is still the order of the day, where no event of political, artistic, or scientific moment is not appropriated and made the subject of a *café-chantant* success. There would be no meaning to the term *chanson populaire* and no occasion for the large number of anthologies and explicative works upon this subject¹ if the singing of songs were not the custom of the French people and had not been from time immemorial. A cursory perusal of any of the works cited below is sufficient to bring out the large number

¹ Ch. Nisard, *Chansons Populaires*; Jeanroy, *Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*; G. Paris, *Les Chansons du xvème siècle. Soc. des Anciens Textes*, No. 1; Raynaud, *Bibliographie des Chansonniers Français*; Rainié, *Chansonnier du xviiième siècle*; Leroux de Lincy, *Chants Historiques Français*; et al.

of songs that have been made and become popular, builded upon historical happenings or political events of the day. The institution of the Jongleur, the singing minstrel, is at once evoked by this discussion of popular songs, and M. Gustave Masson's statement at the head of the Introduction to his work *La Lyre Française*, "If ever there was a singing race or people, it is certainly the French"—a statement called forth by the exclamation "Ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit, on le chante."

As far as the widespread use of popular songs in the xvth and xvith centuries is concerned, Leroux de Lincy¹ says, "Je suis loin cependant d'avoir pu réunir toutes les pièces du même genre composées à cette époque (xvi^{ème} siècle), chaque jour en voyant paraître; et ces chansons imprimées séparément ou dans des recueils étaient répandues avec profusion parmi le peuple, qui se plaisait à les répéter."

The particular song to which reference is made by the *Journal d'un Bourgeois* is a joyous ditty in praise of the popular idol the Duc de Bourgogne, and begins thus: "Duc de Bourgogne, Dieu te remaint en joye."² After the assassination of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of Burgundy and the latter's oppression of the Council of the King, and other acts of tyranny, the people turned against their popular idol. Indeed the *Bourgeois* goes on to relate that "des enfants apostés sans doute par les amis de Jean sans Peur, l'ayant un jour chantée (this song, *Duc de Bourgogne, Dieu te remaint en joye*) dans les rues de Paris, estoient fouillez en la boüe et nasvrez villaynement." In its stead, a new song to the fallen idol was on every child's lips; of it only the refrain

¹ Leroux de Lincy, *Recueil de Chants Historiques Français depuis le xii^{ème} jusqu'au xviii^{ème} siècle*. Paris, MDCCCXLII. Introduction.

² Cf. also Ch. Nisard, *Chansons Populaires*, Tome 1, p. 238, where the occurrence is detailed at some length in a quotation from the work, which is cited in the note under the rather misleading title, *Journal de Paris*.

has survived : “Votre cul a la toux, commère, Votre cul a la toux, la toux.”¹

III. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM THE LITERAL TO THE FIGURATIVE MEANING.

If, then, we accept the literal signification of this phrase as its source, there remains for us now to seek to discover the development and transfer of meaning from the literal to the figurative. This end can best be subserved by a chronological arrangement of the nine examples we have to offer. Such an arrangement of the material traces the transfer in meaning naturally, connectedly, and logically. The first example is of the year 1413, from *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, already cited, and, as we have tried to show, is to be taken absolutely in its literal signification. Next in point of time comes an example from François Villon (1431–1489), *Grand Testament* (written in 1461), Chant CLIII, l. 1776 ff. :

“Item, riens à Jaquet Cardon,
Car je n'ay riens pour lui d'honneste
Non pas que le geste habandon,
Sinon ceste bergeronnete :—
S'elle eust le chant ‘*Marionnette*’
Fait pour Marion la Peautarde,
Ou d'Ouvrez vostre huys, Guillemette
Elle allast bien à la moutarde.”²

¹ This song arose from an epidemic of a sort of *grippe* that raged in Paris at this time (1413).

² John Payne, *The Poems of Master François Villon of Paris done into English verse for the Villon Society*, London, MDCCCXCII, translates the stanza thus :—

“Item, Jacques Cardon naught of me
(For naught I had for him) shall get—
—Not that he'd throw away, perdie,
Except this roundel, if 'twere set
To some such tune as ‘*Marionnette*’

That is to say, this "bergeronnette" might have been sung by the children in the evening as they went out for mustard, and therefore become popular, had it had so catchy an air as the two songs mentioned. It is to be noted in this example that attention is called to two definite popular songs sung by the children and touching contemporary people; that the subject is not *les enfants*; that the example contains no genitive and that the verb is not in the present tense—all of which points support the idea that the phrase is here to be taken literally and had not yet become fixed in a proverbial sense.

The next example chronologically and logically is from *Rabelais*, II, 21 (date circa 1532): "Et en feut faicte une chanson dont les petits enfants alloient à la moutarde," where the literal signification, *a song sung by the children as they went for mustard*, stands out much more strongly than the figurative idea, *a song which everybody knew*.¹ The next example, still of the xvth century, emphasizes the literal signification, bears more upon the custom of singing popular songs at the mustard-vendors' than upon the spreading of popular news. It is from the edition by Ch. Fontaine of *le Quintil Censeur*, Paris, 1555. "En 1550,² le Quintil a repris contre du Bellay³ la théorie de Sibilet. Il s'écrie à propos des chansons railliées par Joachim, 'O, quelle rejection de choses si bien faites, et par telz auteurs que d'espris, de les nommer chansons vulgaires? Chansons, bien, vulgaires, non, comme seroit la tirelitenaine⁴ ou l'amy

Composed for Marion Slow-to-come
Or 'Hold your door open, Guillemette'
It might belike the vogue become."

¹ Note the genitive "dont."

² First Edition, of 1550, is by Bartolomi Aneau.

³ Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise* (1549), p. 214, note. (Ed. by Henri Chamard, chez Albert Fontemoing, Paris, 1904.)

⁴ Cf. also God., *Lex.*, v. 7, p. 727, s. v. *Tirelitenaine*, where wrong punctuation blinds the sense. Not given s. v. *mostarde*.

Baudichon,¹ car ce ne sont chansons desquelles on voise à la moutarde—et puis dire icelles ne mériter le nom de odes ou de vers lyriques?’’ It is certainly impossible to read out of this example anything more than the statement that these are not the sort of topical songs that are sung in the streets by the children going for the evening mustard.

The next example brings us past the middle of the xvith century and shows the locution already taking on its figurative meaning, and already assuming the fixed form that it was destined to preserve. In Charles de Ste. Marthe (1512–1555), *Poésie Française*, p. 33 :²

“Son meschant Cuers est assés evident
J’a les enfantz en vont à la moustarde.”

¹ Also *lamybaudichon* or *Gaudichon*. Cf. Langlois: *Notes et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibl. Frçe.*, v. XXXIII, p. 179, note 1 (pt. 2): “à propos d’un parchemin du xivème siècle. A la fin du volume, une main du xvème siècle a écrit

‘En mey Paris ait une chose
Qui en mey Paris est enclose
— Que celle chose osteroit
Par tout le monde pais seroit.’

Also :

‘Adont li respont le berger
Comment l’entendez vous?
L’Amin Gaudechon, plumez
Vostre cou, cou, cou, cous.’”

² The full context reads :

“A Monsieur Dolet
D’Un Détracteur, medisant de luy.
Si ce Baudet, ton scauoir tant peu prise,
Que cà & là, ton nom aille mordent,
Consideré sa tresfolle entreprise,
Ce n’est pas trop merueilleux accident.
Son meschant Cuers est assés evident
J’a les enfantz en vont à la moustarde.
Il cognoistra plus a plains, quoy qu’il tarde,
Qu’il a gagné prendre le frein aux dentz.
Mais à ce sot ce ne fault prendre garde
D’un sac ne sort, que ce qui est dedans.”

(Ch. de Ste. Marthe, *Poésie Française*, p. 33.)

The evil disposition of this Baudet is evident; for the little children are already singing of it, *i. e.*, it has become common property, everybody knows of it. Note that the subject of the verb is *les enfants*, that the genitive *en* is used, and that the verb is put in the present tense, the three distinctive features of this expression when used as a proverbial locution. It is noteworthy, too, that none of the examples given thus far have got into the lexicons,¹ probably for the very sufficient reason that they have been used in their habitual and literal sense.

We have progressed now to the end of the xvith and beginning of the xviiith centuries, where we come upon three examples of the locution which may be considered in a group; for not only are they of the same period in time, but they present the same grammatical form and are all used in the transferred, proverbial sense of the locution; they are likewise all three to be found in the lexicons of Godefroy or Littré. The first (year 1595) shows indubitably the proverbial sense well-established:

“Quand elles voyent que leur desbordement est venu en lumière, et (comme on dit) que *les petits enfants en vont à la moustarde*, alors font à la porte ouverte ce qu’elles faisoient auparavant en cachette.” (H. Estienne, *Tr. prep. à l’Apologie pour Hérodote*, xx, t. ii., Ch. xx, p. 477.)²

“Mais qui vous a dit qu’elle estoit accordée? Me le demandez-vous? *Les petits enfans en vont à la moustarde*.” (Tourneb., *Les contens*, II, 2.)²

There is no trace of the literal meaning here; the writer might have answered “Tout le monde le sait,” “La nouvelle est bruitée,” or made a similar prosaic response of the same portent. Quite in the same class falls the next example:

¹ Save *Quintil Censeur*, found in God., *Lex.*, however, s. v. *Tirelilenteine*, but not s. v. *mostarde*.

² Cf. God. *Lex.* (Complém.) s. v. *mostarde*.

“Mais on ne laissa pas de publier ceci par tout le pays, car mon compère ne fut pas secret, tellement que *les enfants en vont aujourd'hui à la moutarde.*” (Francion, *Liv. VIII*, p. 331.)¹ Here the custom of mustard-fetching by singing children is scarcely referred to, but the idea of the spreading of news, the publishing of it thruout the land, is emphasized. It is noteworthy that the first four examples (literal in sense) all contained definite reference to a song or to songs, whereas the last four (figurative in sense) have referred to the diffusion of some secret or some doubtful incident.

Our next example shows the locution still alive a century later, and wholly bereft of its original literal signification. It is from Dancourt (1661–1725), *le Charivari* (first represented in 1697), *Sc. XIV*: “Avec son mariage qu'elle dit qui sera secret, et *tout le monde en va à la moutarde.*”² The context shows clearly that this affair has been spread abroad, has become town-talk. It is to be noted that we have advanced from *les enfants* to *tout le monde* as the subject of the verb, removing the form of the locution one step from

¹ Cf. Littré, *Dict.*, s. v. *moutarde*.

² The play deals with the love affairs of M^{me} Loricat, a lady of some years and much wealth, who is about to espouse Thibaut, her gardener, a young and uncouth peasant. Thibaut enters, out of breath and angry:

“*Thib.*—Oh palsanguenne, oui, j'ai bien affaire de ça. Mais voyez un peu ces nigauts-là à qui ils en avont.

Mathurine.—Qu'est-ce que c'est donc, M. Thibaut, vous voilà biau de mauvaise humeur?

Thib.—Hé, ventregué, qui ne le seroit pas? N'an se gobargede moi dans tout le village et les petits enfants couront après moi: oh, dame!

Math.—Est-ce que vous leur avez fait queuque chose?

Thib.—Non, voirement, c'est notre Madame qui est cause de ça.

Math.—M^{me} Loricat?

Thib.—Avec son mariage qu'elle dit qui sera secret et tout le monde en va à la moutarde.

Math.—Eh biau, tant mieux pour vous, cela vous fait honneur.

Thib.—Queu peste d'honneur? ils se gaussont trestous de moi, vous dis-je.”

its origin but bringing it by so much nearer to its figurative signification.

Thus we have traced the complete development of this locution. As the popular songs sung by the children on their evening errand for mustard spread abroad the crying events of the day, so develops the expression, *en aller à la moutarde*, "to become generally known, common talk, public rumor."¹ It is noteworthy, finally, that we have no example of this locution prior to the xvth century; likewise we have no historic mention of the popularity of street singing until the xvth century; likewise it is in the xvth century that we find the mustard-vendors characterized as *gros personnages*, and regulations laid down for the hawking of their goods. In other words, this locution arises simultaneously with the growth of the mustard-industry and with the spread of popularity of street-singing.²

COLMAN DUDLEY FRANK.

¹ It is a well-known fact that the mustard-plant scatters its pollen far and wide, takes root easily, grows luxuriantly, and spreads rapidly. This fact no doubt aided the development of the figurative sense of this locution. Just so rumor flies, gossip spreads, and slander takes root.

² Attention should be called to the large number of locutions made on the word *moutarde*, most of which are of no concern for this study. Indeed, it is of the utmost importance to keep entirely separate and distinct two lines of meanings of the term. The signification unimportant for us can be indicated by the phrase *le baril de moutarde*, colloquial for *le derrière*, which suggests at once an idea entirely foreign to this study. Closely connected, however, are such locutions as the following: *moutard* = *enfant*, also *gamin*, the street waif. The question suggests itself, does not this appellation arise from the custom of the little children to go for mustard? *Envoyer à la moutarde* = to send about one's business—there, my child, go and get the mustard, don't bother me. *Et le reste en moutarde*, said of a man who cannot justify his accounts, equivalent to the college youth's bill for sundries. *S'amuser à la moutarde* = to waste time, probably lounging about the mustard-vendors' shops or carts. *S'en aller à la moutarde* is said of a man who has dropped in the social scale, fallen to the rabble, *gone to the dogs*. *S'en moutarder* likewise applies to people who sink in station, especially to those

who fall thru drinking. The modern dictionaries of French slang do not include this locution, at least not Billaudeau, *Recueil de Locutions*; Marcel Schwob, *Etude sur l'Argot Français*; Albert-Lévy et G. Pinet, *L'Argot de l'X*. Neither has it seemed possible to connect with the French locution the modern English slang phrase "all to the mustard," a symbol of unusual excellence.

It will be seen from the nature of the examples of the locution *en aller à la moutarde*, from the statements of the vast amount of mustard consumed in the Middle Ages, and from the etymology of Diez, that the mustard of the Middle Ages was quite a different product from that of to-day, altho it is a noteworthy fact that the modern condiment is used to a far greater extent in France than in any other modern country. The name of the mustard seed was Lat. *sinapsis* > germc. *sinap* > goth. *sinaps* > ger. *senf*, which maintained itself in German, while French developed a name from the mixing-fluid *mout* < Lat. *mustum*, and the condiment undoubtedly was in texture quite as fluid as *mout*, the new wine, which entered into its composition. Note in the example from *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, that the children go "au vin ou à la moutarde"; it is juxtaposed with wine; note that the amount of its consumption is measured by the hundreds of liters, and note further such allied locutions as *baveur comme un pot à moutarde* (Leroux de Lincy, *Prov. Franç.*, t. II, p. 303), "foaming as a wine-pot," a much stronger simile than foaming as a mustard-pot (which never has been known to foam); *et le reste en moutarde* is said of a man whose accounts do not reckon up exactly—the rest in drink; *il s'en est allé à la moutarde* is said of the man who frequents the dram-shops. All of these locutions point to a very liquid condiment. In strong support of this theory comes the Span. word *mostazo*, according to the *Dicc. de la Acad. Real.* = *mosto fuerte*, strong new wine.

IV.—SOME PHASES OF THE SUPERNATURAL IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.

There is a fascination in the attempt to define the supernatural, although one is aware of the etymological contradiction implied in the effort. The definition of the *Century Dictionary*, "that which is above or beyond the established course or laws of nature," does not help us much. This definition is best approached by drawing a distinction between the natural and the supernatural which may be epitomized by stating that the former is comprehended, the latter only apprehended. We know, for example, what Poe means when he speaks of the dual self in *William Wilson*, but we do not comprehend the methods by which that duality is to be brought about. In this lack of comprehension lies the attraction of the supernatural. It is one phase of the larger appeal of the romantic, which includes it; and it springs from that ever present demand for what is strange and new which is a part of the nature of man. It is of interest to note that in the nineteenth century, which has demanded an ever increasing exactitude in science, and in America, where commercial standards have always been definite, there has been developed to a remarkable degree a literature dealing with that which cannot be proved or understood.

Broadly speaking, this element has been present in American literature since the publication of Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* in 1684, if indeed that treatise can lay claim to the name of literature, which may be denied with great certitude to *The Day of Doom*, by his Puritan predecessor,

Michael Wigglesworth. But the works of both Increase and Cotton Mather, whose *Wonders of the Invisible World* is supernatural enough in all conscience in its theme, are so clearly the products of argumentative energy rather than of spiritual fancy that they may be disregarded in the survey. One is tempted to linger over Jonathan Edwards's musings upon the other world, but these are so definitely doctrinal or philosophic that they are also obviously beside our purpose.

As we draw nearer our own day, we come to Philip Freneau, who has been mentioned more than once as a forerunner of Poe; but his treatment of the supernatural in such poems as his *House of Night* is so crude and unconvincing that we may dismiss any suspicion of influence upon the later poet. Freneau was a poet at times; but his queer vision, in which Death is scolded vehemently for his sins by "a portly youth of comely countenance," leaves the reader in such mental confusion that one cannot regret that Freneau turned his attention to themes approaching more closely to reality.

The supernatural in American literature belongs, then, mainly to the nineteenth century, and is to be found in its most artistic form in the lyric, the romance, and the short story, though it has also been introduced into the epic and the drama. It began with the romances of Charles Brockden Brown, and it is significant that the works of the first professed man of letters in this country should contain studies of human beings under supernatural conditions. Brown may be said to have been, for America at least, the pioneer of realistic supernaturalism. His method of securing effects is to retail a series of minute facts or sentiments until the number and the logical sequence of them paralyse the reader's capacity for doubt.

In this he anticipates Poe's method, and in such scenes as the one in *Edgar Huntly*, where the hero finds himself at the bottom of a pit in the darkness, the effect of terror is secured by a series of negations in much the same way as that in which Poe handles similar material. Brown, however, has little direct influence upon Poe or Hawthorne, although the latter gave him a niche in company with Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Fielding in *The Hall of Fantasy*. Brown rarely deals with the spiritual side of the supernatural and it is really only in his treatment of the abnormal that he approaches the subject. The apparently supernatural voice in *Wieland* which, hovering over Clara, guards her from harm, and yet persuades her brother to murder, is explained by the ventriloquism of Carwin; the mystery surrounding Huntly's movements is accounted for by his sleepwalking. In this careful explanation of the mysterious he reminds us of Mrs. Radcliffe, but Brown was little affected in his treatment of the supernatural by the prevailing Gothic Romance in England. Much greater influence in another direction was exerted upon Brown by William Godwin, the author of *Caleb Williams*. The rhetorical effects of both authors are obtained by much the same methods, and the remarkable likeness of the character of Arthur Mervyn to that of Caleb Williams has never been pointed out, so far as the writer is aware. But it was not in his treatment of the supernatural that Brown was affected by Godwin. Brown's novels are thoroughly American in their material, and there is a sense of wildness, of remoteness, which is of great help in the establishment of a romantic atmosphere. The solitary walks of Huntly, the lonely mansion where Constantia Dudley meets Ormond in their death struggle, the entire setting of *Wieland*, are suggestive of the New World.

The supernatural lyric reaches the highest point in America in the work of Poe. Three phases of the supernatural are developed in his poems. We have, first, the description of the spirit world or the suggestion of relation between the spirit world and human beings, as in *Fairyland*, *Al Aaraaf*, *The Raven*, *Israfel*, *Annabel Lee*, *The Sleeper*, *Dreamland*, *For Annie*, and *The Bells*. Second, we find poems in which there is a denial of a natural law as, *The City in the Sea* or *The Valley of Unrest*. A third group includes the supernatural allegory of *The Haunted Palace* or *The Conqueror Worm*. It will be seen that the above list includes nearly all of his greatest poems, although the *To Helen* of 1831 remains without it. Poe's verse confines itself usually to four themes, pride, love, death, and beauty, and the supernatural lends itself well to these themes.

There is very little in Poe's verse of the degradation of the spiritual which is found in his prose. He is not of course always equally happy or significant; the moons in *Fairyland* which

"put out the starlight
With the breath from their pale faces,"

are pure extravaganza. There is not the fine touch of surety in these early poems which appears in those that make up the edition of 1845. In that year, the supernatural motive received one of its best treatments in verse in the revised version of *Israfel*.

"Yes, heaven is thine ; but this
Is a world of sweets and sour ;
Our flowers are merely—flowers,
And the shadow of thy perfect bliss
Is the sunshine of ours."

This is the supernatural in its delicate, suggestive phase.

The Raven, on the other hand, is a most powerful study of the effect of the supernatural upon the man who is predisposed by nature and by his surroundings to the reception of abnormal impressions. The scene is prepared by the tempest outside—the bird is chosen well, and the natural glides into the supernatural so easily that the transition is hardly perceptible. The ending of the poem is especially worthy of study, rising as it does through a climax of action in the 17th stanza:—

“ Be that word our sign of parting, bird or fiend ! ” I shrieked, upstarting—
 “ Get thee back into the tempest and the Night’s Plutonian shore !
 Leave no black plume as a token of that lie thy soul hath spoken !
 Leave my loneliness unbroken !—quit the bust above my door !
 Take thy beak from out my heart, and take thy form from off my door ! ”
 Quoth the Raven “ Nevermore.”

to a climax of feeling in the next and last stanza :

And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting
 On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door ;
 And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon’s that is dreaming,
 And the lamplight o’er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor ;
 And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
 Shall be lifted,—nevermore ! ”

It is to be noticed that in this poem there is nothing explained ; the only probable explanation is suggested and removed, and the result is an acquiescence in the supernatural as complete as may be. But even with regard to this poem, the word supernatural hardly satisfies us. Poe points not upward, but outward, away from life rather than above it. Abstraction is exchanged for abstraction, human sympathy for his creations there can be none, and the only reason, so far as his readers can see, why his creatures should not die, is that they have never been born.

Poe was not especially fond of allegory, though he wrote in it oftener than is usually stated; but he achieved a supreme result in *The Haunted Palace*, in which the ruin of a soul is portrayed under the guise of the destruction of a building. He also made a supreme failure in the same field in *The Conqueror Worm*, partly on account of the hideous conception, partly through his introduction of an explanation of the allegory in the last stanza.

Poe had a theory about the writing of poetry, and his theory led naturally to the treatment of supernatural themes. He believed that a poem should be short, unified, and should have a tinge of the grotesque about it. By grotesque, he meant abnormal, and abnormal remains the best word with which to describe Poe's poetry. There is no lift in it; no great living truth springs from our hearts, no fact of life rises from our memories, at its call,—it touches neither past nor future, but it is for those moments when all we want is the succession of glorious sounds; and if his range is narrow he carried that range to its supreme height.

In Poe's short stories the supernatural is treated frequently, though not relatively so frequently as in his poems. Of his sixty-eight short stories,¹ twenty-two deal with supernatural themes, and they are usually to be classed among his best works. In nearly all of them the effect tried for and secured is that of terror. A short story is best adapted to produce this effect, for terror is dependent upon apprehension and shock and therefore, strictly speaking, should not form the basis of a romance or novel. When it is used as the motive of a longer work, the shocks, in order not to fail in appeal, must rise con-

¹In making this analysis the "Virginia Edition" of Poe's works, edited by James A. Harrison, New York, 1902, was used.

stantly in their intensity, and consequently they tend to become more and more startling till the effect degenerates by reason of excessive improbability. Poe realized this, and in his longest prose tale, *The Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*, the supernatural is not made the basis of the story but is brought in at the end.

The three phases of the supernatural found in his poems are also represented in his short stories. The description of the spirit world and of the relations of human beings with it, are described in such stories as *Eleonora*, *The Colloquy of Monos and Una*, and *Shadow*; the denial of a natural law is developed in *Berenice* or *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*; *William Wilson*, *Metzengerstein*, *The Masque of the Red Death* are allegorical; and there are two phases of the supernatural not treated in the poems, first, the exaggeration of some natural law or process till it passes beyond the limits of reason, as in *Silence* or *The Tell-Tale Heart*, and, second, the abnormal connection between the seat of life and some external agency, as in *The Oval Portrait*.

Classification, of course, is useful chiefly as a means of calling attention to variety; and this classification can hardly lay claim to the quality of complete exclusiveness. In his short story work Poe used many and various methods. Generalizations, therefore, are dangerous, for often in the treatment of a single theme he is found to differ radically. *Eleonora* and *Berenice*, for example, both deal with sorrow at the death of a beautiful woman, the theme which Poe declared to be the supreme topic of art. The effect of the former is to produce the sensation of beauty of the most ethereal kind—the supernatural element is introduced by suggestion, the message from the spirit world comes like an immaterial sigh from the spirit of his

departed love. Delicacy, abstraction, atmosphere, are the notes most prominent. In *Berenice*, the sensation most definite is that of horror; the means are material, the supernatural element is brought in with a shock not only to the credulity, but also to the good taste of the reader.

For the explanation of this difference in treatment we must turn to a sentence in *Eleonora* itself:

“The question is not yet settled, whether much that is glorious, whether all that is profound—does not spring from disease of thought—from moods of mind exalted at the expense of the general intellect.”

When the mood is spiritual, as in *Eleonora*, the effect is artistic, when the mood is simply horrible and revolting, as in *Berenice*, the thought becomes diseased, and the intellect, being subverted to the mood, has no restraining influence. This accounts for the wildness, the undue emotional or moody emphasis in many of Poe's stories, as well as for those lapses from artistic sanity, such as *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*, where the supernatural is degraded and the art becomes almost mechanical.

The American who divides with Poe the supremacy in the treatment of the supernatural in English in the last century, is, in many ways, a decided contrast. In Hawthorne, there is no degradation of the supernatural, no forcible dragging of it over the line which separates it from the actual. Instead, that line is made impalpable, the reader is brought into an atmosphere of twilight in which all things may happen, natural or supernatural. Once he surrenders himself to this atmosphere, all else follows naturally enough. He is not constantly reminded by bizarre or grotesque effects that he is in another land—the great though invisible effort of Hawthorne is to make him forget, for a time, that intellectual surrender. The

world into which he has gone has laws of its own, and they are not violated,—with perhaps the single exception, in the *Scarlet Letter*, of the appearance of the symbol “A” in the sky. This is unlike Hawthorne and like Poe, for the laws of the undiscovered country in which Hawthorne rules are that no incident shall be introduced which could not be explained if the reader cared to lose the sense of the beautiful in the intellectual comfort of the prosaic.

Hawthorne takes plenty of time for his introduction. In *Old Esther Dudley* the possibly supernatural appearances in the old house at midnight are prepared for by the heroine’s custom of walking, late at night, to see that all is safe. In *Howe’s Masquerade*, the progress of the ghostly procession of the former governors of Massachusetts is eased by the fact that the guests at the fancy dress ball are already in the costume of bygone days. Poe rarely establishes the atmosphere so carefully as this, though he does so in one of his greatest short stories, *The Masque of the Red Death*. He usually plunges at once into the abnormal, as in *The Tell-Tale Heart* or *The Black Cat*. This abruptness comes, not from lack of art, of course, but from definite intention; for Poe, first among American short story writers, at least, chose to begin at the beginning. From the point of view of the structure of the short story, no criticism can be offered, but for the establishment of the supernatural, there is no doubt that time is needed.

Hawthorne evades the responsibility for the supernatural at times by introducing it as a tradition. One of the most interesting examples of this, which shows also his thorough knowledge of New England’s past, lies in an incident in *The House of the Seven Gables*. Colonel Pyncheon has been instrumental in having an old man,

Matthew Maule, persecuted as a wizard, and has taken some property which belonged to Maule. Maule curses him on the scaffold, prophesying that "God will give him blood to drink." Of the death of Colonel Pyncheon, Hawthorne writes:—

"There is a tradition, only worth alluding to as lending a tinge of superstitious awe to a scene perhaps gloomy enough without it, that a voice spoke loudly among the guests, the tones of which were like those of old Matthew Maule, the executed wizard,—“God hath given him blood to drink.”

Hawthorne derived this idea from Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, which was published in 1700, as a reply to Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*. At the trial of Sarah Good, one of those accused of witchcraft, Calef tells us, one of the magistrates, Noyes, urged her to confess, saying she was a witch. She replied:—

"You are a liar,—I am no more a witch than you are a wizard and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink."¹

The fact that one of the judges, Mr. Hathorne, was a direct ancestor of the novelist, makes the incident even more interesting. It is, however, only one of many which show the essentially native quality of Hawthorne's genius. He was the logical outcome of the Puritan's interest in the supernatural, and he could have been developed only in New England.

The supernatural is not Hawthorne's most frequent note, which is, of course, moral allegory. If we take as a basis for discussion his three most important collections of short stories, *Twice Told Tales*, *Mosses from an Old*

¹P. 219, ed. Boston, 1828.

Manse, and *The Snow Image and Other Twice Told Tales*, we find that only nineteen of the seventy-nine deal with supernatural themes. We find four of the five phases of the supernatural that were manifest in Poe; the contact with the spirit world is treated in *The Gray Champion* or *Howe's Masquerade*, the denial or reversal of a natural law is described in *Dr. Heidegger's Experiment*, the supernatural allegory is developed in *The Bosom Serpent* or *The Minister's Black Veil*, and the abnormal connection between the seat of life and some external agency appears in *The Birthmark* or *Rappaccini's Daughter*. The exaggeration of some natural law or process until it passes into the supernatural seems not to have been used by Hawthorne.

The supernatural tinges all of Hawthorne's longer works, including an interesting series of unfinished romances, which have at their bases, supernatural ideas. About the beginning of 1855, Hawthorne conceived the idea of an English romance,¹ based on the return of an American heir to an English estate. In August, he visited Smithell's Hall in Bolton le Moors, which boasted a legend concerning a bloody footstep, and from that time on, the idea of a bloody footstep upon the threshold of a hall, having some connection with the missing heir, becomes a part of the romance. In the first form in which the romance was outlined, to which the title of *The Ancestral Footstep* has been given, it is not clear just what the cause of the footstep is. Hawthorne at different times states different ideas he is going to work out,—for the romance is simply a collection of preparatory sketches,—

¹ See *English Note-Books*, "Riverside Edition" of Hawthorne's works, Vol. VII, p. 564; also G. P. Lathrop's Introduction to *The Ancestral Footstep*, Vol. XI, p. 434.

but the footstep is usually the result of a quarrel between two brothers who love the same woman. Sometimes the guilty party makes the footstep, sometimes the innocent one. Usually the second brother makes it, flees to America, and gives rise to the family from which the claimant descends. In *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, we have the almost complete form of a romance based on the same general idea—that of a claimant returning from America to the home of his ancestors. There is here also a bloody footstep—with varying explanations; one that it was made by a Saxon thane who fought against the Norman baron on his own threshold, one that it was made by a fugitive who was slain in the Wars of the Roses, one that it was made by a Protestant during Queen Mary's reign,¹ and again that it was made by a Puritan, who had trodden in the blood of King Charles and had been expelled by his family in consequence. In this story, we have introduced a second supernatural motive, that of the elixir of eternal life, which is the object of Dr. Grimshawe's experiment, but which remains definitely in the background.

In *Septimius Felton*, the main thread of the other stories becomes a hint. The romance of the bloody footstep becomes a legend told by one of the characters, Sibyl Dacy, of a scientist in England who had discovered the elixir of life and who needed the life of a being dear to him to give as a recompense to Nature for his life, which she is to spare. He kills a young girl, and his footstep is bloody as he carries her into the hall. The main theme becomes that of the drink which is to give immortal life, and in the moment of accomplishment the liquid is spilled by Sibyl Dacy to save Felton's life.

¹ This explanation was the one given by the owners of Smithell's Hall. See *English Note-Books*, "Riverside Edition," Vol. VII, p. 562.

In the *Dolliver Romance*, which was to have been the final form, and of which only three chapters exist, the bloody footstep and the American claimant shrink to a mere mention, the story of the elixir of life is everything and is carried on by totally different characters, an old apothecary and a little girl. Hawthorne's course in this series of romances is typical, for it is a progress from the theme which must be treated realistically to that which can be treated idealistically, and from a particular theme to a universal one.

A comparison between Poe and Hawthorne usually becomes a contrast. Both of them, however, realized well the necessity of mingling the appeal of the concrete with the appeal of the abstract, and while, as might have been expected, they make that appeal differently, the origin of their effort is the same. They knew that sensation is not necessary to belief, that even the possibility of a sensation is not necessary to a reader's belief in the creations of a literary artist. They also knew, however, that a belief in the possibility of at least the elements out of which a sensation is composed is a powerful adjunct to a writer's power of appeal. We dream of impossibilities often, but the impossibility always lies in the combination of elements of motion or of sensation, never in the elements themselves. We dream, let us say, that we are floating about three feet above the ground without visible means of propulsion. Now we often do move about three feet above the ground, but in real life something, a carriage or a car, propels us. What is wanting in the dream is one element; that is all. Perhaps it is this reality of the elements out of which they are composed that secures the belief in dreams while they last, and it is this state of mental belief that the artist of the supernatural strives to awaken in his reader.

This belief is not of course sufficient; there must also be elements of interest. One may believe in the possibility of the sensations in a story and yet may remain perfectly passive and irresponsive on account of one's lack of interest in the sensations. To vitalize the sensations, there must be present an emotion both in the writer and in the reader. This emotion may be conjured up in the reader by the memory of a sensation just as well as by the sensation itself, but in any case there must be something concrete for the emotion to center upon. That is why the figure of the pestilence in *The Masque of the Red Death* is so powerful, why the voices of the dead multitude in *Shadow* produce so great an effect, why even the teeth of *Berenice*, horrible as they are, fasten emotion to sensation and fix them both in the memory. It is this grip of the concrete also which accounts for the longing we have to know *what* is behind the *Minister's Black Veil*, which explains the hold that the mystery of *The Birthmark* has upon our sympathies, and which accounts in large measure for the appeal of the supreme creation of our native romance, *The Scarlet Letter*. Many and various are the thoughts it suggests, the sidelights it throws upon human nature, the ways in which it links the supernatural to the natural.

Hawthorne suggests delicately the effect the letter had upon Hester Prynne, upon Arthur Dimmesdale, and upon the people, and then in the following passage describes a dramatic relation between the sinner, the effect of the sin and the symbol of the sin, unsurpassed in English literature:—

“But that first object of which Pearl seemed to become aware was— shall we say it?—the scarlet letter on Hester's bosom! One day as her mother stooped over the cradle, the infant's eyes had been caught by the glimmering of the golden embroidery about the letter; and, putting up her little hand, she grasped at it, smiling, not doubtfully, but with a decided gleam

that gave her face the look of a much older child. Then, gasping for breath, did Hester Prynne clutch the fatal token, instinctively endeavoring to tear it away ; so infinite was the torture inflicted by the intelligent touch of Pearl's baby hand. Again, as if her mother's agonized gesture were meant only to make sport for her, did little Pearl look into her eyes and smile."¹

However akin Hawthorne and Poe were in their realization of the importance of a concrete symbol, the effect of their treatment of the supernatural must remain vastly different. Reading Hawthorne is like entering from the bright sunlight into a darkened house. The outlines of all things are softened, the relations of all things are obscured in the twilight, and if the sunlight does come through the blinds in scattered rays, it seems only to accentuate the general gloom. Reading Poe, on the other hand, is like descending through a trap door into a subterranean apartment, lighted by the flare of a dripping torch which throws grotesque shadows that melt weirdly into the unlighted corners. Everything is distorted, and the path that is left behind and the path still to be travelled are alike hidden in hopeless night.

In great contrast to its treatment in the lyric and the short story, has been the appearance of the supernatural in the epic. Its most noteworthy appearance was in *Hiawatha*, where Longfellow introduces it in the form of a legend, not apologizing for it by either word or attitude, but assuming its existence as part of the life of a primitive race. The ghosts introduced into *Hiawatha's* tent are visible at times, and at other times invisible. When they first appear,

"From their aspect and their garments,
Strangers seemed they in the village,"

¹ It is interesting to remember that yellow and red are colors which the child would have first noticed.

while at the end of their visit

“ Hiawatha heard a rustle
 As of garments trailing by him,
 Heard the curtain of the doorway
 Lifted by a hand he saw not,
 Felt the cold breath of the night air,
 For a moment saw the starlight,
 But he saw the ghosts no longer,
 Saw no more the wandering spirits
 From the kingdom of Ponemah,
 From the land of the Hereafter.”

The supernatural in *Hiawatha*, however, is nowhere brought into contact with reality; it remains one element in the figurative conception of the entire poem. It is not explained, because it does not ask belief, and it remains almost as objective and as much a matter of course as “ the fearful guest ” of the *Skeleton in Armor*, whose supernatural quality is forgotten almost as soon as the poem begins. Even where the supernatural is the warp and woof of the story, as in the *Ballad of Carmilhan*, the story is told by some one who assumes responsibility for the truth of the supernatural appearance. There the ghostly ship which draws the “ Valdemar ” to her ruin may have been an hallucination; it all rests upon the testimony of the sole survivor. In any case, the supernatural remains of the kind which is easily put on and off.

Longfellow’s most successful attempt at the treatment of supernatural themes is to be found in *The Mother’s Ghost*, a translation of a Danish ballad, it is true, but one in which he has caught the very spirit of the old English ballad. A man has married a second time, and his six children are badly treated by their stepmother. The stark simplicity of the ballad at its best rings in such lines as:—

"In the evening late they cried with cold ;
 The mother heard it under the mould.
 The woman heard it the earth below ;
 'To my little children I must go.'
 She standeth before the Lord of all ;
 'And may I go to my children small?' "

 "She girded up her sorrowful bones,
 And rifted the walls and the marble stones,

 As through the village she flitted by,
 The watch dogs howled aloud to the sky."

The supernatural element, too, is much more convincing than in the other poems of Longfellow. It remains of the same objective kind, but in this poem a great passion becomes personified in a supernatural appearance and waives belief as an unnecessary test. To those who can believe in a mother's love hovering over her children after death, the phenomenal appearance of the mother becomes a detail. The presence of the great emotion disarms our judgment, also, and takes the place of that element of terror which Poe used so frequently to suspend the action of our reasoning faculties. With the supernatural, our reasoning faculties have little to do. Therefore, when in his drama of *Giles Corey* Longfellow makes the whole play a controversy as to the existence of the supernatural, he destroys the illusion which is the life of the literary treatment of the other-world.

Poe's influence abroad, especially in France and England, was great. His influence in his own country was marked, and nowhere more so than in his immediate successor in the field of the short story, Fitz-James O'Brien. This talented Irishman, whose work was done on this side of the Atlantic, was definitely influenced, even to the extent of showing verbal similarities, by the work of his

predecessor. He developed, to a great extent, the pseudo-scientific supernaturalism of Poe in his most famous story, *The Diamond Lens*, and in his terrible *Wonder-smith*, but perhaps his most interesting supernatural study is his story of *What Was It?* It belongs to that phase of the supernatural in which there is a deliberate denial of some natural law. The method employed to produce the effect, which is attained by the failure of one or more of the senses to react when brought into contact with a phenomenon, is one frequently used in the establishment of the supernatural. The remarkable power of O'Brien's conception rests in his choice of the sense that is to fail to act.

The ghosts with which our literature is stocked usually fall into one group, those which can be seen but fail to appeal to any other sense. Their authors have probably reasoned that the effect of terror was greater on account of this lack of appeal. They failed to realize that the belief in the possibility of the appearance was weakened by the failure of each added sense to operate, and that the supernatural is most effective when all the senses may act, except one. O'Brien may have reasoned this out or he may have arrived at the result by the sheer force of genius, but in any case he has arrived at the result. In the story of *What Was It?* after preparing the way by a discussion of the most effective methods of producing terror, he tells of a mysterious something which drops on the chest of the hero while he is lying in bed awaiting sleep. After a frightful struggle, he subdues "the thing" and is horrified to find, after he turns on the light, that he can see nothing, although he holds his captor in his grasp. He can hear the rapid breathing and feel the writhing of the strange being, but to the eyes of the

inmates of the house, who have been awakened by his cries, he is holding nothing. He proves to them that he is not mistaken by dropping the creature on the bed, where it makes the impression of a small human being. The visitor finally dies of starvation, as no food can be found which it will eat.

The effectiveness of this story is truly remarkable. The methods are the methods of Poe, the opening sentences are strikingly like the beginning of *The Black Cat*, but the conception is O'Brien's. How it was used afterwards, in De Maupassant's *Le Horla*, has been pointed out by Professor Brander Matthews, but in unity of treatment and in realism of detail, the Irish-American surpasses the great Frenchman.

It would be interesting to trace other direct influences of Poe in American literature, but after all, his indirect influence was most important. He taught the lesson that the selection of romantic material combined with realistic treatment is surest of popular appeal; and while this method is not his only one, it is the method which has the greatest number of imitators. It is this method which secures our interest in F. Marion Crawford's powerful story of *The Upper Berth*, to mention only one of his supernatural studies. Here the ghost which forces its way into the stateroom seems to affect all the senses but that of hearing, and the terror is increased rather than diminished by the fact that the porthole must be opened for its passage.

Hawthorne founded no such definite school. His method was not so easy to imitate, for it is not easy even to define it, and others chiefly remind us of him on account of the refinement, of the atmospheric quality of their treatment of the supernatural. Certain stories of

Mr. Henry James in his earliest period, like *A Romance of Certain Old Clothes*, have a flavor of Hawthorne, but his later and most powerful story of the supernatural, *The Turn of the Screw*, is not like Hawthorne's work in the least.

With our modern story writers, however, it is only occasionally that the supernatural receives treatment. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, Mrs. Wharton, Mrs. Freeman, and others have achieved success in it in certain of their short stories; and Mrs. Wharton, at least, in her powerful story of *The Lady's Maid's Bell*, has proved that when a romantic theme is treated by an artist who deals usually with familiar life the descent into the easier regions is likely to be a success.

For, after all, we cannot claim for the supernatural the distinction of supreme difficulty. Its appeal is quick and, by the very nature of its domain, its laws even now are not strictly codified. In the hands of a great master, it satisfies the longing that springs from the dissatisfaction with daily duties and the hard, cold facts of life; in the hands of the hack, it covers a multitude of sins. Yet, though not the greatest phase of our native literature, it remains the one perhaps most apparent to foreign critics; for it so happened that the most intense and the most delicate of our literary artists, each in his own way, chose to lift it to a plane unmatched during their time in any country where English is spoken. Every phase of the supernatural in American literature is of interest mainly as leading to Poe and Hawthorne or as developing from them; for, so far as we are concerned, they have still said its last great word.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

V.—SPENSER'S "LOST" WORKS AND THEIR
PROBABLE RELATION TO HIS
FAERIE QUEENE.

The vexed problem of Spenser's missing works, incapable as it inevitably is of absolutely certain solution, has nevertheless been treated, in a recent article¹ by Mr. Philo M. Buck, Jr., with results that are interesting and on the whole satisfactory, though marked, as it seems at least to the present writer, by certain faults of method. Mr. Buck believes, as do various critics, that the greater number of the so-called lost works are to be found in Spenser's extant writings. He contends further that the poet, as a measure of political prudence, voluntarily suppressed them in 1580, only to draw them forth about 1591, when he was wrathful at royal neglect, and eager to level their satire at his enemy, Burghley; and most of them, Mr. Buck argues, were published in the *Complaints* (1591) and in the *Faerie Queene*. In our consideration of the article, after the inaccuracy of method has been noted, and certain minor phases of the argument have been questioned, it will remain for us to emphasize the probability of the main contention, and the wider significance it has for Spenser's method of composition, especially as regards the *Faerie Queene*.

Faults of method are unfortunately not far to seek. At the outset one may note that Mr. Buck, in regions already frequently explored, seems perhaps to adopt somewhat freely the tone of a discoverer, sometimes omitting mention of previous suggestions which anticipate his own.² His work

¹ *Spenser's Lost Poems*, Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., March, 1908.

² The theory of the incorporation of the missing works in later productions has been put forward by Craik, Child, Church, Hales, and others: several of the proposed identifications of separate poems call for mention

is, moreover, occasionally marred by inaccuracy in the treatment of facts, as well as in citation and even in quotation.¹

More serious, however, is his tendency (if one may be permitted to say so) to confound assumption with fact. Thus he insists (p. 86) that Ponsonby, in his preface to the *Complaints* (1591), would include among the works "disperst abroad" all those ascribed by E. K. or by the Harvey correspondence to Spenser, unless he (Ponsonby) definitely knew that they were to re-appear in the *Complaints* or in later publications; herein apparently disregarding the avowedly casual character² of Ponsonby's list, the "etc." with which it closes, its evident restriction to poems on the world's vanity, and, above all, the obvious possibility that the publisher either did not know, or failed to recall, all the unpublished works ascribed by various people to Spenser. Nor can one be justified in assuming that the early draft of

of earlier expressions of similar views; notably in the case of the *Epithalamion Thamesia*, as discussed by Craik (*Spenser and his Poetry*, ch. 1, pp. 28-9); Child (*Memoir of Spenser*, prefaced to the 1855 edition of Spenser, pp. xviii-xix); Towry (*A Note on Spenser's Twenty Lost Works. The Bibliographer*, vol. 1, April, 1882, p. 129); Hales (*Globe Edition*, p. xxvii), etc.

¹ *Inaccurate statement of fact*: cf. the assertion (p. 92) that "all of the other poems in the *Complaints*" (i. e. except the series of *Visions*) "are formally dedicated to ladies," which is easily disproved by a reference to *Virgil's Gnat and Ruines of Rome*; cf. also the inadequate summary (p. 87) of *F. Q.*, vi, vii, 32, by which citation he undoubtedly means to include stanzas 32-37. Cf. below.

Inaccurate citation: cf. the citation (p. 87) of Professor Cook's opinion, discussed below.

Inaccurate quotation: this consists in omissions or alterations of unimportant words, and a lack of uniformity in the adoption of archaic spellings; cf. for example the quotations from Harvey (p. 96) with the texts of this letter in the works of Spenser, *Globe Edition*, p. 710, *Cambridge Edition*, p. 773, and *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Grosart, Huth Library, vol. 1, p. 95.

² Cf. the expressions "as I heard" and "these fewe parcels"; the latter implies a considerable number of poems still "disperst abroad," of which he proceeds to enumerate a few.

the *Faerie Queene* was concerned, as the final production naturally could not be, with the idea of marriage between Gloriana (Elizabeth) and Arthur (Leicester), and that it consequently began with some such canto as the ninth of Book II, which Mr. Buck feels "was one of the passages that were submitted for Harvey's approval."¹ Instances equally indicative of Mr. Buck's general method might be multiplied. Certain inaccuracies of detail will be mentioned as they occur in the course of the arguments to be examined. We turn now to a consideration of Mr. Buck's theory.

The idea that Spenser embodied his earlier works in later publications is in itself reasonable enough, and is especially acceptable in view of what we can infer as to Spenser's habitual mode of composition.² There is, however, much less certainty as to Mr. Buck's special contention that the poet, for political reasons, temporarily suppressed these early works, and later, likewise for political reasons, drew them forth. There are no facts to support the assertion that most of the poems disappeared about 1580.³ In spite of the opportunity for publication offered by the summer months of that year, and by the probably available assistance of friends, it is entirely conceivable that Spenser may have allowed the new and practical interests connected with his Irish appointment to thrust into the background his intention to publish,⁴ and that he may finally have rested satisfied with manuscript circulation. Such a supposition is strengthened by the publisher's statement in the preface (1591) that certain "smale poemēs . . . were disperst abroad in sundrie hands, and not easie to bee come by, by himselfe (*i. e.* Spenser); some of them having bene diverslie imbeziled

P. 88.

² Cf. below.³ P. 81.

⁴ As suggested by Courthope, *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. III, ch. XI, *The Poetry of Spenser*, p. 259.

and purloined from him, since his departure over sea."¹ Ponsonby, at least, manifests no suspicion that Spenser voluntarily withdrew the poems, but rather some resentment against those who had "imbeziled" the poet's fame; and one feels here that the general correctness of the publisher's impression is more to be relied upon than is the completeness of the off-hand list subjoined. The probabilities, then, do not seem to favor the idea that Spenser chose to suppress the publications.

Even should we grant, however, that such was the poet's choice, a political motive is by no means proved. Other explanations are tenable, such as the discreet fear of "cloying . . . noble eares" and of seeming to write "for gaine and commoditie," which Mr. Dodge proposes;² or the young poet's disheartenment because of Harvey's lack of appreciation of the *Faerie Queene*³ and Harvey's suggestion that the *Nine Comedies* and the *Stemmata Dudleiana* would prove to be of more pleasure and profit if subjected to "one seuennights pollishing and trimming."⁴ One fears, moreover, that Mr. Buck in his enthusiasm for his theory has somewhat over-emphasized Spenser's fear of Burghley's displeasure as well as his excess of zeal for Leicester's cause.⁵ It is difficult, indeed, to find in certain of the poems supposedly suppressed, anything of a nature to offend the most sensitive opponent.⁶ A number of the missing works are identified by Mr. Buck with the early draft of the *Faerie Queene*, or with definite passages in the first three books, which were

¹ *Cambridge Edition*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

³ Noted in this connection by Courthope, *l. c.*, p. 259.

⁴ Harvey, *l. c.*, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Cf. pp. 82-86. The somewhat vague examples of mistaken zeal cited (p. 86) from the *Faerie Queene* are hardly convincing.

⁶ Notably in the *Epithalamion Thamesis* and the *Court of Cupid*.

published in 1590, immediately after Spenser's return from Ireland, and before the months of neglect which aroused his ire against the Lord Treasurer: these works at least were, then, "drawn forth" before 1591, the date at which Mr. Buck definitely fixes their reappearance.¹ Plausible and interesting as is the theory of voluntary suppression and later publication for political reasons, especially in application to the riddle of *Virgil's Gnat*,² it cannot be considered proved.

A complete estimate of the theory calls for a review of the different identifications which Mr. Buck accepts or suggests for the separate "lost" works. Certain ones may be set aside, in the opinion of the present writer, as untenable; among those which appear to be tenable are included all which range from possible to convincing. We shall be obliged, however, constantly to guard against our natural tendency to accept finally as facts what are merely oft-repeated and plausible conjectures, and we must recognize, with such conservative critics as Mr. Dodge, that the missing poems, if preserved, are probably transformed beyond the possibility of certain identification.³

¹ P. 81; cf. also p. 82. If Mr. Buck intends to limit the application of these statements to "most of the poems," he has not made that fact clear.

² The conservative student will, however, do well to "rest pleased with his owne insight," as Spenser himself bids, "always remembering that the poem is not an invention based upon the circumstances, but a mere paraphrase of the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*" (R. E. N. Dodge, *Cambridge Edition*, p. 79).

³ Cf. Dodge, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XII, p. 154; also *Cambridge Edition*, p. xiv.

I. UNTENABLE.

A. *Because of the fallacy of the evidence offered.*

1. The two sonnets attributed by Grosart to Breton,¹ but described by Mr. Buck (p. 89, note) as "at least good enough to have been from Spenser's pen," furnish in themselves the best argument against such a belief. Mr. Buck thinks that we may have in these two the dying swan sonnet and the *Dying Pelican*.² Because of the similarity of the

¹ Cf. *The Works of Nicholas Breton*, Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1879. (*Daffodils and Primroses*, p. 12 ff.). Grosart prints the sonnets as Breton's because they occur in the Cosens ms. (Add. ms. 34064) which contains, in the same hand as our sonnets, Breton's *Amoris Lachrimae* and his *Divinitie* and other poems undoubtedly by Breton. Though this ms. is a miscellany, containing some selections from Spenser (from *The Ruins of Time* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale*), yet the sonnets, from the standpoint of style, are far more likely to be Breton's than Spenser's; they are accepted as Breton's in the Catalogue of Addit. Mss., and are said by Mr. Sidney Lee (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* under Breton) to be "fairly attributable" to Breton. On the other hand, Mr. Buck's only justification for his supposition is that the ms. has a few selections from Spenser (which argument is inconclusive) and that Spenser is said to have written a sonnet referring to the dying swan, and a work on the *Dying Pelican*; both subjects are, however, literary commonplaces of the period. For the swan, cf.: Du Bellay, *L' Olive*, Sonnet 8; Desportes, *Diane*, Livre I, Sonnet 34, and the same sonnet translated by Lodge, *Phyllis*, Sonnet 38; Lodge, *ibid.*, Sonnet 10; Sir Philip Sidney (Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets*, vol. I, p. 113); Barnes, Canzon 3, Stanza 6 (Lee, *l. c.*, vol. I, p. 296); W. Smith, *Chloris*, Sonnet 14. As for the pelican, which I am confident is likewise conventional, I am unable to recall definite instances of its occurrence in this exact period, though it is found frequently enough in Middle English poetry. I note, however, in the catalogue of *Sloane MSS.* under Ms. 796, Art. 11, the following title of a poem, occurring in what is apparently a small collection of Spanish verse of the sixteenth century: *Pelicano & autres*. One may note in passing the similarity in style and in certain details between our two sonnets and Surrey's sonnet on Spring (Tottel's *Miscellany*, p. 4).

² Add to the contemporary references to the *Dying Pelican*, the following from Harvey's letter to Spenser, dated April 7, 1580: ". . . and tell thy dying Pellicane, and thy Dreames from me, I wil nowe leaue dreaming any longer of them, til with these eyes I see them forth indeede." (Harvey, *l. c.*, vol. I, p. 67.)

two, in form and content, only one need be here reprinted.¹

“The pretie Turtle dove, that with no little moane
 When she hathe lost her make, sitts moorninge all alone
 The Swanne that alwaies sings an houre before her deathe
 Whose deadlie gryves do give the grones that drawe awaie her breathe
 The Pellican that pecks the blud out of her brest
 And by her deathe doth onlie feed her younge ones in the nest
 The harte emparked cloase : within a plott of grounde
 Who dare not overlook the pale fer feare of hunters hounde
 The hounde in kennell tyed that heares the chase goe by
 And bootles wishing foote abroad, in vaine doth howle and crye
 The tree with withered top, that hath his braunches deade
 and hangeth downe his highest bowes, while other hould upp heade
 Endure not half the deathe, the sorrowe nor disgrace
 that my poore wretched mind abids, where none can waile my case.”

B. *Because of the purely conjectural character of the evidence offered.*

1. The theory that the *English Poet* was used in Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* has no foundation in fact; Mr. Buck's citation (p. 87) of Professor Cook's edition of the *Defense* as expressing this opinion, is quite unwarranted, based as it evidently is on the editor's thoroughly conservative assertion: "Since we know nothing of the contents of Spenser's work, this surmise is incapable of confirmation, and the question thus raised must for ever remain indeterminable."²

2. The identification of the *Nine English Comedies* with the non-dramatic *Tears of the Muses* is hardly less, conjectural.³ To Mr. Buck's arguments one may rejoin that

¹ From the article on *Add. MS. 34064*, by Mr. Buck, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, February, 1907. The two sonnets here are treated as separate pieces; apparently, however, they constitute a single poem, the second serving as a second stanza and applying to the poet's experience the symbolism of the first. Grosart evidently takes them as forming one poem.

² *The Defense of Poesy*, Ed. Cook, p. xxxviii.

³ It is noteworthy that so reliable a critic as Mr. Dodge considers them as actual dramas, of which we now know nothing: *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xii, pp. 166-177; *Cambridge Edition*, p. xiv.

Ponsonby's failure to mention the comedies is not necessarily significant, and that Harvey may have referred to them as a single work because they comprised a single series, the parts being named for the Muses just as were the nine books of the *History* of Herodotus, which Harvey cites. Moreover, Harvey compares the *Comedies* and the *Faerie Queene* not on the basis of content, but on that of the time taken for their production and their degree of success; he seems, indeed, to set the comedies of Ariosto and Spenser in one class, distinctly differentiated from the epics of the same two poets;¹ and it is hardly reasonable, inasmuch as Ariosto wrote actual comedies, to interpret the term here in its broad sense of non-dramatic poems. Moreover, when Harvey in another letter mentions Aretino and Bibbiena together, he is undoubtedly referring to comedy proper.²

¹ "And then againe, I imagine your *Magnificenza*, will holde vs in suspense as long for your nine Englishe *Commoedies*, and your Latine *Stemmata Dudleiana*." Harvey, *l. c.*, p. 67. (Here the assumption that *Magnificenza* is an equivalent of the *Faerie Queene* is in all probability justified.)

"If so be the *Faerye Queene* be fairer in your eie than the *Nine Muses*." *Ibid.*, p. 95.

"I am voyde of al iudgement if your *Nine Comoedies*, . . . come not neerer *Ariosto's Comoedies*, eyther for the finenesse of plausible Elocution, or the rarenesse of Poetical Inuention, then that *Eluish Queene* doth to his *Orlando Furioso*." *Ibid.*, p. 95.

² Harvey, *l. c.*, p. 125. In the letter "to his very unfrendly frende" (Spenser), dated in the summer of 1579, Harvey writes as follows: "And canst thou tell me nowe . . . what a wonderfull and exceeding displeasure thou and thy prynter have wroughte me, . . . in thrustinge me thus on the stage to make tryall of my extemporall faculty, and to play Wylsons or Tarletons parte. I suppose thou wilt go nighe hande shortelye to sende my lorde 'of Lycsters, or my lorde of Warwicks,' Vawsis, or my lord Ritches players, or sum other freshe starteupp comedanties unto me for sum newe devised interlude, or sum mallconceivid comedye fit for the Theater, or sum other paintid stage whereat thou and thy lively copesmates in London maye lawghe ther mouthes and bellies full for pence or twoepence apeece? By cause peradventure thou imaginest Unico Aretino and the pleasurable Cardinall Bibiena, that way esspecially attraynid to be so singularly famous."

Even granted that Bembo, who is casually mentioned in a parenthesis, wrote no comedies,¹ the marshalling of "Aristophanes and Menander in Greek," and "Plautus and Terence in Latin"² is in itself very strongly suggestive of comedy proper. The terms *dyscoursing*, *elocution*, *invention*, *witte*, though of course used often in connection with other kinds of poetry, and perhaps most often by the critics of that time in connection with the epic, are not in any way inapplicable to the drama. Such arguments, though they cannot disprove Mr. Buck's theory, emphasize the futility of seeking a definite conclusion where the evidence is so vague and so contradictory.³

II. TENABLE.

A. *Identifications which do not concern the Faerie Queene.*

1. The *Stemmata Dudleiana* may very possibly be found, in translated and revised form, in the *Ruins of Time*, the most important part of which, as Spenser points out in his dedicatory remarks, deals with the fortunes of the Dudley family. Though nothing in the way of direct proof is at hand, there is a fair probability in favor of this identification.

2. The *Dreams*⁴ (perhaps synonymous with *My Slumber*

¹ It is of course conceivable that Harvey knew of comedies by Bembo, which are not known today, especially since Bembo lived at courts which were devoted to the production of comedies.

² Harvey, *l. c.*, p. 95.

³ Two other purely conjectural cases, which Mr. Buck himself puts forward with hesitation, may be added: (a) the incorporation of material from the *Stemmata Dudleiana* in Sidney's defence of Leicester, cf. p. 95; (b) the possible identification of *Dreams* with *A View of Vanity*, anonymous, licensed in 1582; this is added (p. 94) as a mere curiosity.

⁴ Add to the contemporary references to *Dreams* that already quoted from Harvey's letter, dated April 7, 1580.

and *A Sennight's Slumber*) may well have been the earlier form of some or all of the present *Vision* poems in the *Complaints*, or at least of a similar series of visions, although here, too, in the absence of actual proof, the wiser course is to refrain from a more definite decision. One may add that the coincidences noted¹ by Mr. Buck cannot rank as conclusive evidence; the attempt to identify the "nectar and ambrosia" passage in the *Dreams* with the lines on the water of life and the tree of life in the *Theatre for Worldlings* is rendered especially futile by the fact that we are here dealing with a poetic convention very frequent in Spenser.² On the other hand, one might urge as circumstantial evidence in favor of the identification of the *Visions of Bellay* with part or all of the *Dreams*, the coincidence that Bellay's French version bears the title *Songe ou Vision*.³

3. *The Hell of Lovers*, his *Purgatorie*, is very satisfactorily identified with the *Hymn in Honour of Love*; several other passages might be added to Mr. Buck's quotations, notably lines 176-196, which expand the theme that love

". . . the refyned mynd doth newly fashion
Unto a fairer forme,"

as also lines 236-237, and 273. The assumption that the

¹ Cf. pp. 92-94. Mr. Buck here mentions (p. 93) as *Visions of Bellay* the four Revelation sonnets of the *Theatre*, which are by Van der Noot himself; cf. Dodge, *Cambridge Edition*, p. 764; Hales, *Globe Edition*, pp. 699-701.

² Cf. *The Ruins of Time*, ll. 398-399, which might possibly be the very lines to which E. K. refers, if we accept the possibility that the poem is a revision of earlier work, and consider these lines as relating to the death of muses' favorites in general. Cf. also: *Amoretti*, Sonnet 39; *An Hymne in Honour of Love*, ll. 25-26; *ibid*, l. 282; *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, l. 249; *F. Q.*, iv, xi, 46, etc.

³ In the discussion of *Dreams* (cf. p. 91) as elsewhere (cf. p. 97, note, and p. 87, on the *Court of Cupid*) Mr. Buck does not represent with absolute fairness the views of Mr. Towry, from whom he differs.

title, as it is here reprinted from Ponsonby's list,¹ refers to a single work, seems fairly well justified by the pronoun *his*; inasmuch as this possessive precedes none of the other works of Spenser in the same list it presumably has here as antecedent not Spenser, but *Lovers*.²

B. *Identifications which concern the Faerie Queene.*

1. It is fairly easy to accept the idea of the identity of the *Legends* with the early draft of the epic, or at least to suppose that such legends, though originally comprising a separate collection, were finally embodied in the poet's masterpiece.

2. The identification of the *Pageants* with the early form of the *Faerie Queene* is not improbable, and would be almost certainly established on the basis of the line quoted by E. K. ("An hundred Graces on her eye-ledde sate"),³ did not the expression prove to be an Elizabethan convention not infrequent in Spenser.⁴ As Mr. Buck notes, however, the case is complicated by the fact that in *The Ruins of Time*,⁵ Spenser describes the sonnets of that poem as "tragicke pageants."

¹ *Cambridge Edition*, p. 57.

² Though the plural, *Lovers*, as antecedent of *his*, offers an obvious difficulty, allowance must be made for the apparently off-hand character of this list, as well as for the habitual inaccuracy of the Elizabethans in their quotations of titles. Mr. Dodge, however (*Cambridge Edition*, p. xiv), mentions *Purgatory* as a separate title; likewise Mr. Towry and also Mr. Lee and Mr. Hales (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Spenser).

³ Cf. *F. Q.*, II, iii, 25: "Upon her eyelids many Graces sate."

⁴ Cf. *Amoretti*, Sonnet 40. I note that Mr. Towry refers (*l. c.*, p. 129) in this connection to this sonnet, as also to the *Hymn of Beauty*, 223, which reference I believe should read: *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, ll. 253-256. For occurrences of the idea in other writers of the period, cf. Drayton's *Idea*, Sonnet 4; Barnes, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, Sonnet 71; Desportes, *Cleonice*, Sonnet 3. Mr. Towry adds that the idea is borrowed by Giles Fletcher.

⁵ L. 490.

3. The translation of the first Moschus Idyl, *Love a Runaway*, is very probably preserved in the *Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto vi, where Venus searches for her truant son. Though this is, in reality, as Mr. Buck admits, a very free expansion of the theme, it may lay claim to the title "translation" as used in its comprehensive Elizabethan sense. Mr. Buck's vaguely implied identification (p. 94) of the *First Eidillion*, printed among the works of Barnes, with Spenser's translation, is hardly justified, because there seems to be no ground for doubting Barnes's authorship. Arber prints the poem, and Mr. Sidney Lee reprints it, without question as his work; Mr. Lee, moreover, as well as Mr. Upham,¹ elsewhere definitely ascribes it to Barnes. I do not find it set down as anonymous, or ascribed to any other poet, in any of the Elizabethan collections. Certainly the style presents nothing distinctly Spenserian.

4. The theory that the *Court of Cupid* is embodied in the epic recommends itself very strongly. We must refrain, however, from seeking to determine in exactly what passage it may be found, especially since a wealth of possibilities is at hand. Mr. Buck brings together from the *Faerie Queene* three possible equivalents,² of which none is absolutely unsuitable; but to the writer the least acceptable seems to be the *Temple of Venus*, which Mr. Buck considers probable.

¹ Arber, *An English Garner*, vol. v, p. 438; Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan Sonnets*, vol. i, p. 268, and Introd., pp. lxxvi and lxxviii; A. H. Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, p. 134.

² The *Masque of Cupid*, F. Q., III, xi-xii; the *Temple of Venus*, F. Q., IV, x; the *Court of Cupid*, F. Q., VI, vii, 32-37. Mr. Dodge (*Cambridge Edition*, p. xiv) says that the title *Court of Cupid* suggests F. Q., VI, viii, 19 ff.; this passage however contains merely a second and comparatively indefinite allusion to the court scene already explicitly depicted in VI, vii, 32-37. One suspects that Mr. Buck's inaccurate summary of the passage in canto vii arises from his confusion of it with this one in canto viii, which was evidently in Mr. Towry's mind, though his citation reads F. Q., VI, vii, 22.

This passage is not at all concerned with Cupid, mentioning him indeed but once, and then to note his absence ;¹ thus it could hardly be designated as the *Court of Cupid*, unless we allow here for a latitude even more than Elizabethan, in the citation of titles. The *Court of Cupid* stanzas from Book VI, on the other hand, seem suitable in spite of Mr. Buck's objections, which are far from convincing. His insufficient summary disregards the fact that we have here the details of a legal action (a characteristic feature of the mediæval *Court of Love*)² from the convening of the court, over which Cupid presides, to the imposition of the sentence ; moreover, even if the canto in which it occurs was not written until 1594, a point as to which we cannot be certain,³ and even if Ponsonby in 1591 knew of the separate existence of this short *Court of Cupid* poem, which we cannot assume, he might still have omitted it from his list through oversight, or intentionally, because of its irrelevancy or because he knew (to apply Mr. Buck's own argument)⁴ that the poet was re-working it into his *Faerie Queene*.

Any effort, however, to select an exact equivalent of the lost work in the *Faerie Queene* will prove to be especially unsatisfactory because of the fact, noted by Mr. Neilson,⁵ that this

¹ Cf. stanza 42.

² W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 7-8.

³ We cannot assume that this particular canto was not written until the date of the completion of the whole six books, or that this date was definitely 1594, as Mr. Buck asserts confidently (p. 87) on the authority of sonnet 80, *Amoretti*. This sonnet, which seems to have been written in 1594 (cf. Hales, *Globe Edition*, p. xlix ; Dodge, *Cambridge Edition*, p. 716), undoubtedly implies that the *Faerie Queene* was but recently finished ; the poet, however, looking back over the fourteen years or more of labor on his great epic, might well feel that an interval of a full twelvemonth, or even more, was yet short enough to leave him gasping for breath, " halfe foredone." There is, then, no sufficient basis for the unqualified assertion (p. 87) that " we know that this canto was not written until 1594."

⁴ Cf. p. 86.

⁵ Neilson, *l. c.*, p. 263.

poem, of all English works after 1520, shows most extensive traces of the *Court of Love* influence. Mr. Neilson cites the *Masque of Cupid* as a single instance selected from many, all of which, taken together, offer abundant proof that Spenser was strongly attracted by the *Court of Love* theme, and was skilled in the use and adaptation of it. In some one of these numerous passages may be lurking the fugitive *Court of Cupid* which E. K. knew. It is equally possible, however, precisely because this theme did possess so great a charm for Spenser, that he wrote in his youth a comparatively extensive love-allegory, which is either quite lost to us, or represented by more than one of the passages concerned. The only conservative view is that Spenser's early *Court of Cupid* was in all probability some such work as is represented by a number of short episodes in the *Faerie Queene*, some one or more of which may preserve, either wholly or in part, an adaptation of the original work.¹

¹ Several interesting adaptations of the form to quite different themes may be noted :—(1) The *House of Pride* (I, iv, 2-38); the salient features of the description mark this as of the *Court of Love* type, with Pride substituted for Love, proud Lucifera for the Queen of Love, the personified sins for Love's allegorical attendants. A noteworthy feature is the dragon under Lucifera's feet, which, in my somewhat cursory examination of the *Court of Love* material, I have not found paralleled; it seems certainly, however, to have been a convention of the type as Spenser knew or developed it, for it appears in the *Masque of Cupid*, and is closely paralleled in the *Temple of Venus*, *Mercilla's Court*, and the *Temple of Isis*. (2) *Mercilla's Court* (v, ix, 21-50). This seems nothing else than a description of Elizabeth's court in the *Court of Love* manner. The typical features are present, and notably the huge lion beneath Mercilla's feet; detail and expression show close similarity to those of the various passages already mentioned. The legal function of the *Court of Love* is emphasized, and the presence of Pity among the allegorical figures is possibly of special significance (cf. Neilson, *l. c.*, pp. 4 and 230-231), though in the contest of Justice and Pity we may have a reminiscence of another favorite mediæval allegory, *The Four Daughters of God*. (3) Note also among others the *Temple of Isis* (v, vii, 3 ff.) especially for its description of the Idol with a crocodile beneath its feet; the *House of Ate* (iv, i, 20 ff.) with the spoils of Discord on the walls; the *House of Holiness* (I, x, 3 ff.) and the *House of Temperance* (II, ix, 10 ff.).

5. The *Epithalamion Thamesis*¹ is found, almost beyond doubt, in revised form in the *Thames and Medway* story² of the epic. The close correspondence between that story, as it stands, and Spenser's outline of his projected poem, is so convincing as to deserve special emphasis.³ The poet writes to Harvey that he intends to "sette forth" a book in the neo-classic metre then in favor with the Areopagus, and adds: "For in setting forth the marriage of the Thames: I shewe his first beginning, and offspring, and all the Countrey, that he passeth thorough, and also describe all the Riuers throughout Englande, whyche came to this Wedding, and their righte names, and right passage, &c. A worke, beleue me, of much labour, wherein notwithstanding Master Holinshed hath mucche furthered and aduantaged me, who therein hath bestowed singular paines, in searching oute their firste heades and sourses: and also in tracing and dogging oute all their Course, til they fall into the Sea."⁴ The story of the wedding of the Thames and the Medway proceeds, after the description of the Sea-gods, to fulfil the program thus set down by the poet in 1580; if the poem was actually written, and not merely

¹ Add to the contemporary references to this poem the following from Harvey's letter of April 23, 1580, in which he speaks of a literary attempt by his young brother: "I am nigh halfe perswaded, that in tyme . . . for length, bredth, and depth, it will not come far behinde your *Epithalamion Thamesis*: the rather, hauing so fayre a president, and patterne before his Eyes, as I warrant him, and he presumeth to haue of that: both *Master Collinshead*, and *M. Hollishead* too, being together therein" (Harvey, *l. c.*, pp. 91-92).

² *F. Q.*, iv, xi, 8 ff.

³ Such emphasis it receives in the dissertation, soon to be published by Miss C. A. Harper on the *Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*. Cf. Chapter II.

⁴ Harvey, *l. c.*, p. 37. Letter from Spenser to Harvey dated "Quarto Nonas Aprilis, 1580." It would seem that this date should read, in English, April 2, though Mr. Buck (p. 97) as Mr. Hales (*Globe Edition*, p. xxvii) cites the letter as written on April 10.

projected, at that date, as seems very probable,¹ we can reasonably believe that we have in the *Faerie Queene* the actual poem which Spenser described, revised only to meet the exigencies of the epic stanza.

This somewhat tedious review of Mr. Buck's material is justified not so much by any added contribution of fact, as by a certain new light which it has thrown on Spenser's method of composition. Even after the rejection of what seem untenable identifications, a significant number remain, of which three relate to short poems published in 1591 or later, while five concern (as does no one of the untenable cases) the great epic. These eight identifications, with varying degrees of probability, point unmistakably towards the conclusion that Spenser tended to incorporate earlier work in later, and particularly to use all available left-over material in his chief undertaking, the *Faerie Queene*.

It is interesting now to find corroborative evidence produced by investigation independent of Mr. Buck's. Thus Miss Harper, in the dissertation already referred to in a footnote,² emphasizes Spenser's acknowledged tendency "to the often examination" of writing already done³ and his

¹Add to Miss Harper's argument (Ch. II) in support of the theory that the poem was actually written, the remark of Harvey last quoted from the letter of April 23, 1580, which certainly may be interpreted as meaning that to four different persons the poem was more or less thoroughly known; though there is, of course, the bare possibility that Harvey's present tense (*having* and *to have*) is loosely used for the future, as might be suggested by his use of the verbs *warrant* and *presumeth*. It must be noted that Mr. Dodge, with characteristic conservatism, describes the *Epithalamion Thamesis* as a "work projected, but probably cut off by the departure, within a brief space, for Ireland" (*Cambridge Edition*, p. xiv). One wonders that he does not mention the *Faerie Queene* passage in this connection.

²Cf. p. 148, note 3. The material here referred to is found in the *Appendix*.

³To Miss Harper's citations in proof of this point, we may add that such careful emendation was in accord with Harvey's advice (cf. his suggestion, quoted above, p. 137) which Spenser always profoundly respected, and also

probable practice of embodying in his riper works such re-examined products of his "greener times." She brings forward, moreover, a new and very interesting conjectural case of such incorporation, which, fortunately for our present contention, likewise involves the *Faerie Queene*. The Chronicle of British kings, now found in the epic,¹ Miss Harper believes to have been probably planned and in part written as a separate poem. In support of this theory she notes the popularity of the subject, and its consequent appeal to the young poet who had already, in the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, shown himself interested in such material; her chief emphasis, however, is laid on the uneven structure of the chronicle itself, wherein she detects signs of the adaptation, not always perfect, of an earlier production which was apparently in part carefully worked out, but elsewhere merely outlined. Other minor arguments strengthen her case. While the theory, as Miss Harper grants, is incapable of proof, especially since no reference to such a separate poem is known to exist, there is a strong presumption in its favor.

The array of probabilities thus marshalled has resulted, in the mind of the present writer, in a strong conviction that Spenser must have used the *Faerie Queene* as a vast repository of his earlier productions, whether short finished poems, or fragments of abandoned projects. It is easy to infer from his evident habit of re-examination and emendation, that he would often be led to adapt older material then in the course of revision, to whatever new project was

with Harvey's practice; cf. his letter to Spenser, dated April 7, 1580, in which he speaks of his *Anticosmopolita*, which has stood *in statu quo* for a full year: "But the Birde that will not sing in Aprill, nor in May, maye peradventure sing in September; and yet me thinkes, *Sat cito, si sat bene*, if I could steale but one poore fortnight, to peruse him ouer afreshe, and copy him out anewe" (Harvey, *l. c.*, p. 68).

¹ *F. Q.*, II, x, and III, iii.

occupying his attention, especially when that project was the development of the all-inclusive theme of his great epic, with its inevitably ceaseless demands upon his literary ingenuity and imagination. Aside from the identifications conveniently amassed by Mr. Buck, the whole inner structure of the *Faerie Queene* lends itself as a cogent argument. A consecutive reading of the six books cannot fail to impress anyone, even if he be not at all on the alert for such an outcome, with the abundance of episodic material, much of it clearly brought into the plot, without perfect adaptation, as a *tour de force*. This material the poet must have gathered here and there, wherever he found it, and nothing is more natural than that for much of it he would turn to unused products of his youthful industry. It is, indeed, in keeping with what we are coming more and more to recognize as Spenser's "sage and serious" temper, that far from regarding his early efforts lightly, he should gravely treasure them, and finally draw them forth from obscurity, to an enviable position as episodes contributory to the beauty and charm of his masterpiece. It can hardly be a far cry, then, to think of the *Faerie Queene* as the storehouse of many of Spenser's early treasures, the record, in a sense, of the interests and enthusiasms of his youth.

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VI.—LANDERICUS AND WACHERIUS.

In the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Giraldus Cambrensis there is an allusion to two songs which were evidently current among minstrels of the twelfth century, though they are unknown to us at the present time. The passage is found in the Second Book, where the author is attacking the practice of simony then common among the clergy. Of priests who read the mass twice or oftener upon the same day for the sake of donations additional to the one which it was customary for them to receive upon these occasions, he says:

“Hi etiam et similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landerico non placere auditoribus, statim incipit cantare de Wacherio; quod si non placuerit de alio.”¹

This passage in Giraldus, as is well known, agrees almost word for word with a passage in the *Verbum Abreviatum* of the French ecclesiastic Petrus Cantor, who died in 1197, and has been universally assumed to have been directly copied from it. It will be convenient to have also before us the corresponding lines from Petrus:

“Similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus, statim incipiunt de Narciso cantare; quod si nec placuerit, cantant de alio.”²

It will be noted that the second *cantilena* mentioned by Petrus is “Narcisus” and not “Wacherius.” Of this discrepancy I shall speak later.

The passage in the *Verbum* has frequently been made

¹ Vol. II, p. 290 in Giraldus Camb., *Opera*; “Rolls Series,” Vol. 21.

² *Verbum Abreviatum*, chap. 27, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, ccv, col. 101.

the basis of speculation by students of mediæval epic and romance, and various suggestions have been thrown out in the attempt to identify the "Landricus" there mentioned with some one of the personages of that name who appear in more or less important rôles in the literature of the Middle Ages. Of these the most recent and the most elaborate was put forward in 1903 by M. Ferdinand Lot in his paper *La Chanson de Landri*.¹ M. Lot attempts to prove, on the authority of Petrus Cantor's allusion, that there formerly existed a *chanson de geste* concerning Landri, Count of Nevers, whose death occurred in the year 1080. Though he shows that Landri of Nevers was prominent in the history of his time, and that tales of a legendary nature had sprung up in connection with his name, he is nevertheless not able to adduce any testimony that the count was ever the subject of minstrel song. Indeed, he frankly admits that, unless it be found in this reference of Petrus Cantor's, no evidence exists that the stories of Landri of Nevers were ever cast into epic form.² His attempt to use this passage in support of his argument is therefore in the nature of a *petitio principii*, and the question of Landricus's identity is still open to investigation.

Although we are unable to accept M. Lot's conclusion, two of the references quoted by him³ furnish a valuable clue which leads us in quite a different direction:

"Baron, ceste chansons n'est mie de folie
D'Auchier ne de Landri."
Prise de Jerusalem, Bibl. Imp., ms. fr. 1374, fol. 75, col. 2.

¹ *Romania*, xxxii, pp. 1 et sq.

² Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ From Guessard and Meyer: *Aye d'Avignon* [of the series *Les Anciens Poètes de la France*] Intro., p. xxii, footnote; and from a review by Meyer of M. Birch-Hirschfeld's *Ueber die den Troubadours des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts bekannten epischen Stoffe*, in *Romania*, vii, p. 451.

"Ce que je vos vueil dire et ce qu'avez oï
 Sachiez que ce n'est pas d'Auchier ne de Landri."
 From Thibaut de Marly,¹ B. N. ms. fr. 25405, fol. 111 c.

Curiously enough, M. Lot has not observed that the names "Landri" and "Auchier," which appear in these quotations, are identical with the "Landericus" and "Wacherius" of Giraldus Cambrensis, in spite of the fact that he has cited the passage from Giraldus in a footnote. In the French texts the names appear in gallicized forms instead of in the latinized forms used by Giraldus.

To these quotations I add a third from the *Alixandre*, which contains the same proper names.²

"Je ne vos commanc mie de Landri ne d'Auchier."
Alixandre, ed. Michelant, p. 2.

Moreover there are the following lines in the *Roman de Renart*:

"Car je voi molt, ce m'est avis,
 Entor moi de mes enemis :
 Se chascun me tenoit a plein,
 Il me donroit tot el que pain,
 Or vos tenes la jus tuit coi,
 Contes d'Auchier et de Lanfroi !
 Qui set noveles, si les cont :
 Ge l'orai bien de ca amont."³

This appears to be a reference to the same two tales, "Lanfroi" probably being a misreading for "Landri," or a confusion suggested quite possibly by the name of the

¹ Cf. also, *Herrig's Archiv*, LXIII, 78. These two lines occur on page 82.

² This also is cited by Guessard and Meyer in their introduction to *Aye d'Avignon*; cf. footnote above. The word "Auchier" is here written "Augier."

³ This reference was kindly pointed out to me by Professor Foulet, formerly of Bryn Mawr College. Cf. *Roman de Renart*, Branch Ia, lines 2161-68, ed. Martin, 1882, Vol. I, pp. 60-61. Cf. also Vol. III, p. 16—note on the above.

bastard "Lanfroi" ("Hainfroi," "Rainfroi") of *Mainet* and other poems.¹

Now, that these names, "Landri" and "Auchier," should occur together in four (probably five) compositions—two *chansons de geste*, a religious poem,² and an ecclesiastical treatise—is significant; so significant indeed, that hereafter neither one of these characters can be considered without reference to the other. We shall be obliged to bear in mind a possible relationship between them other than the one we already are aware of—namely, that they are both heroes of street songs.

Moreover, the coupling of "Landri" and "Auchier," in the five cases cited above, brings us face to face with a very curious situation arising from the relation that the passage of Giraldus bears to that of Petrus Cantor.

As I have already pointed out, the original text differs from the passage of Giraldus in one important particular: the name of the second *cantilena* is not "Wacherius" but "Narcisus." Now how is it that Giraldus, who copied from Petrus Cantor, has the correct reference to Auchier and Landri, while Petrus has not? I say the correct reference—for the names as they appear in Giraldus tally with the allusion in the French *gestes* and with Thibaut de Marly, while, on the other hand, nowhere else but in the *Verbum Abreviatum* has there come to light a passage coupling the name "Narcisus" with that of "Landri" or "Landricus."

Is it possible that Giraldus, knowing that these names were bandied about together, and believing that Petrus had made a mistake, deliberately undertook to correct the

¹ Jonckbloet is also of the opinion that the reference here is the same as that in the *Alixandre*. Cf. p. 335 of his *Étude sur le Roman de Renart*.

² The poem of Thibaut de Marly is religious in character.

"Narciso" in his own reproduction of Petrus Cantor's passage? Or, indeed, is it certain that Giraldus did actually copy from Petrus Cantor, and not *vice versa*—a question which I think has not been raised up to now? Or—as a third possibility—is something wrong with the "Narciso" in the ms. of the *Verbum Abreviatum*?

Leaving the first possibility for the present out of the discussion, for reasons which will later be manifest, let us consider in turn what is involved in each of the other two.

That Giraldus did copy from Petrus Cantor can be made evident from the following facts. First, the dates are favorable. F. S. Gutjahr¹ has shown clearly that Petrus must have written the *Verbum Abreviatum* between 1187 and the date of his death, 1197. Now, as it was in 1199 that Giraldus presented the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* to the pope (Innocent III.), it follows that he must have seen the *Verbum Abreviatum*, if he used it, and must have written at least a certain part of the *Gemma* between 1187 and 1199. Where was Giraldus during these years? It seems that he was in England from 1187 to 1192 with the exception of a portion of the year 1188-89 when he was in France for the purpose of furthering the crusade begun by Henry II. He may have seen the *Verbum* upon this visit, though it does not appear very likely either that the *Verbum* was finished, or that Giraldus was engaged upon the *Gemma* at this time, being busy with other matters.² In 1192 he attempted to go to France, but being prevented by the war between Richard I. and Philip

¹ F. S. Gutjahr: *Petrus Cantor Parisiensis. Sein Leben und seine Schriften.* Graz, 1899.

² He seems to have been writing his Itinerary, as well as urging forward the crusade. For an account of the movements of Giraldus, with the dates I have given, cf. the preface of the "Rolls Series" ed. of Giraldus Camb. Opera, Vol. I.

Augustus, it appears that he went to Lincoln, where he remained until 1198. It would seem likely then, that Giraldus saw a copy of the *Verbum* (or the original ms., possibly) either in England or during the year 1198-99 in France; the first seems to me the more probable, as doubtless the preparation of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* for a gift to the pope was a matter of time and painstaking labor, and I cannot think it was unfinished when Giraldus started for Italy. If my surmise should be correct, it means that the *Verbum Abreviatum* had reached England before 1199. This is not difficult to believe; there is, at the present time, a ms. of it in the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (Δ 5.12), which Dr. M. R. James assigns to the twelfth century.¹

Moreover, there is evidence of a more positive kind. In an earlier passage in the *Gemma*,² Giraldus mentions Petrus by name, giving his authority in the matter of certain church rites. Then in the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*,³ Giraldus acknowledges that he is quoting Petrus Cantor in the subject he is then discussing. This, it would seem, is as near positive proof as we can hope to get that the other parallel passages, among which is our reference to Wacharius and Landericus, were also taken by Giraldus from the *Verbum*, in the absence of any indication that Petrus drew from Giraldus. Besides, there is small probability that Petrus ever had access to the ms. of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.

Now after beginning fairly to investigate the whole matter, and without excluding the possibility of the first

¹ Cat. mss. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, p. 113. This ms. came from a Cistercian monastery.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

³ Dist. II, Cap. 17. For this reference and others of parallel passages in the works of Giraldus and the *Verbum Abreviatum*, see F. S. Gutjahr, *l. c.*

alternative (that Giraldus corrected the "Narciso" of Petrus to "Wacherio"), I nevertheless came to the conclusion that it was in the third possibility that the solution of the "Narciso-Wacherio" was to be found—namely, that something must be wrong with the word "Narciso" in the ms. of the *Verbum Abreviatum*. I was persuaded that Petrus Cantor did not write the word "Narciso" at all, but that it appeared in some later copy of his ms., and that from this later copy, or from descendants of it, the Migne edition was compiled. With this in mind I have made efforts to have as many mss. as possible of the *Verbum Abreviatum* examined, with the following results:

Ms. No. 171 of the Library of Salisbury Cathedral (thirteenth century) omits the reference to Landricus and Narcisus, though giving what immediately precedes and follows.

Cottonian ms. Claudius E I. (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries) and Harleian ms. 5099 (fourteenth century) and Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 35180 (thirteenth century)—all of which Professor C. F. Brown kindly examined for me—contain the allusion just as it stands in Migne.

Ms. Δ 5.12 of the Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, seems to have omitted not only any mention of these names, but indeed the entire context.

For the examination of six mss. in Paris, I am indebted to Miss Louise Dudley. Of these, mss. Latin 14521 (fourteenth century), 15101, 16383, 18122, 13433 (all of the thirteenth century) record the names "Landricus" and "Narcisus" with slight variations in spelling. But with ms. 250 of the Bibliothèque St. Geneviève (thirteenth century) a definite clue is afforded us. Chapter XXII, leaf 41 back (left column) reads as follows: "Similes

sunt ioculatori uel fabulatori qui uidens cantilenam de landerico non placere auditoribus; statim incipit cantare de aucherocho. Quod si non placuerit: de alexandro. Quo fastidito; cantilenam per-mutat in appollonium uel karolum magnum uel quemlibet alium."

Clearly, *aucherocho* (ms. auch'ocho) ¹ is not "Narciso" nor anything approaching to it. I take it to be unmistakably a form of "Aucherio." The sign ' may mean a number of things; ² but it occurs in the word "placuerit" in the passage quoted above as an abbreviation for *er* (ms. placu'it).

As for the less important detail of the ending "ocho" instead of "io," it is perhaps an error of the scribe. It is more than probable that the ms. from which he was making his transcript was illegible in places. The mss. from which the Migne edition of the *Verbum Abreuiatum* was compiled were in a deplorable state of preservation, as is set forth in the address to the reader.³ The margins were scribbled upon by scribes, passages were cut out and lines were added.

I believe, therefore, that Petrus Cantor wrote the word "Aucherio" (or "Wacherio"), and not "Narciso" in the *Verbum Abreuiatum*, and that Giraldus must have seen a copy which had this word as Petrus wrote it—or possibly the original ms. itself. For the fact that one

¹ So far as the form of the letter is concerned, the first *c* in this word might equally well be read as *t*. The close similarity between these two letters makes it impossible to be certain on this point. If the letter be read as *t*, it may still, I think, be regarded as a scribal error. Elsewhere this scribe has put *t* where another letter belongs. The final *i* in the word "ioculatori" in the first line of the above quotation was crossed—a manifest mistake.

² It may mean *ri*, *r*, *re* (in *preda*), as well as *er*, which are readings occurring elsewhere in the ms.

³ Cols. 21, 22. Migne ed.

ms. of the *Verbum* agrees with the text of Giraldus in the form of this name is enough to establish the reading of "Aucherio" when taken with the overwhelming evidence afforded by the coupling of the names "Landri" and "Auchier" in the *Prise de Jerusalem*, *Alixandre*, *Roman de Renart*, and the poem of Thibaut de Marly.

The occurrence of "Narciso" in so many mss. of the *Verbum Abreviatum* may be accounted for in one of two ways: either the word "Aucherio" was entirely gone in one of the early mss. and a scribe substituted "Narciso" for it on his own responsibility; or "Narciso" was the blundering attempt to reproduce a much mutilated "Aucherio"—whence all these other mss., including those from which the Migne edition was compiled. The scribes were manifestly careless as to the preservation of the original. Nor is this apparent in the Migne mss. only. The Salisbury ms. is evidently corrupt—lacking the allusion to the minstrel songs; the place where it should occur, moreover, being not in Chapter 27,¹ but in Chapter 15. Again, Harl. ms. 5099 contains the passage in Chapter 17, Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 35180 in Chapter 22. The Sidney Sussex College ms. lacks it entirely. Variations of position are also to be noted among the French mss., as may be seen from the preceding references to them.²

Moreover, this solution disposes of the necessity of considering the first alternative suggested. Giraldus did not correct Petrus Cantor by substituting "Wacherius"

¹ Where it occurs in Migne.

² It is in order to suggest here that a better edition than that of Migne is needed of the *Verbum Abreviatum*. Many mss. of the *Verbum* have not been examined at all; there has been practically no collation of mss. And as is evident from the example afforded by the word *Narcisus*, the Migne edition is corrupt, and probably farther from what the original was than are some mss. now accessible.

for "Narcisus." He copied "Wacherius" directly from Petrus. It would have been strange indeed had Giraldus understood the point of coupling the names "Landericus" and "Wacherius" and his contemporary, Petrus Cantor, had not—though, being a Frenchman, he was far more likely to have heard these allusions.

It remains, in the light of the preceding facts, to correct certain misapprehensions which have arisen regarding "Auchier" and "Landri" where they are mentioned in the French *gestes* and by Thibaut de Marly.

M. Lot, who concerns himself with the references of Petrus Cantor and the French poems only so far as "Landri" is concerned—the "Wacherius" of Giraldus having escaped him—understands the allusion contained in the lines from *La Prise de Jerusalem* and Thibaut de Marly as referring to a single composition entitled *Auchier et Landri*, and not to two different poems. On the strength of this, he hazards a suggestion as to the identity of "Auchier" in an effort to relate him to Landri of Nevers: "On le voit, ces allusions" [*i. e.*, these and some others concerning "Landri" and "Aya"] "se réfèrent, non pas à une mais à deux compositions, l'une l'autre *Auchier et Landri*. De la première La seconde avait un caractère soit de parodie, soit d'extrême fantaisie, puisqu'on la cite comme chose invraisemblable, mensongère."¹ And later:—"Quant à la seconde composition, *Auchier et Landri*, il est impossible de ne pas se rappeler, à propos du premier nom, l'Alicherius contre lequel le comte de Nevers, Rahier, soutint un duel tragique, resté fameux à Nevers. Mais c'est tout ce qu'on en peut dire."²

¹ Lot, *La Chanson de Landri*, pp. 10-11.

² The same, pp. 12, 13.

The allusion of Petrus Cantor, however, proves that this is a misapprehension; Petrus is speaking of two distinct songs. If the song of Landricus does not please, the minstrel tries that of Aucherius (or Wacherius); failing a second time, he tries still another. Petrus knew of the relation existing between the two *cantilenæ*, and the fact that he refers to them as two is quite sufficient to settle the question as regards the allusions in the *Alixandre*, *Prise de Jerusalem*, *Roman de Renart*,¹ and in the poem of Thibaut de Marly. As to Lot's suggestion in regard to "Alicherius," it loses its force as soon as one regards Landri and Auchier as heroes of separate songs, to say nothing of its being rather a far cry from Count Rahier and Alicherius to Landri and Auchier.

Though Jonckbloet, in his *Etude sur Le Roman de Renart*, ed. 1863,² understands that the allusion contained in the line "Contez d'Auchier et de Lanfroi" of the *Roman de Renart* is to two poems, he nevertheless expresses it as his belief that it is probably to the *chanson de geste* which Albéric des Trois-Fontaines mentions under the year 763, and which concerns the two bastard sons of Pepin, Holdricus and Raginfredus, or as the names appear in other poems, "Hoderich" and "N(R)aenffrait," "Reinfry" and "Heu(n)dry," "Lanfroi" and "Landri," thereby appearing to identify

¹ Martin, in his ed. of the *Roman de Renart*, Vol. III, p. 16, also understands the allusion in the *Roman de Renart* as being to two poems: "Elle (Branch Ia) parle dans le v. 2166 des contes d'Auchier et de Lanfroi: ces noms se retrouvent avec une légère altération dans le roman d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay (ed. Michelant, 2. 14: 'Je ne vous commanc mie de Landri ne d'Augier') et ailleurs encore (Birch-Hirschfeld, Ueber die den Troubadours bekannten epischen Stoffe, p. 68), sans que nous connaissions les poèmes d'où ils sont tirés."

²Jonckbloet: *Étude sur le Roman de Renart*, pp. 335-6, and footnote.

Auchier with the second bastard son. If Jonckbloet meant to imply this, he appears to me not entirely consistent. The reference in the *Roman de Renart* is to two poems. But the two bastard brothers appear always in the same poem. I believe they are never mentioned separately. Hence our "Auchier" and "Landri" cannot be they. Moreover, I see no way of deriving the forms "Auchier" or "Wacherius" or "Aucherius" from "Holdricus" or "Hoderich," "Heu(n)dry" or "Landris"—or *vice versa*. The *d* sticks wherever the name of the bastard son of Pepin occurs.

In this study I have confined myself to the problem presented by the discrepancy between the "Landricus" and "Narcisus" in the text of the *Verbum Abreviatum* and the "Landericus" and "Wacherius" in the treatise by Giraldus. I hope in a later article to take up for special consideration the question of the *cantilena* of "Landericus."

MARY CAROLINE SPALDING.

VII.--TEXTUAL CRITICISM AS A PSEUDO-SCIENCE.

The Alexandrian followers of Aristarchus, buzzing in corners and busy with monosyllables, have left the world that they worried with their wranglings over $\sigma\phi\lambda\nu$ and $\mu\lambda\nu$ and $\nu\lambda\nu$, the swords that were drawn over inchoate verbs have been rust for centuries. But the bookworms of Aristarchus, the troops of Callimachus, the pack of Zenodotus return at times to earth. In order to hear this pack in full cry, we have only to recall the various emendations in Greek texts necessitated fifty years ago by the fallacious Dawes Canon that $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \mu\acute{\eta}$ is never used with the first aorist subjunctive in the active or middle voice. We have but to turn to the critical apparatus of Vollmer's splendid edition of Horace and mark among conjectural readings that insult the verse Franke's notorious *duellis* for *puellis* in the delightful lines (*Carmina*, III, xxvi, 1-2):—

“Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
Et militavi non sine gloria.”

We have but to open *Macbeth* and note the mirth-provoking suggestions for “If trembling I inhabit then, etc.” (III, iv, 105), and “Each way and move” (IV, ii, 22) of the First Folio. In the light of these and a hundred other absurdities, the wildest conjectures of Bentley as the editor of Milton, the tricksiest comments of Steevens and of Washington Irving's Salmagundi circle seem plausible, and the inspired emendation, “stones in the running brooks, sermons in books,” loses its legendary character. Amid such vagaries of dullness, the student may well be pardoned who pauses and asks: “Does textual criticism justify its existence; or are these trailers of error merely a race of ‘pseudo-critics, pretenders and phantoms?’”

Now, what is the function of textual criticism? Everyone will agree with Leonard Whibley¹ that "it has for its sole object to determine as nearly as possible the words written by the author of the original text, whenever the reading has become corrupt or doubtful." The difficulty has been that the critic has been too prone to hint doubts, hesitate suspicions and airily assume the existence of corruptions—in order to display his art as diviner—where a more thorough and sympathetic study of the author's language would have shown that the text is sound. "Textual criticism is never safe except in alliance with thorough interpretation." In a field of study where delicate tact, keen perspective, sound judgment and genial sympathy are essential, is it strange that someone has blundered; in a region of scholarship that demands from the investigator not only a thorough knowledge of conditions of time and place centuries and leagues away, and a quick insight into alien habits of thought, but the ready recognition of one's own limitations that is fatal to the oracular mood, is it surprising that inaccurate thinkers groping in the twilight of unsound systems have plunged into pitfalls amid the laughter of the crowd? Every year the discovery of manuscript or of papyrus reveals the futility and fallacy of a hundred readings. Scholars in every department may multiply examples of havoc thus wrought to premature conjecture. In our own corner of Old English we have only to contrast the reconstructed texts of Dietrich and Leo, built on Thorpe's inadequate report, with the actual readings of the damaged pages of the *Exeter Book*, in order to realize fully the possibility of error—one might add, the impossibility of truth—in such arrant guesswork.

From time to time voices are raised in earnest protest against the "destructive method" of criticism—particularly

¹ *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 610.

when it mounts to caricature. In an article of refreshing sanity,¹ Sievers deplures "the present tendency in the treatment of our old poems, to substitute personal and arbitrary judgment for patient delving into the problems presented by the text." But his wish that some Anglist would strike at the roots of this inherently false method of study has not been gratified. It is true that certain rash readings are sometimes called to account and condemned, but usually with the implication that the method behind them is in itself sound. The proper attitude to this slaughter of transmitted forms is not to ask whether the critic is happy or unhappy in his emendation, but rather whether any emendation is necessary.

The destructive critic eager to replace the version of the manuscript by his own arbitrary suggestions is always guilty of a double error. He exalts the author and degrades the scribe. He fails utterly to recognize that the author is seldom a slave to rule, and that a large license in expression, departures from formal correctness, lapses from consistency and clearness, slips in metre, even blunders in syntax and grammar must not be excluded, if the writer is to be truly and humanly revealed. He entirely forgets that irregularities in an original are often of far more significance than perfect precision. This undue reverence for the author is always attended by undue contempt for the scribe. If the creator of the work can do no wrong, the transcriber apparently can do no right. The curse invoked by Chaucer against the blundering scrivener of his verse and prose evidently falls far short of a medieval penman's deserts. If the critic is to be trusted, the copyist was always a person of the feeblest intellect, not only ignorant of learned languages but quite unable to recognize the simplest forms of his own.

¹ *Paul und Braunes Beiträge (PBB.)*, xxix, 305-331.

Among the weakest of their tribe, the modern editor seems to class the scribes responsible for the transmission of the *Exeter* and *Vercelli Books*.¹ They may hoodwink the careless reader into gratitude for seemingly excellent versions of many Old English poems, but their sins have now found them out, and they are fully exposed by the newest of philological schools.²

These revelations of scribal stupidity tax all credulity. We learn that the blunderers misread one half-line in ten (that is, every fifth line);³ that the scribe of the *Vercelli Book*, or his predecessors in copying the *Elene*,⁴ confused *tō þīnum* and *tō þinge* (*El.* 608), *cyning* and *carena* (609), *ofer eall gemynd* and *open eald gewinn* (646), and *scead* and *wēold* (709), and, in transcribing the *Andreas*,⁵ misread *āreccan* as *āræfnan* (*And.* 816), *heofonþrymmes* as *heofoncyninges* (998) and *lið* or *lim* as *lof*; that the transcriber of the *Exeter Book* poems changed in the *Christ*⁶ *dēdun* to *hlōdun* (*Chr.* 784) and *ābrægd* to *āhlōd* (568), in the *Juliana*⁷ *oftast* to *onwist* (20), in the *Phoenix*⁸ *weorum ēcað* to *wraðe mētað*

¹ Of the copyist of the *Beowulf*, I shall say nothing, as every passage in that epic has already been discussed *ad nauseam*. Nor shall I draw any illustrations from the closing pages of the *Exeter Book*, as these are fully considered in my edition of the *Riddles*. One of the Old Testament poems of the so-called *Cædmon* MS. (Junius, XI) in the Bodleian will come within our range.

² "Der schreiber war ratlos," says Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* (*BB.*), XXIII, 115, of the transcriber of the *Andreas* in the *Vercelli Book*. And yet that text is sometimes flawless for fifty lines together. B. Steidler of Bonn, in a recent eulogy of the Bonn methods (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, XX, 292-293) affirms:—"Gegen textbesserungen dieser art ist grundsätzlich nichts einzuwenden; denn die abschreiber haben unleugbar in fast allen altenglischen dichtungen sogenannte formwörtchen bald zugesetzt, bald weggelassen, und dadurch den versbau in unordnung gebracht."

³ Trautmann, *BB.*, XVII, 186.

⁴ Trautmann, *BB.*, XXIII, 102-104.

⁵ *Ib.*, 118, 120, 134.

⁶ *Ib.*, 91.

⁷ *Ib.*, 92.

⁸ Schlotterose's edition, *BB.*, XXV, 62.

(*Ph.* 247) and *heapo-dēores* to *heore-drēorges* (217); that the scribes of the *Daniel*¹ in the *Cædmon* MS. strangely mixed *helmum* and *hēapum* (*Dan.* 16), *be fēore dāde* and *befeormode* (101), *gelāded* and *glēdum gefēded* (227), *metodes* and *manwerodes* (235), *gange* and *fenge* (263), *frēan* and *ongēan* (650). These are but a few of the scores of errors that are freely imputed to the transmitted versions of Old English poems.²

Now let it be emphatically answered to these charges, that the scribes were no such blunderers as these commentators would have us think; that, though they occasionally miswrote letters and inverted or omitted words, they wrought in the main diligently and decently like honest workmen; and that in the clear, upright insular minuscules of the manuscripts of that day there is small chance of such crass confusion. I am ready to go farther and assert that if we are to understand by "corruption" an undoubted departure from the forms of the original, then certain modern editions of our Anglo-Saxon poems are obviously more corrupt than

¹ Schmidt's edition, *BB.*, xxiii, 1 f.

² There is nothing new, of course, in this sort of detective work. "Our celebrated author," says Richard Bentley in that masterpiece of unconscious humor, the Preface to his edition of Milton (1732), "could only dictate his verses to be written by another; whence it necessarily follows that any errors in spelling, pointing, nay even in whole words of a like or near sound in pronunciation, are not to be charged upon the poet, but on the amanuensis." And so quite in the manner of the new philological tinker of Old English verses, he vehemently alters *not built* (*P. L.*, i, 251) to *no butt, an oath* (ii, 352) to *a nod, alchymie* (ii, 517) to *orichale, vex* (ii, 801) to *hem, first* (iii, 131) to *fraud, embraces* (v, 251) to *branches, subtile art* (vi, 513) to *sooty chark, longitude* (vii, 373) to *long career, is judicious* (viii, 391) to *unlibidinous, to the ages* (x, 647) to *out of ashes, eat or drink* (x, 728) to *act or think*. Can we doubt that the early Englishman would have been even more amused by recent versions of his text than we are by Bentley's arbitrary changes? Bentley did not go to the modern length of inserting these conjectures into the text itself. His scholarly instinct and training saved him from that.

the ancient manuscripts of *Exeter* and *Vercelli*,¹ which they seek to better. This is certainly a sweeping indictment, but it seems to me amply supported by the evidence that I shall now offer.²

In his self-appointed task of restoring an ancient text, the modern editor is foredoomed to failure, if he lack any one of four qualifications: the ability to balance probabilities and to give due weight to every shred of evidence; the gift of literary and historical perspective that enables him to interpret properly the thought of a remote period; the knowledge of grammar and syntax through which he may read aright a diction very different from his own daily speech; and finally, complete freedom from preconceived theories, with which his text must be wrested into full accord. The

¹The Junius version of the *Daniel* is in a more evil case; but Hofer has long since shown (*Anglia*, XII, 190) that the many discrepancies between this poem and its *Exeter Book* variant, the *Azarias*, are due not to scribal lapses but to a reworking of the original text by another hand.

²Let us note the errors in the manuscript version of the *Phœnix*: *fnæst* for *fnæst* (15), *sold-* for *flod-* (64), *wuniað* for *waniað* (72), *siðne* for *sidne* (103), *-wraece* for *þraece* (115), *toheanes* for *togeanes*, *leopres* for *hleopres*? (137), *rene* for *grene* (154), *wudu* for *wuda* (171), *heofum* for *heofun* (173), *gehwære* for *gehwam*? (206), *wæsmas* for *wæstmas* (243), *gefeon* for *gefean* (248), *gehwore* for *gehwone* (336), *wefiað* for *wafiað* (342), *sceates* for *sceata* (396), *idge* seemingly corrupt (407), *weordum* for *wordum* (425), *we* for *wel* (443), *eortan* for *heortan* (447), *sendað* for *sendeð* (488), *lædað* for *lædad* (491), *liges* for *lifes*? (513), *blipam* for *blipan* (599), *hearde* for *hearda* (613), *strenðu* for *strengðu* (625), *treow* for *treowe* (641), *onwæcneð* for *onwæcneð* (648), *elpe* for *helpe* (650), *motum* for *motun* (670), *alma* for *almæ* (673), *mittem* for *mitem*. Here are thirty natural slips which well illustrate the slight and venial nature of most scribal mistakes, and should be contrasted with the impossible blunders imputed to the copyist. Correct these obvious errors and we have an excellent text. Now let us turn to the editor. The unwarranted changes or corruptions in Schlotterose's text (*BB.*, xxv) are somewhat more numerous and far more violent; compare *Ph.* 5, 10, 12, 17, 56, 61, 76, 78, 94, 144, 151, 155, 179, 191, 199, 217, 228, 233, 236, 247, 248, 251, 252, 262, 301, 306, 324, 330, 332, 364, 377, 404, 407, 408, 425, 512, 586, 599, 668. The least defensible of these emanate from the editor himself or from his master, Trautmann, as we shall see later.

philologists of the Bonn school have failed as editors and commentators, because they lack not one but all of these qualifications. First, they completely neglect the calculus of probabilities; secondly, they maintain consistently the point of view of the seminar rather than the outlook of cloister and mead-hall; thirdly, they display at times a surprising ignorance of the grammatical laws of Old English; and finally, they are hampered by a metrical a-priorism that demands a wholesale emendation of the verses of the manuscript. Let us now consider each of these four sources of error.

Due regard for the probabilities in textual study may be thus illustrated. If a certain manuscript reading, difficult though it may appear, occurs twice in the text before him, the critic may well hesitate long before suggesting an emendation. If it is found in another text in the same manuscript, or, more striking still, in another manuscript, probability has increased in a geometrical degree until it has become certainty; and the least conception of the value of evidence demands its unquestioning acceptance. But what shall we say if the reading is found not twice but three or four times in the writings of the period? Poe would answer: "Each successive example is multiple evidence—proof not added to proof but multiplied by hundreds or thousands." It were madness longer to doubt. Now let us watch the "destructive method" at work. The phrase *wōpes hring* may puzzle the commentators and call forth diverse explanations; but as it is found in no less than four places in poetry, twice in the *Exeter Book* (*Chr.* 537, *Guth.* 1313), and twice in the *Vercelli* (*And.* 1278, *El.* 1131), no one even dreamed of calling it corrupt until Professor Trautmann suggested¹ the substitution of the unknown *wōpes*

¹ *BB.*, xxiii, 87–88.

bring. Nor is this an isolated example of imperviousness to proof. Many others may be mentioned. Another phrase of the *Andreas* (1241), *hāt of heolfre* has given trouble to editors, and may possibly be emended to *hātan heolfre*; but larger change is prevented by the twofold appearance of *hātan heolfre* (*And.* 1275, *Beow.* 1423) and by the use of *hāt on heolfre* (*Beow.* 849). Yet both Professor Trautmann¹ and his scholar, Von der Warth,² suggest independently *hāt of heolstre*. The striking phrase, *in þā openan tīd* (*Ph.* 509) is guaranteed not only by its fitness but by *on þā openan tīd* (*Chr.* 1570); yet Trautmann³ again defies all evidence and reads *in þā uferan tīd*. Though *landes nē locenra bēaga* (*And.* 305) is vouched for by *Beow.* 2995, he will have none of it.⁴ Another instance of this surprising lack of openness to conviction, which in itself goes far to discredit such a ruthless method, is found in the treatment of *for metelēaste mēðe gedrehte*, etc. (*And.* 39). The expression is made doubly sure by *māendon metelēaste, mēðe stōdon* (*And.* 1157) and by *mēðe ond metelēas* (*El.* 612); and yet the Bonn professor⁵ would change *mēðe* to *mūð*, *gedrehte* to *geræhte[n]* and *metelēaste* to *metepearfe*. Let us pause and consider how much weight is to be attached to readings that set at naught the strongest accumulative evidence. Such so-called corrections corrupt a text far more than scribal errors.

The second weakness that vitiates this seminar method of criticism goes deeper still and will be readily recognized by all students of the Shakspeare *Variorum*—the strange inability on the part of the commentator to comprehend a

¹ *BB.*, xxiii. 125.

² *Metrisch-Sprachliches und Textkritisches zu Cynewulfs Werken* (Bonn Diss.), 1908, p. 29.

³ *BB.*, xxv. 66.

⁴ *BB.*, xxiii. 110.

⁵ *Ib.*, 108.

word or phrase that has puzzled no one before. Truly, as Carlyle said, "Diligence, Fidelity, Decency are good and indispensable; yet without Faculty, without Light, they will not do the work." The critic misses altogether or perceives but dimly this tint of thought, this phase of feeling, and at once affirms roundly: "Es macht keinen sinn"; "Es ist unverständlich"; "Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen wie, u. s. w." Well then! Granting that this word, phrase, or line seems to him quite without sense, that he does not or cannot understand,—what is the remedy? Obviously, so to study the author's background as to appreciate his relation to his *milieu*; so to probe contemporary expression as to lose no shade of his meaning—in short, to repair with all haste those limitations of knowledge and taste that hamper due appreciation. Now it is deplorable that this course is so seldom followed by the commentator of the new school. On the contrary, he always assumes that the fault lies in the text, not in himself. If he stopped with this assumption, no harm would be done. But he goes farther and rewrites the passage from a modern point of view totally alien to that of his author. Yet our regret so often is not that the reconstruction is done badly, but that it is done at all. Imagine the havoc wrought to Browning's text by a foreign critic who imputed corruption to every passage of *Sordello* that was beyond his ken, and straightway rewrote with the aid of lexicon and concordance. John Lane concluding "The Squire's Tale" or Dryden versifying Speght's notes is not farther from the spirit of Chaucer, Chatterton is scarcely more remote from the medieval manner, than many recent emendations from the true tone of Cynewulf and his fellows.

How utterly these critics miss the point in a dozen imaginative passages! The *Andreas* MS. says finely (1003) of the slain heathen, *dēaðwang rudon*, "they reddened the

field of death." Trautmann,¹ in all seriousness, proposes *dēaðwōman budon*—a suggestion that condemns itself. In a noble descriptive passage in the *Phoenix* (61) we meet the striking phrase, *nē windig wolcen* ("nor cloud driven by the wind"), which is certainly in keeping with the next clause, *nē þær wæter fealleþ, / lyfte gebysgad*, and with *El.* 1272, (*wind*) *wæðeð be wolcnum*. Yet Schlotterose² seeks to force the half-line into closer accord with the Latin of Lactantius by reading, *nē winneþ wolcen*.³ The same editor does not understand⁴ *bitres wiht* (*Ph.* 179), although this reading of the text makes perfect sense ("nor does aught that is grievous hurt him with evils"), and although the phrase is supported by *Gen.* 479 *bitres fela*; and at his master's suggestion reads *bīræs* (< *bīte-ræs* or *beadu-ræs*) *wiht*, which is of twentieth-century making. The fine metaphor, *þurh gewittes wylm* (*Ph.* 191), "through ardor (or "labor") of spirit" suffers laughable degradation to *þurh gewyrtes wylm* (*gewyrte* is not found elsewhere). Could caricature go farther than this hint of the kitchen? *Wīta nēosan* (*Jul.* 631), although it is fully explained and justified by *Jul.* 554–556, *þýstra nēosan . . . on wīta forwyrð*, is debased by Trautmann⁵ into *wīca nēosan*. He can find⁶ no meaning in *gehyran* (*And.* 340) and alters to *gehycgan*; in *āræfnan*, (*And.* 816) and changes to *āreccan*; in the splendid phrase *drēam wæs on hyhte* (*And.* 874), characteristic of its author (see *And.* 239, 679), and emends to *on tyhte*, not elsewhere used by the poet. The appropriate *lof* of *And.* 1476 he alters⁷ to *lið* or *lim*; and the poetic *open eald gewinn* (*El.*

¹ *BB.*, xxiii, 121.

² *BB.*, xxv, 58.

³ A similar lack of all poetic perspective is seen in Trautmann's gratuitous alteration (*BB.*, xxii, 8) of the spirited line, *Be Dōmes Dæge*, 8, *þurh winda gryre, wolcn wæs gehrēd* to *þurh winda styre. Wōp wæs gehrēd*.

⁴ *Ib.*, 20, 60.

⁵ *BB.*, xxiii, 97.

⁶ *Ib.*, 110 f.

⁷ *Ib.*, 130.

646), to the tame *ofer eall gemynd*. In these substitutions—and a dozen others equally arbitrary and violent might easily be enumerated¹—the commentator's misinterpretation of obvious meanings has dictated unnecessary engraftments upon a text which, in each of these passages, is without flaw. The editor is everywhere a corruptor. The Old English poet might well say with Chaucer (*Troilus*, v, 1793 f.) :—

“ And for ther is so greet diversitee
In English and in wryting of our tonge,
So preye I God that noon miswryte thee,
Ne thee mismetre for defaute of tonge ;
And red wherso thou be or elles sounge,
That thou be understonde, God I beseche.”

A third source of gratuitous emendation is the ignorance of Old English grammatical rule and syntactical law apparent in comments and alterations. A few examples will serve to illustrate this fault. The poet of the *Phœnix* says not very clearly (242–248) :—

“ Sumes onlice,
swā mon to andleafne eorðan wæs[t]mas
on hærfeste hām gelædeð,
wiste wynsume, ær wintres cyme
on rypes tīman, þ̃ lās hī rēnes scūr
āwyrde under wolcnum, þær hī wraðe mētað
fōdorþege gefēan (MS. gefeon).”

It will be seen that the use of pronouns is ambiguous,² that the first *hī* refers to *wæstmas*, the second to *mon* used collec-

¹ Note Wilhelm Schmidt's readings (*BB.*, xxiii) of *Dan.* 16, 25, 61, 101, 227, 233, 235, 263, 440, 607, and Schlotterose's substitutions (*BB.*, xxv,) for *Ph.* 217, 236, 252, 301—in each and every case totally unwarranted.

² Such ambiguity in the use of the third personal pronoun is very common in Anglo-Saxon poetry ; cf. *Beow.*, 747, 762, 804, 805, 2619, 2973–2976, *Christ*, 434–436, etc. Ten minutes' search will furnish as many more examples.

tively. Such plural reference to *mon* is a recognized idiom.¹ The sense of the passage is sufficiently obvious. Schlotterose is totally unjustified in declaring² that “*hī kann sich nur auf wæstmas beziehen, da vorher von den menschen gar nicht die rede ist,*” and in accepting his master’s violent emendation, *þær hī weorum ēcað / fōdorþege ge feoh*. In *Phœnix* 599, we meet the sing. *blīceð* with a neut. pl. subject *weorc*: in ignorance of this grammatical license, Schlotterose³ changes to *blīcað*. He rejects the familiar idiom in *bitres wiht* (*Ph.* 179). Trautmann “cannot understand”⁴ the construction of *Jul.* 638–639, *ond tō lofe trymman / folc of firenum*, although the meaning is clear (“to turn by exhortation the people from sins to worship”), and although *trymman* is used in a similar context, *Fæder*, 14, *þā þec geornost tō gøde trymmen*. He finds the *Juliana* passage “zweifellos verderbt,” and suggests a gap between *trymman* and *folc*. A similar disregard of idiom is found in Trautmann’s change⁵ of *Beow.*, 171–172, *monig oft gesæt / rīce tō rūne* to *monig . . . rinca* and of *Beow.*, 1112, *æþeling monig* to *æþelinga monig*. *El.* 231–232, brings to the *Beowulf* MS. abundant support, *þær wlanc manig æt Wendelsæ / on stæðe stōdon*.⁶

We come finally to the most prolific source of editorial corruption, the rigid metrical a-priorism that tolerates no verses not in the strictest accord with the minutest demands

¹ We meet the idiom in “Wulfstan’s Voyage” in Ælfred’s *Orosius* (Sweet, *E. E. T. Soc.*, LXXIX, 21, ll. 12–13). *And gif þær man ān bān findeð unforbærned, hī hit sceolan miclum gebetan*. C. A. Smith cites in connection with this prose passage (*Old English Reader*, p. 110), Paul’s *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, § 451, “When a word is used as an indefinite, it is, strictly speaking, incapable of number.” Modern parallels are numerous.

² *BB.*, XXV, 62.

³ *Ib.*, 67.

⁴ *BB.*, XXIII, 97.

⁵ *BB.*, XVII, 161–162.

⁶ In his note upon the *Elene* passage, Holthausen cites Koch, *Hist. Gram.*, II, § 71, 1 and Smith, *Anglia*, XXIII, 242.

of preconceived theories. I have neither the time nor the inclination here to consider at length Trautmann's attack¹ upon Sievers's "typen mit seiner silbenhaufenlehre," nor shall I cavil at the extreme complication of his own system, with its sixteen chief forms and its twelve secondary forms.² But I must at once take issue with the dogmatic assertion³ that "Silbenhaufen, die nicht mit einer der 16 (+ 12) gestalten übereinstimmen, sind falsche verse"; and that "eight to ten of every hundred verses must therefore be regarded as damaged in transmission." Everyone will admit that Anglo-Saxon texts have suffered metrical corruptions; but no student of induction will tolerate for a moment the sovereignty of rule or system that thus implicitly confesses its inability to account for ten per cent. of the cases concerned. *Exceptio probat regulam*. Exceptions test the rule; and, if the exceptions are numerous, the proper course is to revise or qualify the rule; or, if that is impossible, to abandon it as inadequate. The improper course is to seek, by violent changes, to wrest the exceptions into accord with the theory. Such a proceeding is particularly illogical in the present case, where our concern is not with a tentative theory, but with a principle induced from a scientific observation of details—indeed, not with a theory at all, but with a classification of facts. Many seeming irregularities and

¹ *BB.*, xvii, 175 f.

² Admirably sane is Gerould's spirited protest against Trautmann's involved metrical system (*Englische Studien*, xli, 1909, 12):—"In the conditions of poetic production that prevailed in Northumbria or Mercia, it is inconceivable that the authors would be confined within the limits of such an artificial and elaborate science of metrics as has latterly been constructed for them. It is not scholarship, I submit, to blind oneself to such a plain fact as this, while analyzing with infinite detail, getting involved in contradictions, and disputing to wearisome length; it is pedantry and it leads to nothing."

³ *BB.*, xvii, 186.

complexities appearing frequently in the verse must be carefully weighed on their own merits, and not be ruled high-handedly out of court, because perchance they conflict with certain inadequate "gestalten" called by their framer, "die wahre metrik."

Now let us examine carefully the a-priori method of this so-called "true metre" and mark its fallacious results. One of its chief tenets seems to be this: that no anacrusis ("vorschlag" or "auftakt") may appear before the alliterative syllable of the second half-verse.¹ Mark the outcome of exalting a dangerous assertion of a negative into a hard-and-fast destructive formula. Working in unquestioning acceptance of this tenet, Von der Warth² finds in the *Andreas* no less than fifteen examples of this phenomenon, one half of which he forces out of existence. Although some seven³ prove too strong for him, he later speaks of "the anacrusis so strictly avoided by the poet" (p. 31). Of what avail are the facts against the master's rule? Wilhelm Schmidt⁴ is in equally parlous plight, as he discovers some ten examples in the 764 lines of the *Daniel*. He bravely alters all but one of these, but, unlike Von der Warth, he is troubled by a doubt. He is finally forced to admit,⁵ even with the master's eye upon him: "In einigen fällen wie *Dan.* 166^b und *Az.* 157^b wird man aber doch annehmen müssen, dass der vorschlag vor der hauptstabsilbe ursprünglich ist." Concede that, and the game is up; all tinkering

¹ See, however, Sievers, *PBB.*, x, 234, and note exceptions. Cf. *Chr.* 591, 595, where the use is established by balance.

² *Metrisch-Sprachliches*, p. 1.

³ With three of these (988, 1473, 1474), Trautmann himself could do nothing (*BB.*, i, 25).

⁴ *BB.*, xxiii.

⁵ *Ib.*, 50.

with anacruses must be given over.¹ Schlotterose² unhesitatingly follows Trautmann in changing *æt baða gehwylcum* (*Ph.* 110^b) to *æt baða gehwām*, and in omitting *se* in *Ph.* 311^b, *se fugel is on hīwe*, although the article appears everywhere else in this poetic paragraph,—because they offend against the “rule.” As elsewhere the critic runs counter to all probability. *And.* 333^b, *swā wæter bebūgeð* is established beyond all reasoning doubt by the reappearance of the phrase, *Beow.* 93^b, *Panther* 6^b, and by the metrically similar *Beow.* 1224^b, *swā sē bebūgeð*. In the *Andreas* passage, Trautmann³ would omit the verbal prefix, because the transmitted form opposes his dictum. How can reason contend against this sort of fatuity? One thinks of Keats’s spirited rebuke to the seventeenth-century vassals of metrical formalism:—

“But ye were dead
To things ye knew not of,—were closely wed
To musty laws lined out with wretched rule
And compass vile; so that ye taught a school
. . . . to smooth, inlay and clip and fit,
Till, like the certain wands of Jacob’s wit,
Their verses tallied. Easy were the task!”

Forgetting that the only “true metre” must be a classification of observed facts, the members of the Bonn seminar limit rigidly the number of unstressed syllables in the thesis. If the “senkung” contains more than two syllables, it is at once violently reduced to the length prescribed by the “system.”⁴ The beauty of this method becomes immedi-

¹ Another disciple of the Bonn school, Hans Löhe, notes (*BB.*, xxii, 63) that, in the 308 lines of *Be Dōmes Dæge*, “the poet offends 28 times against the old rule regarding anacrusis.” Rather let us say that the early use of such anacrusis finds strong support in this convincing evidence of its later extension.

² *BB.*, xxv, 75.

³ *BB.*, i, 25.

⁴ See Von der Warth, pp. 13, 34; Trautmann, *BB.*, xxiii, 100, 104, 114.

ately apparent. Every page of the text furnishes offending verses that must be whipped into the traces, and the tamers of Pegasus find much congenial employment. Indeed three-syllable, four-syllable, and even five-syllable "sinkings" are found so frequently in Old English poetry, particularly in the first foot of Sievers's A, B and C types,¹ that we can only conclude that a large freedom in this regard was an essential feature of the verse. Here as elsewhere in this pseudo-science of textual emendation, we are amazed by high-handed wresting of the evidence into accord with a preconceived verdict. Argument is impossible against this fallacy. The marshalling of a long array of verses that conflict with the so-called "rule" is always met by the confident answer that "the 'verslehre' forbids these," or that "they are badly constructed and must be altered."² Sometimes, however, the commentators are caught in their own net. Here is one illustration out of many. Bar polysyllabic "sinking," and it is clear that something is wrong with the following half-lines: *þāra þe wif oððe wer* (*El.* 508^a), *þāra on hāde sint* (*El.* 740^b), *þāra þe ic gefremede* (*El.* 818^a, *Jul.* 354^a), *þāra þe Dryhtnes æ* (*El.* 971^a). Shall we now hear an admission that the "rules" are at fault? Never that! The way out is found. It seems that though *þāra* (*þāra*) is strong enough to bear the first stress in this very poem, the *Elene*, *þāra lēoda* (285^a), yet it has obligingly become short, *þāra*, in all the examples before us.³ In *ne wæs ænig þāra* (*Jul.* 510^b), rather than admit the anacrusis, Trautmann reads, *ne wæs ænig þær ā*. That the ms. repeats itself eight lines later

¹Consult Sievers, *PBB.*, x, 236-241, 245-248, for examples of the expanded thesis in the *Beowulf*. Philipp Frucht, in his careful study of Cynewulf's metre, *Metrisches und Sprachliches zu Cynewulfs Elene, Juliana und Christ*, 1887, also notes many instances of this.

²Cf. Von der Warth, pp. 7, 27.

³Trautmann, *BB.*, i, 84; Von der Warth, pp. 5-6.

(*Jul.* 518^b), *næs ænig þāra* counts, of course, for nothing. In *þāra þe mid Andrēas* (*And.* 379^a), Von der Warth thinks nothing of omitting *þāra* altogether.

Equally rigid "rules" are framed for the stressed syllables—rules that rest on nothing but false assumptions. It is stoutly asserted that the stress must not fall on certain unimportant words. That these words constantly bear the stress, seems in no way to affect the assumption, but is regarded merely as a challenge to the ingenious commentator. For example, Trautmann¹ attacks the metre of the seemingly faultless half-line, *Jul.* 357^a, *ic þæt wēnde*, and inserts *mē* before *wēnde*, despite the appearance of stressed *ic* several times in this very poem, *Jul.* 132, 369, 372. He objects² also to the half-lines, *þæt þa gāstas* (*And.*, 1617^a) and *þæt him sylfum* (*Jul.* 407^a), and, in each case, would change *þæt* to *þætte*, although the conj. *þæt* is stressed, *And.* 757^a, *þæt of his cynne*; *Jul.* 73, 85, 310, 336, 392, etc. In arbitrary fashion, he emends³ *scyppend wera* (*And.* 787^a) to *scyppend weroda*, although verses of the type that he rejects are found by Sievers⁴ in many poems. Trautmann alters⁵ *þær wæs lof hafēn* (*El.* 889^b) to *þær wæs lof āhafēn*, because he regards *lof* as unfitted "zwei takte zu füllen." What shall we say then to the metre of *þā þīn lof berað* (*And.* 1295^b), of *ofer lof godes* (*Jul.* 408^b), and of *þæt hī lof godes* (*Dōmesdæg*, 47^b) and to the reappearance of the condemned phrase *lof hafēn* (*Jul.* 693^b)? But need we enumerate further? "In the name of truth," says Gerould, "let us exercise commonsense!" "In the name of commonsense," I add, "let us follow the truth!"

To summarize the results of this paper, I have sought to show that the textual criticism of the Bonn seminar is ren-

¹ *BB.*, xxiii, 96.

⁴ *PBB.*, x, 454.

² *l. c.*

⁵ *BB.*, xxxiii, 105.

³ *Ib.*, 117.

dered practically worthless by its use of probabilities, by its lack of perspicacity and of literary appreciation, by the limitations of its knowledge and by its metrical a-priorism—but, above all and through all, by its strange insensibility to the value of evidence, and its consequent readiness to exalt arbitrary assumptions to the place of inflexible rules. Professor Sievers goes none too far in his declaration:¹ “Ein solches verfahren, das unsrer wissenschaft nicht zur ehre, nur zum schaden gereicht, sollte meines erachtens nicht ohne principiellen einspruch ruhig hingenommen werden.” The “system” surely deserves no quarter. Yet such obviously fallacious methods could scarcely claim from me serious discussion, nor demand detailed exposure of their weaknesses, if the greatest danger to the scholarly study of Old English did not seem to me to lie in a tame acquiescence which demands no proofs, but which receives as truths absolutely unfounded assertions, if they are persistently repeated with increasing confidence and vehemence.

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

¹ *PBB.*, XXIX, 305 f.

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CONTENTS.

VIII.—Shakespeare's <i>Julius Caesar</i> in the Light of some other Versions. By HARRY MORGAN AYRES, - - - - -	183-227
IX.—The Date of Chaucer's <i>Medea</i> . By ROBERT K. ROOT, - - - - -	228-240
X.—The Golden Age of the Spenserian Pastoral. By HERBERT E. CORY, - - - - -	241-267
XI.— <i>Un Hijo que Negó á su Padre</i> . By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, - - - - -	268-274
XII.—On the Sources of Guillaume de Deguileville's <i>Pèlerinage de l'Ame</i> . By STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN, - - - - -	275-308
XIII.—Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion-Play. By KARL YOUNG, - - - - -	309-334
XIV.—Uhland's <i>Fortunal</i> and the <i>Histoire de Fortunatus et de ses Enfants</i> . By JOHN C. RANSMEIER, - - - - -	355-366

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December 28, 29, and 30. The Meeting of the Central
at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., on the same
led to the regulations printed on the third page of this

PUBLICATIONS
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1910.

VOL. XXV, 2.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XVIII, 2.

VIII.—SHAKESPEARE'S *JULIUS CÆSAR* IN THE
LIGHT OF SOME OTHER VERSIONS.

Some four years ago I was set the task of tracing the origin of two Dutch plays on Julius Cæsar¹ which up to that time had received no critical attention. The examination of the dramatic treatment of Cæsar in various ages and literatures involved in the solution of this problem led me to the belief that we possessed a body of plays on this subject which might be made to yield some little light on

to ¹ They are : *De Doodt van Julius Cæzar* of H. Verbiest, Amsterdam, 1650, and *De Dood van Brutus en Cassius* of P. Zeeryp, Amsterdam, 1653. The first proves to be a translation of Scudéry's *La Mort de César*, Paris, 1636, and the second of Guérin de Bouscal's *La Mort de Brute et de Porcie ou La Vengeance de la Mort de César*, Paris, 1637. (See Beauchamps, *Recherches sur les Théâtres de France*, Paris, 1735, II, 167.) So much may now be found in the lists given by J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Tooneel in Nederland*, Groningen, 1908, II, pp. 121, 126. It may be added that the translators, in the main faithful, make occasional additions to their originals, *e. g.*, in Verbiest's version the conspirators swear an oath (Act III) and Cæsar's own ghost appears to him predicting disaster (Act II); Zeeryp introduces a rather ineffective quarrel scene between Brutus and Cassius (Act I) and definitely identifies the apparition that appeared to Brutus—in the French, following Plutarch, simply "son mauvais Génie"—as the ghost of Cæsar, whom Brutus recognizes as such.

Shakespeare's treatment of the character. His after all is only one of many. Cæsar has to the succeeding generations of men been everything from Satyr to Hyperion: from the "divus Julius" of Valerius Maximus to the arch-destroyer and brilliant opportunist of Professor Ferrero; from the execrated oppressor of Roman liberties of Lucan to the demi-god of Mommsen; from the perfect knight of Jehan de Tuin to the silly tyrant of Hans Sachs; and finally Dante's desperate resort to the last refuge of embarrassed compliment—"What fine eyes he has;"¹ almost every view, in short, has been held of him except that he was an inconsiderable or negligible person. *A priori*, then, the conjunction of great subject and great poet in the case of Shakespeare was auspicious, but the result, from Ben Jonson to Mr. Bernard Shaw, has seldom passed unchallenged. It is not, however, with what Shakespeare might have made of Cæsar, and has not, that I am here concerned; but rather with the attempt to explain, if it is possible, how he came to make of him what he did. At the risk, then, of saying some fairly trite things, I propose to examine Shakespeare's treatment of the character of Cæsar as appears in his immediate source, Plutarch, with a view to showing at what points other dramatic treatments of the character serve, in my opinion at least, to explain Shakespeare's.

I.

In 1874 Mr. Fleay made a suggestion, a part of which has obtained considerable currency; namely, that Shakespeare's play, as it appears in the Folio of 1623, is a combination of two plays, a "Fall of Cæsar" and a "Revenge of

¹ *Cesare armato con gli occhi grifagni.* *Inf.*, IV, 123.

Cæsar.”¹ One may be permitted some curiosity as to what the content of this “Fall of Cæsar” may be supposed to have been and what sort of a Cæsar was its central and dominating character. Since we are not in possession of such a play before its supposed conflation with a “Revenge” play, we can do no better than to turn to John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham’s rearrangement of Shakespeare’s play into two parts: *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar, Altered*, and *The Tragedy of Marcus Brutus*.²

I do not disturb the merited oblivion of these literary exercises to exhibit their artistic worthlessness, but rather to point out a technical difficulty involved in the first of them, of which the noble author seems to have been not unaware. Following as closely as his classical theories permit the first three acts of Shakespeare’s play, he finds Cæsar’s rôle somewhat inadequate to the task of carrying the play. He attempts, therefore, to increase his scope by substituting for Casca’s whimsical account of the proffered crown the action itself (I, iii), and by introducing a new scene in which Cæsar appoints Brutus prætor over Cassius, an honor which Brutus does not wholly care for (III, ii, iii.). Everything, too, that might tend to dim Cæsar’s heroic greatness, such as deafness or an entrance in a night-gown or a bit of super-

¹ F. G. Fleay, *Trans. New Shak. Soc.*, 1874, pp. 339–366. Also his *Life of Shak.*, N. Y., 1886, p. 214 f. Some of the more extravagant features of Mr. Fleay’s theory are disposed of by Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Hales. *Trans. New Shak. Soc.*, 1874, p. 498 f. See also, A. H. Thorndike, *Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xvii (1902), p. 131. The currency of this part of Mr. Fleay’s guess is due among other things to the fact that in a measure it seems to account for a certain diffusion of interest in Acts iv and v of Shakespeare’s play.

² *The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby and Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1726, I, pp. 113 ff. and 177 ff. Cf. [Genest], *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, Bath, 1832, III, 89 ff.

stition concerning the Lupercalia, Sheffield's classical taste repudiates. He allows Cæsar to be persuaded to remain away from the Senate not by a woman, Calpurnia, but by Marc Antony, seconded by the eloquence of Spurinna the Soothsayer. With these changes, Sheffield's Cæsar is practically Shakespeare's; for such language as this, if it is not Shakespeare's Cæsar poetically, is quite in character :

"Is there a barbarous people yet so rude,
Or so remote, as not to fear your arms?
I'll make them join with all the world besides
In due submission to superior virtue.
Is that great *Parthian* King so haughty grown,
As not to reverence this awfull Senate?
My arms shall haste to humble all his pride,
And bring him bowing to your least commands." (IV, iii.)

Yet the inadequacy of Shakespeare's Cæsar, whatever it may be, is as nothing to the inadequacy of Sheffield's. The latter's play is, therefore, an admirable means of suggesting what is perhaps not so immediately apparent in Shakespeare's as it now stands; namely, that a "Death of Cæsar," even as expanded by Sheffield, is too meagre in incident, involving a characterization of the pompous Cæsar, with or without certain touches omitted in the interests of decorum, too slight, too sketchy, to make by itself such a play as would have satisfied a story-loving Elizabethan audience. It serves to remind us, in other words, that Shakespeare's conception of the character of Cæsar is closely bound up with the whole play as we now have it, and derives what power it has from contributions made by the whole play. To remove this Cæsar from its whole context and attempt to make it of itself dominate a play, is to proclaim an inadequacy which is by no means felt in the play as it stands, even with all its sins of diffuseness of action on its head.

In the light of this it seems more promising to abandon for the present Fleay's hypothesis, engaging as it may be; to study Shakespeare's conception of the character as an integral part of the play, and to observe how he handles the somewhat complex problems presented by a mass of rather diffuse history, involving a character, known by his audience to be great, yet capable, from the very nature of the material, of playing only a comparatively brief rôle. Much of the difficulty which people have felt in regard to the play springs from the form in which this material is cast.¹ The play might, indeed, as Professor Thorndike suggests, have become "a tragedy of over-reaching ambition, as Marlowe might have made *The Tragedy of Cæsar*, or a tragedy of supernaturally ordained revenge, as Kyd might have made *Cæsar's Revenge*."² Unquestionably it has several points of agreement with both these types, but in point of fact it is neither of these nor quite a combination of the two. It is rather the story of the events that group themselves around the murder of Cæsar, from which Shakespeare, setting them forth in something approaching the chronicle method, strove to win what tragic unity he could by emphasizing the unavailing struggle of Brutus to bolster a corrupt aristocracy against the growing power of a debased populace, swayed and informed by a spirit of triumphant Cæsarism. In this process, if we may believe Mr. Bernard Shaw, "it cost Shakespeare no pang to write Cæsar down for the mere technical purpose of writing Brutus up."³ Unquestionably there is a technical problem involved; something must be done towards emphasizing the human infirmities of Cæsar, to let us see him through the eyes of Cassius as no god but

¹ G. P. Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, N. Y., 1907, pp. 271 f., 281.

² A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy*, p. 155.

³ *Three Plays for Puritans*, p. xxx.

a man, so as not to shock his audience by the extinction, in the person of Cæsar, of the sum of human perfection, and so as not to weary them through the rest of the play by the early obliteration, in the person of Cæsar, of all that is remarkable. But it is doubtful, I think, if Cæsar is "written down"—is what he is in the play—*merely* to exalt Brutus. There are other considerations of which Mr. Shaw is by no means unaware,¹ which have gone to the making of Shakespeare's Cæsar.

Shakespeare, no one needs to be told, drew his material from Plutarch,² and he could have resorted to no better source—to the lives of Antony and Brutus as well as that of Cæsar,—set forth in the racy, idiomatic language of North. Yet his Cæsar is admittedly not Plutarch's; his Calpurnia, his Portia are Plutarch's and no more: his Antony, his Brutus, his Cassius—by reason of the contrasts of character his art sets before us—are more, but his Cæsar has ever seemed something less and different. Nowhere does one get so complete a sense of the greatness of Cæsar as in Plutarch. Lucan's Cæsar is great in his almost diabolical competence besides the helplessness of Pompey, but Lucan showers upon him a constant flood of vilification and depreciation. Suetonius deals out his gossip curtly; Dio Cassius leaves a pale, second-hand impression; Appian is slow, though of historical value. But Plutarch is writing lives, not history.³

¹ See below, pp. 226 f.

² For a recent attempt to show Shakespeare indebted in a few details to Appian, Golding's *Ovid*, Suetonius, Dio, and Michel le Noir's translation (1515) of Boccaccio's *Life of Cæsar*, see the notes in Professor F. H. Sykes's edition of *Julius Cæsar* in the *Scribner English Classics*, New York, 1909.

³ References to Plutarch are made to ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΒΙΟΙ, *Græce et Latine* rec. Theod. Doehner, Parisiis, MDCCCXLVII, and to Sir Thomas North's English version (1579) as it appears in the Dent ed., 10 vols., London, 1899.

Plutarch sets Cæsar forth as above everything else astute; as a man marked to rule, thrusting his way with unerring political sagacity into popular favor; cultivated, brave, of inhuman energy, and renowned for a clemency designed to be something more than its own reward; a man of humor and of pithy utterance; toward the close of his life somewhat under the domination of his adherents, and restless in the desire for further achievement. The delicate, rather foppish young patrician plays with steady reliance on his trained powers for the good will of the plebs. He goes to Gaul with the clear purpose of training himself and his soldiers for the inevitable conflict with Pompey. Meanwhile he furthers his political ends by alternately conquering the Gauls with Roman soldiers and Rome with Gaulish gold. It is always on the maker of events, rather than on events themselves that Plutarch dwells. The Helvetian campaign is summarized in a few lines; what interests him is that Cæsar refused his horse and led the charge afoot. In the operations against Ariovistus, it is the fine eloquence in which he bids the disaffected among his captains leave him to fight it out with the Tenth Legion alone; it is Cæsar's hand-to-hand valiantness turning the day against the Nervii, that Plutarch, true to his method, emphasizes.

Cæsar falls to blows with a hulking fellow who is fleeing from Pompey; he mingles victoriously in the mêlée in Spain; in Africa, endeavoring to stem his retreating troops, he seizes the standard-bearer by the collar and whirls him round, saying, "See, there be thy enemies."¹ There is nothing of the swashbuckler, no exaggerated chivalric ideal presented in all this.² Cæsar acts gaily and with humor.

¹ Ἐνταῦθα εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. *Vit. Cæs.*, lii; Dent, vii, p. 189.

² Though he does speak "bigly" to Metellus. *Vit. Cæs.*, xxxv; Dent, vii, p. 168.

The humor we may observe in its somewhat crude bud in his jestings with the pirates; in finer bloom, when, seeing the sword proudly exhibited in the temple of the Averni as won from Cæsar, he laughingly tells his friends to leave it alone, for it is a holy thing; and superbly when he directs his soldiers to aim their darts full in the handsome faces of Pompey's lusty young gentlemen, or when he enrages a deputation of Senators, come to confer upon him divine honors, by calmly keeping his seat in their presence.

Another trait which distinguishes Cæsar from the valiant knight-errant is his wily political forehandedness, which Plutarch does not allow us to forget. Like a wrestler he "striveth for tricks to overthrow his adversary."¹ Part and parcel of his political astuteness is his famous clemency, to which Rome erected a temple. At Corfinium, in Egypt, at Rome, it was always prompted by his "seeking all ways he could to make every man contented with his reign."² When Cæsar caused Pompey's images to be restored to their places, Cicero remarked that in so doing he made his own to stand the surer.³

Such, briefly, is the impression one bears away of the heroic largeness of Plutarch's Cæsar: not always the master of events but provided always with resource to meet them; versatile, witty, competent, expeditious, sagacious, clement. Plutarch has framed an enduring literary portrait of the man.

How much now of this Cæsar appears in Shakespeare? Let us examine afresh his rôle.⁴

The noise and chatter of a holiday is hushed by Cæsar's voice commanding the performance of a trivial piece of

¹ *Vit. Pomp.*, xxviii.

² *Vit. Cæs.*, lviii; Dent, VII, p. 195.

³ *Ibid.*, lvii.

⁴ Quotations are from *Shakespeare's Complete Works*, Cambridge edition, ed. by W. A. Neilson, Boston and New York, 1906.

superstition, which in Cæsar's mouth is Shakespeare's invention. With a flourish the merrymaking goes forward, to be silenced anew by the hollow tones of the soothsayer: "Beware the Ides of March." Cæsar searches the man with the thrust of his animated glance and brushes him aside: "He is a dreamer, let us leave him. Pass." (I, ii, 24.)

Many of our impressions of Cæsar we gain through the eyes of his enemies: of the Tribunes, whose sympathies are with the neglected memory of Pompey; of Cassius, the sarcastic victim of personal pique, who finds Cæsar no more than a man, no conqueror over physical fatigue and disease; of Casca, who whimsically comments on Cæsar's melodramatic demagoguery. Meanwhile a word from Cæsar himself. He distrusts, not fears,—his name is not liable to fear—Cassius' meagre, reflective asceticism.

"I rather tell thee what is to be fear'd
Than what I fear; for always I am a Cæsar." (I, ii, 211 ff.)

Then the sudden relapse from his lofty arrogance:

"Come on my right hand, for this ear is deaf."

The indifference to fear is consistent with Plutarch, the pomposity and the human infirmity are Shakespeare's.

We pass on through storms and prodigies, through more of Cassius' outbursts against this prodigious man who is no more than other men, through Brutus' mental conflicts, through the stolen meeting of the conspirators, where we learn that Cæsar is grown superstitious of late and lends a ready ear to flattery, through the high Roman colloquy of Portia and Brutus, to discover Cæsar nervously wrought upon by the tumult of the elements and his wife's importunities to heed her dreams. It is with unmistakably pompous bluster that Cæsar refuses to remain at home:

"Cæsar shall forth. The things that threaten'd me
Ne'er look'd but on my back; when they shall see
The face of Cæsar, they are vanished." (II, ii, 10 ff.)

He is resigned to the will of the gods :

“ What can be avoided
Whose end is purpos'd by the mighty gods ? ” (l. 26 f.)

And he reaffirms his contempt of fear quite in the Plutarchian manner :

“ Cowards die many times before their deaths ;
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear,
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come.” (ll. 32 ff.)

But close upon this comes his final boast which is not at all Plutarchian :

“ Danger knows full well
That Cæsar is more dangerous than he.
We are two lions litter'd in one day,
And I the elder and more terrible ;
And Cæsar shall go forth.” (ll. 45 ff.)

Cæsar, persuaded by Decius Brutus to attend the Senate, turns, totally ignoring Calpurnia's presence, with gracious affability to the entering conspirators, a touch of Shakespeare's own.

Shakespeare bestows another touch on Cæsar as he enters the Capitol, this time of fine *desmesure*. The letter revealing the conspiracy presented to him by Artemidorus, Plutarch says, he could not read, “ though many times he attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him.”¹ But Shakespeare's Cæsar, urged by Artemidorus to read his schedule at once, since “ it touches Cæsar nearer,” sternly rebukes him :

“ What touches us ourself shall be last serv'd.” (III, i, 8.)

Cæsar's speeches in the Senate House are swollen with

¹ Dent ed., VII, p. 206.

the consciousness of his own greatness. "Cæsar doth not wrong"; his own prayers might move him, but the fawnings of common mortals are without effect on one who is as

"constant as the northern star,
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
The skies are painted with unnumb'red sparks,
They are all fire and every one doth shine;
But there's but one in all doth hold his place.
So in the world; 't is furnished well with men,
And men are flesh and blood, and apprehensive;
Yet in their number I do know but one
That unassailable holds on his rank
Unshak'd of motion; and that I am he,
Let me a little show it, even in this:
That I was constant Cimber should be banish'd,
And constant do remain to keep him so." (III, i, 60 ff.)

And as the conspirators jostle him to his fall:

"Hence! wilt thou lift up Olympus?" (l. 74.)

Our total impression of Shakespeare's Cæsar is not of course limited to his own brief part nor to the speeches of his enemies. Under the spell of Antony's eloquence he stands before us the conqueror, the true friend, and the people's lover. At Philippi he stalks mighty yet, and his spirit prevails. Shakespeare has, that is, at times suggested the heroic qualities of the man, although the striking episodes of his career, everything he had done in fact, to use Montaigne's phrase, "to become Cæsar," fall outside the particular period which Shakespeare has chosen to dramatize.¹ And he has indeed done Cæsar little wrong in touching here and there on his human infirmities in the interests of the design of the play as a whole. His error comes, if error there be, in the words which he puts into

¹ Prof. W. A. Neilson, *Shakespeare*, p. 867, says, "The later section [of Plutarch's *Life*] taken alone conveys very much the same impression of Cæsar's pomposity and weakness as is given by the earlier part of the play."

Cæsar's mouth.¹ We may, then, turn to a consideration of his pomposity of manner and of language. Two elements, at least, enter into the explanation of this: the first a piece of traditional literary psychology; the second, possibly a specific dramatic tradition.

II.

We gather from the historians that Cæsar's superhuman activity told in the end on his intellect of steel. Suetonius says: "Cæsar left behind him in the minds of certain friends about him, a suspicion, that he was neither willing to have lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: because he stood not well to health but was ever more crasie" (*quod valetudine minus prospera uteretur*).² With his failing health, he conceived a grandiose plan of regenerating the Roman world by the conquest of Parthia, he projected prodigious engineering feats, and he seemed not averse to the trappings of royalty which his hangers-on were eager to force upon him.

It is of course not meant to say that Cæsar toward the end of his life was mad in any other sense than that in which a world-conqueror must always appear mad, when judged by an average sanity. It would appear, perhaps, that he suffered from a touch of that obfuscation of the

¹ "There cannot be a stronger proof of Shakespeare's deficiency in classical knowledge than the boastful language he has put in the mouth of the most accomplished man of all antiquity, who was not more admirable for his achievements, than for the dignified simplicity with which he recorded them." Boswell in Malone's *Shakespeare*, 1821, XII, p. 64. The case against Shakespeare's Cæsar is fully set forth in George Brandes, *William Shakespeare, A Critical Study*, N. Y., 1902, Bk. II, Ch. VIII, pp. 303 ff.

² Holland's translation, 86, where for "crazy" in its older, less specialized sense, we should probably substitute something like "broken down."

judgment which sometimes attacks the wielders of unlimited power, leading to extravagance in language and to schemes, not wholly impossible in themselves, which come to naught.¹

It is not, however, necessary to go beyond the domain of literature for the description of this phenomenon. Classical drama makes frequent use of *ἄτη*,² the infatuation, the judicial blindness laid by the gods on those whose destruction they are meditating. This doctrine is perhaps most familiar to us in the modern proverb, *quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*, which seems to have superseded the numerous similar phrases of more dignified literary origin.³ Concerning Œdipus' first speech in Sophocles' *Œdipus the King*, it has been well said that his "long, unbroken prosperity and unquestioned paternal sovereignty have betrayed him into a habit of speech hardly suitable for any but gods or heroes, a habit which here makes him seem to regard himself as a second Kadmos, and to accept the supplications

¹ See the remarks on *paranoia reformatoria* by Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton in the *North American Review*, March, 1908.

² I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for the suggestion of this line of thought and, specifically, for the Latin proverb and the first reference to *Antony and Cleopatra* below.

³ This form of the sentence seems to come from a fragment attributed to Euripides (quoted by the scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 620 f.):

Ὅταν ὁ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ προσύνη κακὰ,
τὸν τοῦν ἐβλάψε πρῶτον.

It is entered in the "index prior" of Joshua Barnes's *Euripides* (Cambridge, 1694, p. [531]), as,

"Deus quos vult perdere, dementat prius."

It is not very different from Publilius Syrus'

"Stultum facit Fortuna, quem vult perdere,"

(ed. R. A. H. Bickford Smith, London, 1895, p. 38. In Woelfflin's and in Meyer's edd., No. 612.)

For some further citations, see Jebb and Schuckburgh's ed. of *Antigone*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 144.

of the Thebans as offered to his august person.”¹ Take, as a further example, the words of Calchas, as reported in the *Ajax* of Sophocles :

“ ‘Yea’ said the seer, ‘lives that have waxed too proud, and avail for good no more, are struck down by heavy misfortunes from the gods, as often as one born to man’s estate forgets it in his thoughts too high for man.’ ”²

And note especially the effect of this *ἄτη* on Ajax himself :

“Some emprise must be sought whereby I may prove to mine aged sire that in heart at least his son is not a dastard. ’T is base for a man to crave the full term of life . . . nay, one of generous strain should nobly live or forthwith nobly die : thou hast heard all.”³

Or take Athena’s counsel to Odysseus in the same play :

Ath. “Therefore, beholding these things, look that thine own lips never speak a haughty word against the gods, assume no swelling port, if thou prevailest above another in prowess or by store of ample wealth. For a day can humble all human things, and a day can lift them up ; but the wise of heart are loved of the gods, and the evil abhorred.”⁴

¹ Thomas Davidson, *The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays*, London, 1882, p. 180 f.

² *The Tragedies of Sophocles*, tr. by Sir R. C. Jebb, Cambridge, 1904, p. 200. I quote from the *Ajax* of Sophocles, ed. A. C. Pearson, Cambridge, 1907 :

τὰ γὰρ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα
πίπτειν βαρελαῖς πρὸς θεῶν δυσπραξίαις
ἔφασχ’ ὁ μάντις, ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν
βλαστῶν ἔπειτα μὴ κατ’ ἀνθρώπον φρονῇ. (ll. 758–61.)

³ Jebb’s tr., p. 191. The original is :

πεῖρά τις ζητητέα
τοιάδ’, ἀφ’ ἧς γέροντι δηλώσω πατρὶ
μὴ τοι φύσιν γ’ ἀσπλαγχνός ἐκ κείνου γεγώς. (ll. 470–472.)
ἀλλ’ ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι
τὸν εὐγενῇ χρή· πάντ’ ἀκήκοας λόγον. (ll. 479–480.)

⁴ Jebb’s tr., p. 180. The original is :

τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέркоπον
μηδέν ποτ’ εἶπης αὐτὸς εἰς θεοὺς ἔπος,
μηδ’ ὄγκον ἄρη μηδέν’, εἰ τινος πλέον
ἢ χειρὶ βρίθεις ἢ μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει.
ὥς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν
ἅπαντα τὰνθρώπεια· τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας
θεοὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακοὺς. (ll. 127–133.)

I have attempted no exhaustive study of this doctrine in Greek tragedy, largely because one does not have to go beyond Shakespeare himself for profound expression of it.¹ It is superbly formulated in *Antony and Cleopatra* by Antony :

“ And when we in our viciousness grow hard—
O misery on't—the wise gods seel our eyes ;
In our own filth drop our clear judgments ; make us
Adore our errors ; laugh at 's, while we strut
To our confusion.” (III, xiii, 111 ff.)

Thus Antony will fight Cæsar by sea, simply “ for that he dares us to 't ” (III, vii, 30) ; will fight him “ sword against sword, Ourselves alone ” (III, xiii, 27 f.) ; will fight anywhere : “ I would they'd fight i' the fire or i' the air ; We'd fight there too ” (IV, x, 3 f.). Because “ his whole action grows Not in the power on't ” (III, vii, 69 f.) ; because he is not “ what he knew himself ” (III, x, 27), but is made angry by Cæsar, since “ at this time most easy 't is to do 't, When [his] good stars, that were [his] former guides, Have empty left their orbs ” (III, xiii, 145 ff.), why “ he'll outstare the lightning ” (III, xiii, 195), “ begins to rage ” (IV, i, 7), storms at Thyreus and at Cleopatra : “ I am Antony yet ” (III, xiii, 92 f.). It is evident that “ 'T is the god Hercules, whom Antony loved, Now leaves him ” (IV, iii, 16 f.).

It is this “ strut ” in Cæsar which provokes from Calpurnia a briefer but not less penetrating definition of the matter : “ Alas, my lord, Your wisdom is consumed in confidence ” (II, ii, 48 f.).² It is the influence of this judicial

¹ He mentions Ate, the goddess of strife, four times, once in *Julius Cæsar* itself, (III, i, 271). See Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, s. v.

² *Troilus and Cressida*, v, iii, is strikingly similar to this scene in *Julius Cæsar*. Hector insists on rushing to his doom in spite of Andromache's dreams :

blindness which makes Cæsar scorn to read Artemidorus' letter just because it touches himself nearly, though he has ample reason to take every precaution, for his personal safety. His action, and it is important to remember that Shakespeare seems here to be following none of his sources, springs from the same ὕβρις, the same *desmesure*, which kept Roland till too late from sounding his horn in the pass of Roncevaux. Nor is it necessary to assume, in order to make these citations from the classics bear on Shakespeare, any intimate acquaintance on his part with Greek tragedy. The idea may be considered a literary commonplace. It

“ You train me to offend you, get you gone.
By all the everlasting gods. I'll go ! (ll. 4-5.)
No more, I say.” (l. 7.)

Cf. Ajax' curt answer to Tecmessa : γύναι, γυναιξί κόσμον ἡ σιγή φέρει (l. 293) and Cæsar's contemptuous disregard of Calpurnia when Decius has shown reasons why he should go. (II, iii, 104f.)

To the further prayers of Andromache, seconded by Cassandra, Hector replies :

“ Hold you still, I say ;
Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate.
Life every man holds dear ; but the brave man
Holds honour far more precious dear than life.” (ll. 25 ff.)

And to Troilus, who is eager to fight, he says,

“ I am to-day i' the vein of chivalry.
Unarm thee, go, and doubt thou not, brave boy,
I'll stand to-day for thee and me and Troy.” (ll. 31 ff.)

There is a trace of this, too, I think, in Richard II's pathetic confidence on landing in Wales :

“ Not all the waters in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king ;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord.” (III, ii, 54 ff.)

Here, as the following lines show, there is no overt *δυσσέβεια*, disworship of the gods, which so often, in the Greek conception, is the element of presumption which calls down divine vengeance.

is admirably expressed, for example, by Sir Thomas Elyot and applied to Julius Cæsar himself:

"But I had almost forgotten Julius Cesar, who, beinge nat able to sustaine the burden of fortune, and enuienge his owne felicitie, abandoned his naturall disposition, and as it were, beinge dronke with ouer moche welth, sought newe wayes howe to be aduanced aboue the astate of mortall princes. Wherfore litle and litle he withdrewe from men his accustomed gentillesse, becomyng more sturdy in langage, and straunge in countenance, than euer before had ben his usage."¹

Reflections of these generalizations concerning the falls of princes we shall find in the dramatic treatments of Cæsar, to which we now turn.

III.

The audience for which Shakespeare was writing presumably knew something about Cæsar. Though Cæsar in the Middle Ages² did not digress so far into picturesqueness as Alexander and Virgil, a certain amount of tradition survived concerning him. The Elizabethan doubtless thought of him as the first emperor of Rome, a mighty conqueror, and builder,³ who was slain in the Capitol.⁴

¹ *The Boke named the Gouvernour, Devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight*, (1551), ed. Croft, London, 1883, II, pp. 47 f.

² See H. Wesemann, *Cæsarfabeln des Mittelalters*, Löwenberg i. Schl., 1897, Progr. no. 190; Arturo Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nelle Immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, Torino, 1882, v. I, ch. VIII; Robert Darnedde, *Über die den altfranzösischen Dichtern bekannten epischen Stoffe aus dem Altertum*, Erlangen, 1887, pp. 145 ff.; E. G. Parodi, *Le Storie di Cesare nella Letteratura Italiana dei Primi Secoli: Studj di Folologia Romanza*, IV, 237-503; Friedrich Gundelfinger, *Cæsar in der deutschen Literatur*, (Palaestra, XXXIII) Berlin, 1904; H. N. MacCracken, *Studies in the Life and Writings of John Lydgate*, ch. v. (in Harvard University Library).

³ Gundelfinger, p. 10 f.; Graf, p. 271 and note 48; Darnedde, pp. 146-7; MacCracken, p. 472; Shakespeare, *Rich. III*, III, i, 68 ff.; *Rich. II*, v, i, 1 ff.

⁴ Graf, pp. 201, 279; Darnedde, p. 147; L. A. Fisher, *Shakespeare and the Capitol: Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1907, pp. 177-182.

Cæsar, too, had appeared on the Elizabethan stage.¹ The entry in Machyn's Diary (1561-2) is somewhat doubtful.² Stephen Gosson in his *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582) refers to a Cæsar and Pompey :³

"So was the history of Cæsar and Pompey, and the play of the Fabii at the Theater, both amplified there, where the Drummes might walke, or the pen ruffle ; when the history swelled and ran to hye for the number of ye persons that shoulde playe it, the Poet with Proteus cut the same fit to his own measure ; when it afforded no pompe at al, he brought it to the racke to make it serve." ⁴

The Latin play of Dr. Richard Eedes, often a little too confidently, I think, cited as the source of the famous *Et tu Brute*, has long been lost.⁵ According to the diary of Philip Henslowe, the years 1594-95 saw Cæsar several times on

¹ See conveniently, F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, Boston and New York, 1908, II, pp. 21-22.

² "The furst day of Feybruary at nyght was the goodlyest masket and dyvers goodly men of armes in gylt harnes and Julyus Sesar played." *Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. for Camden Society by J. G. Nichols, London, 1848, p. 276. The editor adds in a note : "the word *played* has been added in another hand, and, though resembling the old, may be an imitation and not contemporary." A. W. Ward approves this doubt : *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, London, 1899, I, 207.

³ See *English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes*, Roxburghe Library, London, 1869, p. 188.

⁴ Schelling thinks this is doubtless the same with a *storie of pompeie* acted before the Queen on Twelfth Night of that year, (1581); *op. cit.*, II, 21.

⁵ The fullest account of it I have noticed is quoted from Steevens in Malone's Shakespeare, 1821, XII, p. 2. "It appears from Peck's Collection of divers historical Pieces, etc. (appended to his Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell) p. 14, that a Latin play on this subject had been written : Epilogus Cæsaris interfecti, quomodo in scenam prodiit ea res, acta, in Ecclesia Christi, Oxon. Qui Epilogus a Magistro Ricardo Eedes, et scriptus et in proscenio ibidem dictus fuit. A. D. 1682." "Doctor Eedes of Oxforde" is mentioned by Meres among "our best for Tragedie" (*Wits Treasury*, 1598; see Shakespeare *Allusion Books*, ed. C. M. Ingleby, pp. 160-1). Fleay prefers to call him Geddes, *Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, 214. Of 'Eedes' he says, "even the names of his plays are lost" (*ibid.*, p. 162).

the stage.¹ Malone² long ago suggested that Shakespeare's lines,

"How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown!
... How many times shall Cæsar bleed in sport," etc.
(III, i, 111 ff.)

may point to the frequent repetition of some Cæsar play.

What sort of Cæsar was it that Philip Henslowe presented to the Elizabethan audience, who on other nights of the same season were witnessing *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*? What sort of Cæsar did Polonius enact at the university?³ If we could equip ourselves with the notions of this audience concerning Cæsar; if we could discover that, like Cassius, they conceived him a man that thunders, lightens and roars, we might perceive how Shakespeare by endowing Cæsar with a strut has, without doing violence to

¹The entries are as follows (see ed. W. W. Gregg, London, 1904, I, pp. 20 ff.) :

y ^e 8 of novemb ₃	1594 ne. .	B at seser & pompe,	. iiijl ijs
y ^e 14 of novemb ₃	1594	B at seser & pompe,	. xxxv ^s
y ^e 25 of novemb ₃	1594	B at seser & pompe,	. xxxijs
y ^e 10 of desemb ₃	1594	B at seser, xij ^s
y ^e 18 of Jenewary	1594	B at seaser, xxv ^s
y ^e j of febreary	1594	B at seaser, xxiiij ^s
y ^e 6 of marche	1594	B at seaser, xx ^s
y ^e 18 of June	1595 ne. .	B at the 2 pte of sesore,	lv ^s
y ^e 25 of June	1595	B at the j pte of seaser,	xxij ^s
y ^e 26 of June	1595	B at the 2 pte of seaser,	xx ^s

In 1602 Henslowe apparently projected another Cæsar play (I, p. 166):

Lent unto the company the 22 of Maij	} vll
1602 to geve unto antoney Monday &	
mydelton	
mihell drayton webester and the Rest in	
earneste of a Boocke called sesers ffalle	
the some of	

Cf. *Henslowe's Diary, Part II, The Commentary*, 1908, p. 222, No. 236.

²*Prolegomena*, 1821, II, pp. 448-9.

³*Hamlet*, III, ii, 104 ff.

history, obeyed the Horatian injunction, *sequere famam*, far enough to satisfy by suggestions the preconceptions of his audience, and thus win for himself dramatic leisure in which to throw the central interest of his play away from the personality of Cæsar.

The documents which should form the basis of any such attempt to reconstruct an Elizabethan Stage-Cæsar present by no means a complete record. We have, for example, no Cæsar play which was certainly produced on the stage before Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, and only one which by even the remotest possibility could have been. Yet we have enough dramatic material on the subject to be able to determine the effects of the Senecan and Marlowean traditions on the stage-character, Cæsar.

Thomas Heywood in his *Apology for Actors* (1612) tells an interesting story :

"Julius Cæsar himselfe for his pleasure became an actor, being in shape, state, voyce, judgement, and all other occurrents, exterior and interior, excellent. Amongst many other parts acted by him in person, it is recorded of him that, with generall applause in his own theater, he played *Hercules Furens*; and, amongst many other arguments of his compleateness, excellence and extraordinary care in his action, it is thus reported of him:— Being in the depth of a passion, one of his servants (as his part then fell out) presenting Lychas . . . although he was, as our tragedians use but seemingly to kill him by some false imagined wound, yet was Cæsar so extremely carried away with the violence of his practised fury, and by the perfect shape of the madnesse of Hercules, to which he had fashioned all his active spirits, that he slew him dead at his foot, and after swoong him, *terque quaterque* (as the poet says) about his head." ¹

Improbable as it may be that Cæsar ever graced the boards in the flesh,² it is yet true that many a time and oft in the extant plays of the Renaissance he has enacted the part of Hercules.

¹ London Shakespeare Society, 1841, pp. 44-45.

² Nero played Hercules (Suetonius, *Nero*, 21) but I do not find that his acting went to these lengths of realism.

In the Latin *Julius Cæsar* of Marc Antoine Muret,¹ written before the middle of the sixteenth century, the episodes connected with Cæsar's death are, as might be expected, selected and presented under the influence of the plays that go under the name of Seneca. Calpurnia's dream and Brutus' mental struggles lend themselves admirably to such a method. The character of Cæsar, and this is our main point, is carefully modelled on that of Hercules. It is to the opening and the close of the *Hercules Cætaeus* that Muret has chiefly resorted for the form and much of the language of the corresponding portions of his play. His borrowings, however, cover the whole range of the so-called Senecan plays.

Throughout the first act of *M.* (if this letter may stand for Muret's play), as throughout the first scene of the *Cætaeus*, the hero monologuizes to the effect that, the earth being filled with his greatness, his manifold labors accomplished, nothing remains but his assumption to his rightful place among the stars. Everywhere kings are affrighted at the name of Cæsar :

“ Jam tota pene terra Romanos timet,
Et qua resurgens aureis Phœbus comis
Indos propinqua subditos tingit face,
Et qua cadentes pronus inflectens equos

¹ Citations are from the reprint of David Ruhnken's text in his *M. Antonii Mureti Opera Omnia*, Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCLXXXIX, forming Anhang II to G. A. O. Collischon's *Jacques Grévin's Tragödie "Cæsar" in ihrem Verhältniss zu Muret, Voltaire und Shakespere*, in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, LII, Marburg, 1886, pp. 75-86. *Julius Cæsar, Tragoedia*, was first published in the author's *Juvenilia*, 1553. (See Charles Dejob, *M. A. Muret, Thèse*, Paris, 1881, p. 21.) The *Praefatio* is dated Lutetiae. viii. Kalend. Decembr. MDLII. (For it see *M. A. Mureti Opera Omnia*, ed. Frotscher, Lipsiae, 1834, II, pp. 241 ff.) L. Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la Langue et de la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1897, III, 262, gives the date 1544 for the composition of the play.

Gratæ sorori cedit alternas vices,
 Patruique lasso stagna crispat lumine.
 Quacunque Nereus margines terræ premit
 Reges vel ipsi Cæsaris nomen timent." (*M.*, 1-8.)

Cf. Hercules in the *Ætæus* :

"in tutum meas
 laudes redege, nulla me tellus silet :
 me sensit ursæ frigidum Scythicæ genus
 Indusque Phœbo subditus, cancro Libys." (*Æt.*, 38-41.)

"quacunque Nereus porrigi terras vetat.
 non est tonandum : perfidi reges iacent,
 sævi tyranni." (*Æt.*, 4-6.)

"Cæsar" is the greatest title on earth : he has conquered the world ; Rome herself, the conqueror of nations, has bowed to him :

"Numerent triumphos, cum volent, alii suos,
 Seque a subactis nominent provinciis :
 Plus est vocari Cæsarem. Quisquis novos
 Aliunde titulos quærit, is jam detrahit.
 Numerare ductu vis meo victas plagas?
 Percurrito omnes. Ipsa victrix gentium
 Mihi Roma cessit." (*M.*, 9-15.)

Hercules prefaces the list of his labors with a similar comprehensive summary :

"mors me tibi
 certe remisit, omne concessit malum
 quod terra genuit, pontus aer inferi." (*Æt.*, 13-15.)

Cæsar is content in this place to specify merely his victory over his son-in-law Pompey at Pharsalia, the slaughter, and Pompey's exile.

"Ille tam magnus gener,
 Ut pene nomen duceret jam impar sibi,
 Terra marique fusus agnovit meas
 Præstare vires : quemque noluerat parem,"¹

¹ Cf. "nec quemquam iam ferre potest Cæsare priorem
 Pompeiusve parem." (*Pharsalia*, I, 125-6.)

This description of the battle field was very likely suggested by that of

Tulit priorem. Thessali cæde hostium
 Maduere campi ; principum membris canes
 Avesque pastæ ; ductor ipse exterritus,
 Fugare suetus, fugit, et notos petens,
 Sensit manere raram in aerumnis fidem." (*M.*, 15-23.)

Then, echoing a passage in the *Hercules Furens*, Cæsar asks what earth can now offer him. Heaven is his proper place :

"Quid ergo restat, quidve dignum Cæsare
 Subacta tellus exhibere ultra potest ?
 Cælum petendum est : terram jam vilet mihi." (*M.*, 24-26.)

Cf. "quid restat aliud ? vidi et ostendi inferos.
 da si quid ultra est." (*Her. Fur.*, 613-615.)

"Perdomita tellus, tumida cesserunt freta,
 Inferna nostros regna sensere impetus :
 immune cælum est, dignus Alcide labor.
 petatur aether : astra promittit pater.
 quid si negaret ? non capit terra Herculem
 tandemque superis reddit." (*Her. Fur.*, 955-961.)

At this point Cæsar directs his prayer to Jove, begging the translation to which his divine descent entitles him, in language similar to that employed by Hercules at the beginning

Lucan, *Phars.*, vii, 822 ff. In this connection it may be remarked that there seem to be touches of the Senecan Hercules in some of the speeches Lucan puts into the mouths of Pompey and Cæsar. Take this speech of Cæsar's (*Phars.*, v, 660 ff.) :

"... sat magna peregi :
 Arctoas domui gentes, inimica subegi
 Arma metu, vidit Magnum mihi Roma secundum,
 Iussa plebe tuli fasces per bella negatos ;
 Nulla meis aberit tutulis Romana potestas."

And this of Pompey (*Phars.*, ii, 583 f.) :

"Pars mundi mihi nulla vacat ; sed tota tenetur
 Terra meis, quocumque jacet sub sole, tropæis" etc.

Cf. further, for Lucan's dependence on the works of his uncle Seneca, C. Hosius, *Jahrbücher f. Class. Phil. (Fleckeisen)*, 1892, pp. 337 ff. The Senecan influence on Muret, then, may very well have been reinforced by Lucan's treatment of Cæsar.

of the *Ætæus* (1–32) and at the end, as reported by the *nuntius*, (1696–1704).

Cæsar then proceeds to specify his achievements: enemies overcome, law and religion established, the calendar reformed; greater things cannot be imagined and less are not for him.

“Jam vel mihi, vel patriæ vixi satis:
 Quid teneor ultra? jam mihi exactum est, geri
 Sago togaque quidquid eximium potest.
 Hostes perempti, civibus leges datæ,
 Digestus annus, redditus sacris nitor,
 Compostus orbis: cogitari nec queunt
 Majora cuiquam, nec minora a me geri.” (*M.*, 34–40.)

So Hercules boasts,

“fregimus quicquid fuit
 tibi fulminandum,” (*Æt.*, 6–7.)

and continues with a catalogue of his accomplished labors: the Nemean lion, Stymphalian birds, the Hydra, Cerberus, etc. (*Æt.*, 16–30.)

In closing, Cæsar says that rest is not for him; that death will come when it will come; he will not surround himself with guards; for it is not in Cæsar to fear, nor in any generous spirit:

“Vivam otiosus? at id quidem vix vivere est:
 Nec sol quietem, nec bonus princeps capit.
 Cum vita partes muneris functa est sui,
 Mors propera nunquam, sera nonnunquam venit.
 Mihi multa vates dira minitantur quidem,
 Suadentque, amicis ut meum stipem latus:
 At enim timere Cæsaris nunquam fuit.
 Ignava mens rebusque non exercita
 Vereatur atrae mortis incertum diem:
 Generosus animus, quique se nullo videt
 Scelere impiatum, semper est liber metu.” (*M.*, 41–51.)

Here the sentiments of the Plutarchian Cæsar¹ chime per-

¹ Amicis quoque stipatoribus ipsum uti jubentibus, et operam suam offerentibus, recusavit, dicens: Præstat semel mortem oppetere, quam semper metuere. (*Vit. Cæs.*, lvii.)

fectly with the Stoic contempt of death characteristic of the Senecan hero.¹

What we have gained thus far by the comparison of Muret's play with its Senecan models is briefly this: we have seen the character of Cæsar as it passes into the drama of the Renaissance, carefully modelled on the braggart Hercules of Seneca; and along with the addition to his character of this pompous boastfulness, his contempt of death, as it appears in Plutarch, emphasized by reason of its coincidence with the pervasive Stoicism of Seneca's dramas.

I have space merely to indicate the character of Muret's indebtedness in the rest of the play. In Act II, Brutus flogs his courage to action (cf. *Thyest.*, 176–180; 241 ff.; 283 ff.) and having resolved on Cæsar's death indulges in a mental juggling, a kind of judicial see-saw as to the justice of his course. This internal *conflictus*, stichic monologue, if I may so call it, not so very different from his meditations in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* (II, i, 10 ff.),² is a characteristic trick of Seneca's.³ With a final promise to observe the unity of time in his tragedy Brutus is done. Enter Cassius,

¹ Cf. e. g., *Æt.*, 111, 117, 228 f., 443; *Æd.*, 87 f.; *Agam.*, 605 f.; *Troad.*, 869; *Med.*, 159. Lucan, too, was naturally quick to seize on this characteristic of Cæsar; cf. *Phars.*, v, 656 f.

² Plutarch, of course, supplies Muret with the hint for Brutus' state of mind: "volvère secum grave aliquod perplexumque consilium" (*Vit. Brut.*, xiii.). This is worth noting because of an unguarded statement of Collischon's which has frequently been repeated, "Ferner ist zu bemerken, dass Muret nur Plutarch's Biographie von Cäsar herangezogen hat, während Grévin auch die von Brutus und Antonius benutzte" (*op. cit.*, p. 8). Most, indeed, of Brutus' speech does come from the life of Cæsar, but there is no mention there of Portia's self-inflicted wound (*M.* 108–9) nor any hint of Brutus' mental struggles.

³ Cf. Ulysses in *Troad.*, 607 ff.; Andromache, *ibid.*, 649 ff., and Medea in *Med.*, 932 ff.; and further, a piece of stichic dialogue which Muret evidently had in mind, that between Octavia and her nurse concerning Nero's affair with Poppæa, *Oct.*, 183–188.

who gloats malignantly over the prospect of killing Cæsar with his own hand and announcing freedom to the Roman people.¹ Brutus refuses to consider the death of Antony.²

Act III reveals further illustration of Muret's method of running Plutarch's narrative into the Senecan mould. Plutarch mentions that Calpurnia dreamed she held her husband slain in her arms (*Cæs.*, lxiii). This suggests instantly the familiar Senecan dream tearfully recounted by the heroine to her consoling nurse or (as in *Troad.*, 409 ff.) to a *Senex*. The particular scene which Muret has here chosen for his model is that between Poppæa, Nero's mistress, and her nurse.³

The fourth act, in which Calpurnia begs Cæsar to heed the warnings of the gods to remain at home, and Decimus Brutus persuades him to go to the meeting of the Senate, follows closely the account in Plutarch (*Cæs.*, lxiii, lxiv).

¹ Possibly suggested by Dejanira's violent determination to be revenged on Hercules and Iole, *Æt.* 344 f. Cf. also *Her. Fur.* 920 f. and *Thyest.* 491 f.

² Cassius' proposal to kill Antony (*M.*, 184 ff.) is mentioned in the *Life* of Brutus (xviii) and of Antony (xiii) but not in that of Cæsar; further evidence of the unwisdom of circumscribing Muret's reading in Plutarch. See p. 207, note 2.

³ *Octavia*, 690 ff. Calpurnia's opening words are reminiscent rather of Dejanira's (*Æt.*, 706 f.) in so far as they relate to the description of physical terror; cf., though, *Oct.*, 735-6. Cf. also Buchanan's *Jepthes*, in *Opera Omnia*, Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCXXV, Tom. II, pp. 173-213, Scene I, between Storge and Iphis; especially

"sed metus, veluti recens
Quoties recordor, concutit formidine
Mentem," (ll. 88-90.)

with Muret's

"Horror artus concutit,
Corpusque totum frigidus sudor lavat,
Quoties recordor." (241 f.)

Cf. further: *Æt.*, 234 f.; *Agam.*, 108 f.; *Phæd.*, 85 f.; *Med.*, 116 f.; and especially *Troad.*, 409 f.

By Brutus' speech Cæsar is thrown in a state of quite Senecan dubiety :

"Incertus animi, et huc et illuc distrahor,
Qualis per æquor concitum bacchantibus
Deprensa ventis fertur incerto ratis
Agitata cursu. Pellit illinc Africus
Creber procellis, Euris hinc, illinc Notus.
Sic me hinc tuæ, Calpurnia, inflectunt preces,
Hinc dicta Bruti." (*M.*, 379-385.)

This state of mental incertitude and the figure of a storm-tossed ship used to describe it is recurrent in Seneca. Let Andromache's

"Quid agimus? animum distrahit geminus timor ;
hinc natus, illinc coniugis sacri cinis.
pars utra vincet?" (*Troad.*, 642 ff.)

stand for the rest.¹

Cæsar, however, is not long in doubt. Again emphasizing his stoic resignation, he announces in rather tumid language and with a curt remark to Calpurnia his decision to go to the Senate :

"Sed tamen quando semel
Vel cadere præstat, quam metu longo premi :
Non si trecentis vocibus vatum avocer,
Non se ipse voce propria præsens Deus
Moneat pericli, atque hic manendum suadeat,
Me continebo. Desine, uxor, conqueri.
Eamus : omnis jacta nobis alea est." ² (*M.*, 385-391.)

At Cæsar's departure Calpurnia implores the gods to preserve him and with him the safety of Rome. The action of this scene is practically prescribed by Plutarch—Cæsar must yield to Calpurnia, he must be persuaded by Decimus Brutus to go. Under the influence of Senecan situation the

¹ *Agam.*, 138 ff.; *Thyest.*, 436 ff.; *Phæd.*, 181 ff.; *Œd.*, 207 ff. It is hardly necessary to point out the apparent imitation of *Æn.*, I, 83, in the passage from Muret.

² *Plut. Cæs.*, xxxii.

emphasis in Muret falls first on his uncertainty of mind and next on his stoical contempt for fear, expressed in the turgid language of the victim of *ἄτη*; "not if God himself were here and with his own voice should threaten danger and advise remaining, will I hold back." I find no close Senecan parallels at this point,¹ but compare the language of Hercules, the victim of madness laid on him by Juno:

"Resistless I will loose
The chains of Saturn and against the might
Of an unduteous father [Jove] will set free
That father's father; I will lead to war
The raging Titans, rocks and trees I'll bring,
The Centaur's mountain in my right hand seize,
By hill on hill will make a path to heaven."²

In the fifth act Muret, instead of informing us of the accomplished assassination by the discourse of a tireless *nuntius*, sets before us, with some theatrical effect, Brutus and Cassius still reeking with their deed.

"Spirate cives! Cæsar interfectus est." (l. 438.)

They heap the most violent execrations upon the tyrant: Cassius considers Brutus' deed superior to those of Hercules; Brutus moralizes briefly on the mutations of fortune; and Cassius proposes that they ascend to the Capitol. "Roma tandem libera est" (l. 477). The hint for this situation and for Cassius' malignancy was derived, I think, from the entrance of Hercules rejoicing in the gore of the tyrant Lycus (*Her. Fur.*, 895 f.).

Here the play might have ended, but Muret is too much under the influence of Seneca, and of the *Œtæus* in particular, to stop. Calpurnia is, therefore, again brought on the stage. In her grief she implores to be cut off by these

¹ Cf. Creon's defiance of Tiresias, *Antigone*, ll. 1034 ff., Jebb's tr.

² *The Tragedies of Seneca*, tr. E. I. Harris, London, 1904, *Hercules Furens*, ll. 1040 ff.

choice and master spirits of the age, her language closely following the appeal of old Amphitryon to Hercules, who in his madness has slain his own wife and children (*Her. Fur.*, 1039 ff.) The chorus now weeps melodiously for Cæsar, and suddenly the voice of Cæsar is heard bidding Calpurnia cease to bemoan his translation to the stars. The apotheosis of Cæsar, shadowed in Virgil's fifth Eclogue, worked up as Ovid's crowning metamorphosis, and mentioned in most of the historians,¹ is here set forth in close imitation of the apotheosis of Hercules, his voice comforting the stricken Alcmena, at the close of the *Ætæus* (1940 ff.).²

The foregoing study has enabled us to observe how certain characteristics and situations in Plutarch's account of the Cæsar matter are emphasized for dramatic purposes by reason of their coincidence with characteristics and situations already developed by Seneca: Brutus' conflict of duty, Cassius' frantic hatred of Cæsar, Calpurnia's dream, Cæsar's indecision over going to the Senate, and Cæsar's apotheosis. Further, we have seen Cæsar, who in Plutarch is a man of pithy and pregnant utterance, elaborately transformed into a Hercules-like braggart, but with his Plutarchian stoicism unimpaired. Both these characteristics are somewhat reinforced by Lucan, himself partly perhaps under the same Senecan influence. Not all these points will remain constant through succeeding treatments of the subject. As the Senecan form is modified, many will inevitably disappear. We shall find, however, preserved with considerable fidelity down to

¹ E. g. Suetonius, *Cæs.*, lxxxviii; Plutarch, *Cæs.*, lxix; Appian, *Civil Wars*, II, 146 ff.

² An examination of this passage would have saved M. Faguet the statement: "Nous voyons César apporté sanglant prononçant lui-même son apothéose, ce qui est bien peu historique, mais assez théâtrale." (*Tragédie française au XVI. siècle*, p. 79). Hercules is apparently conceived as visible toward the end of the scene ("cessit, ex oculis, abit," l. 1977) though at first he is not (l. 1940). Cæsar remains but an invisible thing, a voice, throughout.

and beyond the date of Shakespeare's play the character of the braggart Cæsar which we have here observed in the making.

IV.

I have devoted so much space to the relations between Muret and his Senecan models because I know of no discussion of the subject to which the reader could be conveniently referred. The case is different with the *César* of Jacques Grévin, which has been studied by Collischon.¹ *César* was played in 1558.² In a prefatory flourish Grévin with charming ambiguity admits his indebtedness to his teacher, Muret. Faguet finds that he follows him "pas à pas" adding "l'invention et le souffle" and "un mouvement plein de feu qui font sa pièce le premier modèle vraiment de la tragédie oratoire."³ Grévin has, however, made some real changes; for the "Chantres" of the Chorus he substitutes a "troupe interlocutoire de gens d'armes des vieilles bandes de César;"⁴ he has introduced an entirely new character, Antony, who appears in a dialogue with Cæsar in the first act⁵ and threatens vengeance over his corpse in the last;⁶

¹ G. A. O. Collischon, *Jacques Grévin's Tragödie "César" in ihrem Verhältniss zu Muret, Voltaire und Shakespere*, in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, LII, Marburg, 1886. Lucien Pinvert's *Jacques Grévin, sa Vie, ses Ecrits, ses Amis*, Paris, 1898, is, so far as it deals with *César* (pp. 135-164), based largely on Collischon.

² Pinvert, pp. 26, 43.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁴ Pinvert, p. 136.

⁵ On the relative advantages of clemency and severity in a prince, a characteristic Senecan situation, cf. *Thyest.*, 176 ff.; *Octavia*, 437 ff. In Seneca the sovereign is the upholder of the Macchiavellian dictum that "it is safer to be feared than to be loved" (*Il Principe*, xvii), and the counsellor or slave is the adviser of clemency. But Cæsar's clemency is so well testified to by Plutarch that in Grévin the rôles are reversed and Antony must take the side of the argument upheld in Seneca by Atreus and Nero.

⁶ He displays to the soldiers the bloody garment of Cæsar and laments that Cæsar

he has omitted the apotheosis of Cæsar; he has combined the third and fourth acts of Muret in his third act, and written a new fourth act in which a *nuntius* announces the assassination to Calpurnia and her nurse. But Grévin has done more than appropriate with some changes Muret's structure: "er hat . . . den Text Murets bedeutend geplündert."¹ The extent of this pillaging is shown by Collischon's comparisons. Of the 353 verses of Muret, exclusive of choruses, about 200 reappear literally or with slight changes in Grévin; of the 217 verses of the choruses, which in Grévin are constructed on quite a different plan, about 50. That the action of Grévin's tragedy (800 ll.) is more than double that of Muret's is chiefly to be accounted for by the additions already mentioned and by his rhetorical diffuseness.

On turning to Grévin's treatment of the character of Cæsar we are instantly aware that some of the superficial characteristics of the Senecan Hercules have disappeared; Cæsar no longer prays to be caught up to heaven, nor does his voice comfort Calpurnia with the news of his translation to the stars. Secondly, we observe that, while his sense of the greatness of his accomplishments is nowise abated, he is painfully alive to the dangers of great place. Where Muret's Cæsar could throw aside dread with a phrase, "At enim timere Cæsaris nunquam fuit," Grévin's needs a deal of rhetoric to calm his nerves:

"Quel mal va furetant aux mouelles de mes os?
 Quel soucy renaissant empesche mon repos?
 Quel presage certain d'horreur, d'ennuis, de flâme,
 D'ennemis, et de mort se mutine en mon ame?"

[Note 6
 cont'd.]

"maintenant a perdu sa puissance,
 Et gist mort estendu, massacré pauvrement
 Par l'homicide Brute." (ll. 1080 fl.)

¹ Collischon, p. 7.

Quel soupçon me tourmente ? quelle frayeur me suit,
 Et règle tousjours mon sang à demi cuict ?
 Cesar, non plus Cesar, mais esclave de crainte,
 Vainqueur, non plus vainqueur, mais serf qui porte empreinte
 La honte sur le front." (1-9.)

Reminiscent as this may seem rather of the suspicious Thyestes,

"Causam timoris ipse quam ignoro exigis,
 nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen." (*Thyest.*, 434 f.)

than of Muret's Hercules-Cæsar, it does not indicate, I think, any fundamental difference in the conception of the character. The Cæsar of both Plutarch and Muret is aware of the existence of occasion for fear, but dismisses it rapidly. Grévin's Cæsar dismisses it, too, but not rapidly—the rhetorical opportunities are too good to be slighted. Grévin's Cæsar soon becomes quite as boastful as Muret's :

"Quoy ! qu'au cueur de Cesar la crainte prenne place !
 Non, il n'en sera rien." (ll. 11-12.)

Is it not time for him to die ? he continues, as in Muret :

"Ce m'est assez de voir la Romaine hauteur
 Ores estre bornee avecque ma grandeur.
 Ce m'est, ce m'est assez que de la terre et l'onde
 J'ay vainqueur limité et Rome et tout le monde." (ll. 29 ff.)

Let death come when it will. None, however, will dare to attack the conqueror of Pompey and one who has campaigned to such purpose :

"Que de tout l'universe il fust le seul seigneur." (l. 62.)

His conquests speak for themselves. Rome will one day feel the need of his strong arm ; and who indeed would benefit by killing such a man ?

So far, then, as the character of Cæsar is concerned, we have little in Grévin's play, save for a rhetorical diffuseness resulting in greater emphasis on Cæsar's premonitions of

impending danger, which was not contained in the tragedy of his master Muret. And it is after all Muret's conception of the character which influences the plays we shall consider next.

Another play somewhat under the influence of Muret, but contributing little if anything to the tradition we are studying, is the intolerably wordy *Cesare* of Orlando Pescetti (1594).¹ Beginning with a long prologue in Heaven, it winds through the usual situations, adding a philosophical argument between Cæsar and Antony (Act III) and disquisitions on divination by the *Sacerdote* (Act IV), to a catastrophe reported by two several *nuntii* and commented upon by four separate choruses.²

¹ My copy has the following title-page: *Il Cesure / Tragedia / D'Orlando Pescetti / Dedicata / Al Sereniss. Principe / Donno Alfonso II. D'Este / Duca di Ferrara, &c. / [Device] In Verona / nella Stamparia di Girolamo Discepolo. / M D X C III.*

The dedication is dated, "Di Verono il di 19. di Febraio 1594."

The facts of Pescetti's life may be found in Gerini, *Gli Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani del Secolo Decimo Settimo*, 1900, pp. 112-118.

² Of course one on the lookout for parallels to Shakespeare can find them here, as in every Cæsar play. Take, for instance, Brutus' rejection of Cassius' proposal to kill Antony, because he is a man

"al ventre

Dedito, e al sonno, e ne' piacer venerei," etc. (p. 25.)

Shakespeare has

"for he is given

To sports, to wildness and much company." (II, i, 188 f.)

There is no hint for this line of argument in Plutarch. Brutus argues further, again without Plutarchian authority,

"Col troncar della testa all'altre membra

Troncasi ogni vigore, ogni possanza." (p. 27.)

and Shakespeare's Brutus in the same context urges

"For he can do no more than Cæsar's arm.

When Cæsar's head is off." (II, I, 182 f.)

I cite this simply as the type of parallelism one finds at every turn, to which it is difficult to attach any significance at all.

A few passages will suffice to show, with all his talkativeness, the traditional character of Cæsar.

“Morrà il terren, che frà pochi anni ad ogni
 Modo hà da sciorsi in polve: ma immortale
 Rimarrà del mio nome la memoria.
 Abastanza ho vissuto alla natura,
 Et alla gloria. Omai ch'à far mi resti,
 Per più glorificar il nome mio,
 Non veggio. Asceso sono à quella altezza,
 Cui non è pari in terra: oltre alla quale
 Non può salir, chi del terreno incarco
 Non si spoglia, & isgrava, et mette l'ale.” (pp. 94-95.)
 Cf. “Jam vel mihi, vel patriæ vixi satis. (Muret, l. 34.)

Quid ergo restat, quidve dignum Cæsare
 Subacta tellus exhibere ultra potest?
 Cælum petendum est: terram jam vilet mihi.”
 (Muret, ll. 24-26.)

Since this play is little known,¹ I cite two more passages illustrating Cæsar's characteristic boastfulness and contempt for fear:

Ces. “Con quai nomi m'appelli il mondo, o quali
 Titoli egli mi dia, poco mi cale.
 A me basta, ch'ei sappia, e legga, e narri
 Le da me operate cose in pace, e in guerra;
 Onde ne resti la memoria viva
 Al par del Sol, con cui gareggi, e giostri
 Di chiarezza, e splendor la gloria mia.” (p. 69.)

Ces. “Non tem' io, nò; non hà luogo il timore
 In questo petto: unque il mio cuor non seppe,
 Che timor fosse: e già son giunto a tale
 Etade, e tali cose oprato hò in arme,
 Che della morte aver non debbo tema.
 Potrà ben morte, ch'ogni cosa scioglie,
 Questo corpo atterrar; ma la memoria
 Del nome mio non spegnerà in eterno.” (p. 97.)

¹ I regret that I have had no opportunity to examine Michael Vir-
 dungus' *Brutus* (1596) and *Cuius Julius Cæsar Tragedia . . . Autore M.*
Cusparo Brülövio (1616). For summaries of them, see Gundelfinger,
Cæsar in der deutschen Literatur, Berlin, 1904, pp. 49 ff.

It is directly to Muret and the Senecan tradition inaugurated by him, and not to Grévin, that the Cæsar of Garnier's *Cornélie* (1574)¹ owes his lion's skin and club. Considerable passages in Cæsar's speeches, taken over from Muret, are animated by the glorious tumidity of the Senecan Hercules.

Rome, he asks, art thou not filled with astonished joy at my exploits? And he continues, closely translating Muret : (see pp. 203 f.).

“Ja presque tout le monde obeist aux Romains :
Ils ont presque la mer et la terre en leurs mains
Et soit où le Soleil de sa torche voisine
Les Indiens perleux au matin illumine,
Soit où son char lassé de la course du jour
Le ciel quitte à la nuict qui commence son tour :
Soit où la mer glacee en crystal se reserre,
Soit où le chaud rostist l'estomach de la terre,
Les Romains on redoute, et n'y a si grand Roy
Qui au cœur ne fremisse oyant parler de moy.” (1323-1332.)

He continues :

“Cesar est de la Terre et la gloire et la crainte,
Cesar des vieux guerriers a la louange estainte.” (1333 f.)

And mentioning the heroes of old Rome whom he has surpassed,² he concludes :

“Cesar va trionfant de tout le monde entier,
Et tous à peine ils ont trionfé d'un cartier.” (1339 f.)

He chronicles his victory over Pompey in language based on Muret (ll. 15-23).³

¹ Ed. Wendelin Foerster, Heilbronn, 1883, reprinting the edition of 1585.

² Based on Plut. *Cæs.*, xv ; Dent, vii, p. 138.

³ Of other borrowings, the chorus (ll. 985-1064), from Muret (ll. 52-97), and the chorus (ll. 1237-1392) from Muret (ll. 196-239), matter which is not in Grévin, may be cited. When the matter is in both Muret and Grévin, Garnier is closer to Muret :

“O rem pudendam ! mollis et vix vir satis,
Regit Quirites Martis ortos sanguine,
Totumque nutu pathicus orbem temperat.” (M., 142 ff.)

The tradition which we saw taking shape in Muret's play under the influence of Seneca appears now in England in the *Julius Cæsar* of Sir William Alexander.¹ One might surmise that the author was quite aware of the tradition he was in, for he resorts for the first act of his play to Juno's monologue at the opening of the *Hercules Furens* of Seneca, ingeniously substituting Cæsar for Hercules as the object of Junonian ire. It is not impossible that he also knew Muret's play. The closing lines of this speech of Cæsar's are close to Muret, ll. 9-12 (see p. 204):

[Note 3 "O chose trop indigne! un homme effeminé,
cont'd.] Que le Roy Nicomede a jeune butiné,
Commande à l'Univers, la terre tient en bride,
Et maistre donne loy au peuple Romulide,
Aux enfans de dieu Mars." (Garnier, ll. 1217 ff.)

"N'endurons plus sur nous regner un Ganymede,
Et la moitié du lit du Roy Nicomede." (Grévin, ll. 485-6.)

Cf. further Muret, 127-9; Garnier, 1209 ff.; and Grévin, 359 ff.

¹ First printed in London in 1604 (according to Beumelburg, p. 14; see below.) It appeared again in *The Monarchike Tragedies, newly enlarged*, etc., London, 1607; reprinted in *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, &c.*, Glasgow, 1870-72, vol. II, pp. 211-324, here quoted.

This play has engaged the momentary attention of critics because Malone (1821, XII, p. 2, and *Prolegomena*, II, 445), thought Shakespeare had borrowed from it. Dates, if nothing else, make this all but impossible.

The only striking agreement between the two is afforded by the lines:

"Then Cassius, Brutus and the rest began
With that great emperours blood to die their hands,"
(v, ii, p. 316.)

which recalls Shakespeare's

"Stoop, Romans, stoop
And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood
Up to the elbows." (III, i, 105 ff.)

Yet as the resemblance stands practically by itself (see H. Beumelburg, *Sir William Alexander, Graf von Stirling, als Dramatischer Dichter*, Halle, 1880, p. 68, for some very doubtful ones) and as Sir William is usually a generous borrower, we must, I think, set it down to chance or to the possibility that he had heard an account of Shakespeare's play.

"Those who corrival'd me, by me o'rethrowne,
 Did by their falls give feathers to my flight :
 I in some corner rather live unknowne
 Then shine in glory, and not shine most bright ;
 What common is to two rests no more rare,
 In all the world no *Phœnix* is save one,
 That of my deeds none challenge might a share
 Would God that I had acted all alone.

Some earst (whose deeds rest registered by fame)
 Did from their conquests glorious titles bring.
 But greatness to be great, must have my name.
 To be a Cæsar is above a king." (II, i, p. 226.)

Further we perceive a large debt to Garnier's¹ *Cornélie* in, I think, Kyd's translation of it.² Continuing the speech

¹Translations of Garnier appear, further, in Antony's reply to this speech of Cæsar's (A., pp. 227-8; G., 1383-1387) and in the dialogue between Cæsar and Antony, developed perhaps along Senecan lines from Grévin's hint (see p. 212), in which Antony urges Cæsar to take repressive measures for his personal safety, and Cæsar advocates clemency and a disregard of threatened danger (A., p. 233; G., 1403-16). Part of this dialogue in Garnier is given by Alexander to Cæsar and Calpurnia (A., pp. 287-8; G., 1445 ff.) Alexander also gets material for the long political debates between Cicero and Decius Brutus (II, i), and between M. Brutus and Cassius (III, i) from similar debates in the fourth act of Garnier.

² Alexander seems to follow Kyd in a mistranslation of Garnier:

(Garnier.) "Cæs. Je ne crains point ceux-là qui restent de la guerre.
 Ant. Je les crains plus que ceux qu'ensevelist la terre."
 (1417 f.)

(Kyd.) "I fear my foe until he be intered." (l. 1423.)
 (Alexander.) "I would have all my foes brought to their enda." (p. 232.)

And in a slight addition to Garnier's sense:

(G.) "Ayez à vostre porte,
 Et a l'entour de vous une garde bien forte." (1446 f.)

(K.) "As befits your state
 Maintaine a watchfull guard about your gate." (1451 f.)

(A.) "All threatned dangers to prevent provide
 And use for safety, what to state is due." (p. 287.)

Quotations are from *Cornelia* von Thomas Kyd. Nach dem Drucke vom Jahre 1594 herausgegeben von Dr. Heinrich Gassner, München, 1894.

above quoted, Cæsar proceeds to specify his achievements :

“Th’out-ragious Gauls
 By me (*Romes* nurseling) match’d, and o’re matched mourn’d :

 Then as to subjects having given degrees,
 The *Gauls* no more presuming of their might
 I (wounding *Neptunes* bosome with wing’d trees)
 Did with the world-divided *Britains* fight ;
 The *Germans* from their birth inur’d to warre,
 Whose martiall mindes still haughtie thoughts have bred,
 Whil’st neither men, nor walles, my course could barre,
 (Masked with my banners) saw their Rhene runne red.”

With which may be compared Kyd’s version :

“ The Gauls that came to Tiber to carouse,
 Dyd live to see my souldiers drinke at Loyre ;
 And those brave Germaines, true borne Martialists,
 Beheld the swift Rheyn under-run mine Ensignes ;
 The Brittaines (lockt within a watry Realme,
 And wald by Neptune) stoopt to mee at last.” (ll. 1343–48.)

And he concludes :

“ And in few words to comprehend my deeds,
Rome conquer’d all the world, and *Cæsar, Rome,*” (p. 227.)

which is as close to Muret’s “*Ipsa victrix gentium Mihi Roma cessit*” (14–15) as to Kyd’s :

“ The faithles Moore, the fierce Numidian

 Have all been urg’d to yield to my commaund.
 Yea even this Cittie that has almost made
 An universall conquest of the world.” (ll. 1349–1355.)

Long after my study was completed I found in reading Dr. A. H. Upham’s *French Influence in English Literature*¹ that the matter of Alexander’s indebtedness to Kyd’s *Cornelia* had been discovered and treated by Dr. T. A. Lester in his unpublished dissertation, *Connections between the Drama*

¹ Columbia University Press, p. 87.

of France and Great Britain, particularly in the Elizabethan Period, 1900.¹ In his careful study of the sources of Alexander's plays Dr. Lester says further, "In general it may be said that Alexander follows Grévin, availing himself not only of Grévin's original scenes, but also of Grévin's non-Plutarchian order. . . . There can be little doubt that Alexander's *Julius Cæsar* is nothing but Grévin's *César*, rewritten and enlarged." This is I think just and on the whole rather more than I had myself noticed; for Alexander has added so much from the *Cornelia* and from Plutarch (I think Plutarch's life of Cæsar could almost be reconstructed complete from his play) and rewritten it all in such a parenthetically diffuse style that the outlines of Grévin's play are fairly obscured. So far as the character of Cæsar is concerned, however, Alexander owes to Grévin hardly more than the monologue (pp. 293 ff.), in which Cæsar expresses his vague fears of impending disaster. On the whole, his conception of Cæsar's character—and it is with this that we are immediately concerned—depends more directly on Garnier and the Senecan tradition inaugurated by Muret.

V.

We have thus far been able to trace a Senecan tradition reaching down to and beyond the probable date of Shakespeare's play, and we have seen what it makes of the character of Cæsar. Let us now see what the Marlowesque tradition makes of it. The anonymous play of *Cæsar and Pompey* or *Cæsar's Revenge*² has sometimes been very

¹ In the Library of Harvard University. I am indebted for transcripts of the pertinent passages to the kindness of Dr. H. de W. Fuller.

² The British Museum copy (press-mark, C. 34. b. 7.) has the following title-page: 'The / Tragedie / of / Cæsar / and Pompey. / or / Cæsars / Revenge. /

tentatively identified with the Henslowe play of 1594.¹ Whether this identification is just or not, or whether the play belongs to a date anterior to 1606, need not immediately concern us. The verse is archaic.² The action is episodic and inclusive; opening with the defeat of Pompey on the field of Pharsalia, it follows the fortunes of both Cæsar and Pompey to Egypt, setting forth the murder of the former, the latter's grief thereat, and his infatuation with Cleopatra. Cato commits suicide in Act II, Sc. v. In Act III the conspiracy forms against Cæsar, and he is assassinated. In Act IV Antony and others rouse the people to frenzy over Cæsar's corpse; Cassius and Brutus flee; the ghost of Cæsar persuades Octavius and Antony to compose their differences and unite in compassing his revenge. Act V deals with the appearance of Cæsar's ghost to Brutus

Privately acted by the Studentes of Trinity / Colledge in Oxford. / At London / Imprinted for Nathaniel Fosbrooke and John Wright and are / to be sould in Paules Church-yard at the / signe of the Helmet. / 1607. The copy in the Dyce Collection, South Kensington Museum (No. 1730), has: The / Tragedie / of / Cæsar and Pompey / or / Cæsars / Revenge. [Device.] At London / Imprinted by G. E. for John Wright and are to bee / sould at his shop at Christ-church Gate. [No date]. The two copies seem to differ only in the title-page, so far as I can judge from transcripts made for me by Miss E. J. Hastings (see W. W. Greg, *English Plays before 1700*, p. 134).

It was entered in the Stationers' Register, June 5, 1606. See Arber's *Transcript*, III, p. 140.

The British Museum Catalogue (s. Cæsar) can hardly be right in attributing it to Chapman. It bears no resemblance to his *Cæsar and Pompey* (1631.) See A. Kern, *George Chapman's Tragödie Cæsar und Pompey und ihre Quellen*, Halle a. S., 1901, p. 6.

¹ G. L. Craik, *English of Shakespeare*, etc., p. 47; A. W. Ward, *English Dram. Lit.*, II, 140, Schelling, *op. cit.*, II, 22. W. W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary, Part II*, 1908, p. 171, says there is no reason whatever to connect them.

² I count 22 feminine endings in the 2415 lines of the play. 1 *Tamburlaine* contains 25 and 2 *Tamburlaine*, 33. (Schipper, *De Versu Marlovii*, Bonnæ, 1867, p. 23.) The use of rhyme is considerably greater than Marlowe's practice, but its quantity varies curiously in different scenes.

and the defeat at Philippi. The necrology is lengthy and edited at the beginning of each act by Discord as chorus. The ghost of Cæsar pursues Brutus about the field of Philippi till he desperately commits suicide, and it shares in Discord's satisfaction at the end of the play as they prepare to resume their infernal abodes. In form and temper, at any rate, it belongs with the plays of the early 90's.

Most striking is the sustained and successful imitation of Marlowe's style. It is by no means confined to the treatment of Cæsar's character, but to Cæsar as Tamburlaine we must limit ourselves here.¹ Hear him :

"As from *Phlegrean*² fields the King of Gods
 With conquering spoyles and trophies³ proud returned,
 When great *Typhæus* fell by thundering darts,
 And rod away with their Cælestiall troops
 In greatest pride through Heavens smooth paved way,
 So shall the Pompeous glory of my traine,
 Daring to match ould *Saturns* kingly Sonne,
 Call down these goulden lampes from the bright skie
 And leave Heaven blind my greatness to admire.
 This laurell garland in fayre conquest made
 Shall stayne the pride of *Ariadnes* crowne,
 Clad in the beauty of my glorious lampes.
Cassiopea, leave thy starry chayre
 And on my sun-bright Chariot wheels attend,
 Which in triumphing pompe doth *Cæsar* beare,
 To Earths astonishment and amaze of Heaven.
 Now looke, proude *Rome*, from thy seven-fould seate
 And see the world thy subject at thy feete
 And *Cæsar* ruling over all the world." ⁴ (III, ii.)

¹ I hope some day to be able to publish this play. In quoting from it I correct some obvious mistakes, re-punctuate, and make i's and u's conform to modern usage.

² *Phægean*.

³ *Tropheus*.

⁴ Cf. with this line: "And we will triumph over all the world." (1 *Tamb.*, I, ii, 172) and "Cæsar doth triumph over all the world," (Kyd, *Cornelia*, l. 1341), translating Garnier's: "Cesar va trionfant de tout le monde entier."

It is hardly necessary to quote Tamburlaine extensively :¹

“ And with our sun-bright armour as we march,
We'll chase the stars from Heaven and dim their eyes
That stand and muse at our admirèd arms.”

(1 *Tamb.*, II, iii, 23 ff.)

“ Then in my coach like Saturn's royal son
Mounted, his shining chariot gilt with fire,
And drawn with princely eagles through the path
Paved with bright crystal and enchased with stars,
When all the stars stand gazing at his pomp,
So will I ride through Samarcanda streets.”

(2 *Tamb.*, IV, iv, 125 ff.)

Cæsar recites the long list of his conquests and concludes :

“ And now am come to triumph heere in *Rome*
With greater glory then ere *Romain* did.” (III, ii.)

He threatens Parthia in high astounding terms :

“ Leave to lament, brave *Romans*, loe, I come,
Like to the God of battell mad with rage,
To die their rivers with vermillion red.
Ile fill *Armenia's*² playnes and *Media's*³ hils
With carkases of bastard⁴ *Scithian* broode
And there proud Princes will I bring to *Rome*,
Chained in fetters to my chariot wheeles.
Desire of fame and hope of sweete reveng
Which in my brest hath kindled such a flame,
As nor *Euphrates* nor sweet *Tybers* streame
Can quench or slack this fervent boyling heate.” (III, iv.)

And in refusing the crown proffered by Antony he says :

“ Of Jove in Heaven shall ruled be the skie,
The earth of *Cæsar* with like Majesty.” (III, iv.)

Such citations might be carried on almost indefinitely but

¹ *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edition A. H. Bullen, Boston, 1885, vol. I.

² *Armenians*.

³ *Medians*.

⁴ *bactard*.

space forbids a detailed discussion of the play.¹ Tamburlaine himself might well say, if he had any such conception of Cæsar as our anonymous author had,

“My camp is like to Julius Cæsar’s host
That never fought but had the victory.” (1 *Tamb.*, III, iii.)

Between this play and Shakespeare’s there seems to be no immediate connection.² But it is not with questions of direct influence on Shakespeare that we have to do. Our study has aimed merely to trace from its fountain head in Seneca a stream of tradition continuing to Shakespeare’s time and beyond, under the baptism of which Cæsar has become Hercules and speaks with his braggart’s voice. In its developed form the character closely resembles Tamburlaine, triumphing over a world too lost in amazement at his wondrous victories to make effectual resistance; the heaven-storming conqueror whose large utterance is filled with the pomp and circumstance of his own greatness. Such, then, we may, in the light of our study, more than guess to have

¹ Besides Marlowe, it draws largely on Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, and Appian, with occasional tag-ends from early plays. A few slight resemblances to Beaumont and Fletcher’s *False One* are, I think, almost undoubtedly fortuitous.

² At the close of Act III, Antony vows revenge over Cæsar’s corpse and “exit with Cæsar in his armes,” a piece of stage business which occurs at the corresponding point in Shakespeare (III, i). There is no resemblance, however, between the two speeches, except the threatening tone.

Casca’s exclamation, “Speak, hands, for me” (Sh., III, i, 76), may be illustrated by a remark of Cassius’ in *Cæsar and Pompey*, just previous to the assassination :

“This [flourishing his dagger] shall dispute for mee and tell him why
This heart, hande, minde, hath mark’d him out to die.”

Cæsar’s dying words: “*Et tu Brute!* Then fall Cæsar” (III, i, 77), are perhaps nowhere so closely paralleled as in this play :

“What, Brutus to? Nay, nay, then let me die.
Nothing wounds deeper then ingratitude.” (III, vi.)

been the Elizabethan stage Cæsar.¹ And if such it were, we readily see how Shakespeare must of necessity endow him with a little strut, a touch of grandiosity, if his audience is to believe that Cæsar stands before them. We may conclude that Mr. Shaw's "method of pure divination" has

¹ It may not be altogether fanciful to see in Massinger's *Roman Actor* (Mermaid's Series, edition A. Symons, vol. 2), traces of the traditional "Cæsar." Domitian's language, in spite of his disclaimer,

"Would better suit the mouth of Plautus' braggart,
Than the adored monarch of the world," (I, iv, p. 20.)

and he has many characteristics which Massinger did not find in Suetonius' *Life*. He, too, for example, enumerates his conquests :

"When I but name the Daci
The grey-eyed Germans, whom I have subdued,
The ghost of Julius will look pale with envy,
And great Vespasian's and Titus' triumph,
(Truth must take place of father and of brother,)
Will be no more remembered. I am above
All honours you can give me ; and the style
Of Lord and God, which thankful subjects give me,
Not my ambition, is deserved." (I, iv, p. 20.)

He has not in conquest stretched his arm so far, only to be obliged to render an account of his actions :

"Am I master
Of two and thirty legions that awe
All nations of the triumphed world,
Yet tremble at our frown !—yield an account
Of what's our pleasure to a private man !
Rome perish first, and Atlas' shoulders shrink,
Heaven's fabric fall (the sun, the moon, the stars
Losing their light and comfortable heat),
Ere I confess than any fault of mine
May be disputed." (II, i, p. 28.)

And finally he too is the victim of ἀτῆ, defiant, yet for a moment as in Suetonius not insensible to fear in the face of divine revelations of impending conspiracy and assassination :

"By my shaking
I am the guilty man and the judge.
. I'll mock Fate.

not altogether misled him when it prompted him to say that "Shakespear expressed a view [of Cæsar] which was not even Plutarchian and must I fear be referred to the tradition in stage conquerors established by Marlowe's Tamerlane, as much as to even the chivalrous conception of heroism dramatized in Henry V." ¹

Mr. Shaw's Cæsar is better than Shakespeare's in so far as he more faithfully resembles the Cæsar we know from Plutarch, Cæsar in the day of his strength. Shakespeare on the other hand in making Cæsar, for dramatic reasons which we have hinted at and under literary influences which we have endeavored to trace, a victim of *ἄρτη*, who talks indeed in the "'Ercles vein" and "struts to his confusion," has given us a Cæsar in the day of his fall; one not wholly out of accord with the man who was struck down on the Ides of March by the hands of short-sighted, if perhaps genuinely patriotic, aristocrats, who dreaded the consequences of his next spectacular move, the subjugation of Parthia. ²

HARRY MORGAN AYRES.

Shall words fright him victorious armies circle?

No, no : the fever doth begin to leave me." (III, ii, p. 47.)

"Though all the sky were hung with blazing meteors,
Which fond astrolegers give out to be
Assured presages of the change of empires
And deaths of monarchs, we, undaunted yet,
Guarded with our own thunder, bid defiance
To them and fate, we being too strongly armed
For them to wound us." (IV, i, p. 58.)

"Are we the great disposer
Of life and death, we cannot mock the stars
In such a trifle?" (V, i, p. 76.)

¹ *Three Plays for Puritans*, p. xxxv.

² Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, II, p. 130.

IX.—THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S *MEDEA*.

In the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* for March, 1909,¹ I tried to show reason for believing that Chaucer's *Legend of Medea* was written later than the *Man of Law's Prologue*, and that hence the date of its composition must fall some time after 1390, when the poet was already engaged on the *Canterbury Tales*. In the following number of the same journal² Professor G. L. Kittredge replied to my paper with a thorough-going denial. Professor Kittredge's name rightly carries with it so great an authority,—particularly in matters pertaining to Chaucer,—that, if I am still to maintain my position, I must consider his objections and show why I cannot hold them valid. Whatever may be the final verdict of scholars as to the date of *Medea*, the issue involves so many questions which throw light on Chaucer's methods of work that a full discussion of it cannot be without profit.

I.

The argument of my former paper may be restated as follows: The *Man of Law's Prologue* contains what purports to be a list of stories which may be found in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. This list mentions seven stories which, we have every reason to believe, Chaucer never wrote;³ while its reference to the story of *Medea* misrepre-

¹ 24, 124–153.

² 24, 343–363.

³ Deianira, Hermione, Hero, Helen, Briseis, Laodamia, Penelope. I omit Alcestis, whose 'wyfhod,' though not exemplified by a story of her life, is at least 'comended with the beste' in the Prologue. Mr. Kittredge can hardly have meant seriously his suggestion (p. 361, n. 1) that since Helen, Hero, Laodamia, and Penelope are named in the *balade* and

sents both the spirit and content of her legend as Chaucer has given it to us. This reference, in its general tone and in its mention of hanging by the neck as the manner of Medea's murder of her children, is strongly reminiscent of Jean de Meun's epitome of the Medea story in the *Roman de la Rose*.¹ This would seem to show that when Chaucer wrote the *Man of Law's Prologue* the version of the story most prominent in his memory was that in the *Roman de la Rose* rather than his own *Legend of Medea*, or the versions given by Guido in the *Historia*, or by Ovid in the *Heroides*, which served as the sources of his legend. If so, the *Legend of Medea* was written later than the *Man of Law's* reference to it. This argument I sought to corroborate by showing that Chaucer's acquaintance with the story of Medea before he undertook to write her legend was, so far as his allusions to her story show, mainly derived from the *Roman de la Rose*. Of the five allusions to the myth found in poems antedating the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* four are traceable to this source, while the fifth, a mere mention of Jason and Medea as personages in the story of Troy, is to be traced either to Benoit or Guido, though it does not in itself show evidence that Chaucer had read the version of either. Before Chaucer wrote his *Legend*, as late even as his composition of the story of Palamon and Arcite, he associated Medea primarily with the *Roman de la Rose*. The *Man of Law's* misleading reference shows the same mental association. Had Chaucer already written his *Legend of Medea*, which, based primarily on Guido, shows no indebtedness to Jean de Meun's meagre epitome, this mental association could hardly have survived.

Deianira, Briseis, and Penelope are alluded to in the *House of Fame*, *Troilus*, or *Anelida*, Chaucer 'could allege that he had at least spoken of every one of the heroines whom the *Man of Law* names (save Hermione alone)—"if not in o book," then at all events "in another."'

¹ ll. 14198-14203.

It has seemed necessary to restate my argument thus fully, since Professor Kittredge has, in part at least, misunderstood its direction. The starting-point for the whole discussion is the puzzling discrepancy between Chaucer's *Legend of Medea* and the Man of Law's reference to it:—

The crueltee of thee, queen Medea,
Thy litel children hanging by the hals
For thy Jason, that was of love so fals.

Chaucer's legend not only fails to recount this episode, but also, far from presenting Medea's 'crueltee,' consistently emphasizes her 'kindness.' This discrepancy Professor Kittredge seeks to minimize. 'The Man of Law remarks that if we turn to Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* we shall see "the cruelty of Queen Medea,—her little children hanging by the neck." We consult the *Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea* (which is one continuous narrative)¹ and find that, although Chaucer does not expressly say that Medea hanged her children, he does make Hypsipyle forecast their murder in outspoken terms.'² Hypsipyle's forecast consists of a single line in her prayer for vengeance against her rival:—

And that she moste bothe her children spille.³

This hardly seems to be a sufficient justification for the Man of Law's specific statement that Chaucer's *Legend* shows us Queen Medea in her very act of cruelty.⁴ Of the other

¹ The Man of Law, however, refers to the two stories separately. Cf. my former article, p. 137.

² P. 355.

³ *Legend of Good Women*, 1574. (Quoted by me, p. 124.)

⁴ It is not a case in point to adduce the Man of Law's inaccurate reference to Gower's story of Apollonius. We expect a poet to know his own writings more accurately than he does those of another. Moreover, Chaucer had an obvious motive for exaggerating (playfully no doubt) the immorality of Gower's tale.

element of discrepancy, the Man of Law's emphasis of Medea's cruelty, Professor Kittredge says nothing.

Professor Kittredge accepts my contention that the words of the Man of Law are based on a passage in the *Roman de la Rose*, a passage, it may be noticed, which explains not only the choice of hanging by the neck as the means of Medea's crime, but also the emphasis of her cruelty :

Dont ses enfans, quant el le sot,
 Por ce que de Jason les ot,
 Estrangla de duel et de rage,
 Dont el ne fist mie que sage,
 Quant el lessa pitié de mère
 Et fist pis que marastre anère.

He declines, however, to accept my conclusion that when Chaucer wrote the *Man of Law's Prologue* he associated the name of Medea primarily with the *Roman de la Rose*. Though not challenging my evidence that four of Chaucer's five allusions to the story of Medea are traceable to this source, he contends on other grounds that before Chaucer composed the *Legend of Good Women* he must have read the story of Medea in other versions than that of Jean de Meun—in the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît, in the *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

Before taking up Mr. Kittredge's argument in detail, it will be well to scrutinize somewhat carefully its bearing on the question involved—the question as to whether Chaucer's mental associations with the story of Medea were mainly those of the *Roman de la Rose*. To controvert the evidence furnished by the allusions which tends to prove such an association, it is not sufficient to establish a probability that Chaucer had at some time read over the story of Medea in other works. It is necessary to establish a probability that he had read these other versions with some care and attention. The point at issue is not whether Chaucer's eye had

perused the lines of Benoit or of Ovid, but whether his mind had caught and retained an impression, such an impression as we know that he did receive from the *Roman de la Rose*.

Professor Kittredge adduces three passages in the *Book of the Duchess* which seem to have been derived from the latter part of Benoit's *Roman de Troie*,¹ and calls attention to the fact that Chaucer made use of the poem in the composition of *Troilus and Criseyde*. 'Is it credible,' he asks, 'that he had not read the beginning of the romance,² and that nevertheless he mentioned Jason and Medea . . . as characters in "the storie of Troye?"' The *Roman de Troie* contains 30,108 lines, and Chaucer was a busy man. When confronted with a work of such length, we moderns do not always feel ourselves in honor bound to read every page. Where interest or inclination prompts, we read carefully; for the rest we read rapidly or skip outright, merely glancing at the omitted portions sufficiently to see what they contain. It does not seem to me incredible that Chaucer should have done the same. Even if we grant that Chaucer had perused the book from beginning to end, it is surely not incredible that many portions of it should have failed to impress themselves deeply on his memory.

Similarly Professor Kittredge shows that in *Troilus* and in the *House of Fame* Chaucer already betrays some acquaintance with the *Heroides* of Ovid. 'It is clear,' he tells us, 'that when he wrote the *House of Fame*, Chaucer had read the second, third, sixth, seventh, ninth and tenth epistles of the *Heroides*. Had he sedulously refrained from reading the twelfth epistle (*Medea to Jason*), although he had long felt an interest in Medea's story, and although the sixth epistle (*Hypsipyle to Jason*), which he *did* read contains nearly as

¹ Already pointed out by Skeat in his notes, where they are referred to Guido.

² The story of Medea is told by Benoit in ll. 1199-2026.

much about Medea as about Hypsipyle?'¹ The positiveness of Mr. Kittredge's assertion is hardly justified by the evidence which he gives in its support. The evidence *proves* only that when Chaucer wrote *Troilus* he had read the epistle of CEnone (v), and that when he wrote the *House of Fame* he had read the epistle of Phyllis (ii) and probably also the epistles of Deianira (ix) and Ariadne (x),² and that he *knew* the titles of the third (Briseis), sixth (Hypsipyle), seventh (Dido), and twelfth (Medea) epistles.³ It is surely begging the question to assert⁴ that Chaucer 'had long felt an interest in Medea's story.' The only evidence that Mr. Kittredge can have for his statement must be the five allusions already referred to. They are at best rather perfunctory mentions of Medea's name. Whatever interest in her story they betray was apparently satisfied by Jean de Meun's epitome.

To prove that Chaucer must have read the account of Medea in the seventh book of *Metamorphoses*, Professor Kittredge presents a long and interesting list of passages which shows (what every student of Chaucer will be ready to admit) that the poet was familiar with Ovid's most famous work. Whether Chaucer had ever read the *Metamorphoses* straight through we cannot say. I shall not urge the fact that Mr. Kittredge has been unable to discover any trace of his acquaintance with Book VII. The division into books is an arbitrary one; Ovid's real unit is the episode. It is more likely that Chaucer read a fable here and a fable there than that he read the poem book by book. We may grant, if we please, the likelihood that he had at one time or

¹ P. 351.

² For Chaucer's brief mention of Deianira cf. *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 9945-9952.

³ That Chaucer knew that the story of Medea was to be found in the *Heroides* I stated on p. 134 of my former paper.

⁴ Mr. Kittredge repeats the assertion on p. 353.

another read over the episode of Medea. The fact remains—the only fact which bears directly on our argument—that neither in detail of action nor of phrase did it impress him sufficiently to influence his allusions to Medea and Jason,¹ or, to contribute a single touch to his *Legend of Medea*.

Mr. Kittredge next asserts that when Chaucer wrote the *Man of Law's Prologue* he had certainly read Gower's retelling of the Medea story in the *Confessio Amantis*. 'Had he read the story of Canace in the third book, and the story of Apollonius in the eighth book, and overlooked the story of Medea in the fifth? The question answers itself.' But does it? The *Confessio Amantis* was first published in 1390, and the *Man of Law's* reference to it seems to suggest that it had recently appeared.² This reference consists of a very general allusion to the substance of the Canace story, and a very explicit mention of an unpleasant detail of the Apollonius story *which Gower does not give at all*.³ We may answer Mr. Kittredge's question by asking whether Chaucer really had read these stories at all, or whether he had merely glanced through the book and noted their inclusion. The *Confessio Amantis* contains over thirty-three thousand lines of graceful, but somewhat monotonous poetizing. It seems to me not in the least unlikely that Chaucer's quick and eager mind may have found the more pedestrian manner of

¹ This is all that I meant to assert in my footnote on p. 134,—that there is nothing in *Chaucer's allusions to the Medea story* to show that he was acquainted with the version in the *Metamorphoses* or that he knew of its existence. By taking my note apart from its context Mr. Kittredge has misunderstood my position.

² Cf. Kittredge, p. 360.

³ Gower tells the unpleasant portion of his story with a good deal of reticence and delicacy. I agree with Tatlock (*Development and Chronology*, p. 173, n. 2) that Chaucer must have had a confused recollection of a horrible touch in the original Latin version of the story. This would suggest that he read Gower's version very hurriedly if at all.

his fellow-poet tedious here and there, and that he may rather frequently have assumed the right which he specifically grants to readers of the *Canterbury Tales* to 'turne over the leef, and chese another tale.'¹

The method of Professor Kittredge's argument seems to me to be open to grave objection. To argue that because Chaucer knew certain portions of an extended work it may be assumed that he was familiar with the whole, presupposes in Chaucer a methodical, conscientious thoroughness, a 'frigid mathematical accuracy,' to borrow Mr. Kittredge's own phrase, which is foreign to all that we know of his character and temper. If one decline to accept this argument as valid, Mr. Kittredge's assertion that 'he had read [the story of Medea] in some of these other works, and probably in all of them,' becomes a matter of mere general likelihood and conjecture. One cannot, of course, prove that he had *not* read the story in these versions; nor is such proof essential for my argument. There is ground for asserting that *if* he read these versions, they had made no lasting impression on his memory, that up to the time when he wrote his *Legend* the Medea story was connected in his mind primarily with the *Roman de la Rose*—a connection which still subsisted when he wrote the *Man of Law's Prologue*.

¹ We may compare Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio about the *Decameron*, written in 1373, more than twenty years after the *Decameron* was published. 'Your book . . . has fallen into my hands, I know not whence or how. If I told you that I had read it, I should deceive you. It is a very big volume, written in prose and for the multitude. I have been, moreover, occupied with more serious business, and much pressed for time. . . . What I did was to run through your book, like a traveller who, while hastening forward, looks about him here and there, without pausing. . . . As usual, when one looks hastily through a book, I read somewhat more carefully at the beginning and at the end.' (Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, pp. 191-192.)

II.

The contention that the *Legend of Medea* was written later than the *Man of Law's Prologue* carries with it the corollary that at least one of the legends, perhaps several of them, were written within the period when Chaucer was engaged on the *Canterbury Tales*. This theory Professor Kittredge brands as 'revolutionary.' 'The obvious and received opinion,' he says, 'with regard to the *Legend of Good Women* is that Chaucer dropped it to begin the *Canterbury Tales*. This opinion is *prima facie* impregnable. It cannot be shaken without positive evidence.'¹ These are strong words; let us see how far they are justified.

In 1870 ten Brink implied, though without attempt at proof, that Chaucer's work on the legends terminated in 1386.² In 1871 Furnivall conjectured that the Prologue was written in 1385, 'the rest at various times.'³ In 1882 Bech concluded a long discussion of the matter with the statement: 'wir müssen auf ein bestimmtes datum [for the conclusion of Chaucer's work on the *Legend*] verzichten.'⁴ In 1890 Koch definitely associated the abandonment of the *Legend* with the inception of the *Canterbury Tales*, though conjecturally and without attempt at proof.⁵ In 1892 Lounsbury inclined to the opinion that the composition of

¹ P. 357. It is interesting to note that very recently, when Mr. Kittredge was himself engaged in combatting a received opinion (that Chaucer's praise of Alcestis was intended as a compliment to Queen Anne), he complained that 'when a particular suggestion of this kind has been put into type, it becomes a kind of dogma, and everybody expects those who reject it to "prevent the contrarye."'¹ (*Modern Philology*, 6, 435.)

² *Studien*, p. 149. Repeated in his *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (Eng. trans., 2, 116) and, qualified by the adverb 'vermutlich,' in *Eng. Stud.*, 17, 20.

³ *Trial Forewords*, p. 25.

⁴ *Anglia*, 5, 379.

⁵ *Chronology*, p. 45.

the legends was 'contemporaneous . . . with that of the *Canterbury Tales*, instead of preceding them, as is commonly supposed.'¹ In 1894 Skeat implied rather vaguely that the last of the legends was composed by 1386.² In 1902 Bilderbeck tried to show that the legends were written at the rate of one a year between 1385 and 1394.³ In 1905 Lowes argued that several, perhaps most, of the legends were composed before the Prologue.⁴ In 1907 Tatlock contended that the legends were all written by 1387.⁵ Koch's opinion that the *Legend* was abandoned in favor of the *Canterbury Tales* has been echoed with varying degrees of assurance in several more popular presentations of Chaucerian chronology.⁶

It has seemed worth while to review the history of critical opinion, since the review makes clear that to several scholars the 'obvious and received opinion' has seemed neither obvious nor acceptable, while by others it has been adopted more or less confidently as a probable conjecture. The first scholar, so far as I can discover, to attempt a serious justification for the 'orthodox' opinion is Professor Tatlock. He has shown that the Prologue and the *Legend of Cleopatra* were known by Gower as early as 1390, and that the Prologue was known by Thomas Usk before 1388.⁷ Mr. Kittredge, after declaring that the 'accepted view needs no defence,' nevertheless defends it at length. The portion of

¹ *Studies in Chaucer*, I. 418.

² Oxford Chaucer, 3, xliii.

³ *Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, London, 1902. Cf. Bech, *Anglia*, 5, 379.

⁴ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 20, 802-818.

⁵ *Development and Chronology*, p. 130.

⁶ Pollard, *Chaucer Primer*, p. 57; Ward, *Chaucer* (E. M. L.) pp. 99-100; Mather, *Prologue, etc.*, p. xxix.

⁷ For his suggestion that Usk also knew the *Medea*, I tried to show in my former paper (pp. 138-139) that there is no sufficient ground.

his defence which tries to show 'how admirably it accounts for all the phenomena,' is, considered as argument, merely an elaborate begging of the question. Only one piece of positive evidence is advanced, a piece of evidence already presented by Dr. Tatlock in substantially the same form.¹ In the last book of the *Confessio Amantis* Gower presents, after the pattern of the conventional 'court of love' poetry, a scene in which Cupid appears leading in a vast throng 'of gentil folk that whilom were lovers.' These lovers are marshalled by two captains named 'Youthe' and 'Elde.' In the company of 'Youthe' are first enumerated eleven male lovers, accompanied by their ladies. Next follow the names of four men, 'which hadden be fortunéd sore in loves cause,' and of twelve women 'in the same cas.' These women are Dido, Phyllis, Ariadne, Deianira, Medea, Deidamia, Cleopatra, Thisbe, Progne and Philomela, Canace, Polyxena. Then are mentioned as 'of other port,' Circe and Calypso. Lastly, in the company of 'Youthe,' come four 'chief ladies'—Penelope, Lucretia, Alcestis, and Alcyone, 'whos feith was proeved in her lyves.' There follows a shorter list of lovers in the company of 'Elde.'² 'Of Gower's eleven'³

¹ *Development and Chronology*, pp. 128–129. Tatlock, however, states the argument more tentatively.

² Mr. Kittredge speaks of this whole passage as 'designedly reminiscent of Chaucer's *Legend*' (p. 362). Tatlock, more cautiously, says that the *Confessio* 'betrays vestiges of its influence' (p. 128). Mr. Macaulay, Gower's editor, who is not concerned with proving or disproving any thesis of Chaucerian chronology, while admitting that Gower may have seen the *Legend of Good Women*, is inclined to minimize the resemblance. After pointing out the considerable differences between the *Legend* and the passage in Gower, he concludes that 'if our author had any particular model before him, it may quite as well have been the description in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*.' He considers it 'likely enough' that the peculiar manner of Cleopatra's death may have been a reminiscence of Chaucer's *Legend*. (*Works of Gower*, 3, 545–547.)

³ He counts Progne and Philomela as one.

star-crossed heroines,' Mr. Kittredge writes, 'seven have their stories told in the *Legend* . . . the only omissions are Hypsipyle (whom Chaucer unites with Medea in one continuous narrative), Lucretia (omitted by Gower at this point in order to make her one of the Four Chief Ladies just below), and Hypermnestra.'¹ This, it is urged, tends to show that the *Legend*, as we have it, existed before the publication of the *Confessio* in 1390, and hence before the Man of Law's introduction was written. This evidence Professor Kittredge admits is not conclusive. Whatever force it may have is appreciably lessened when we note² that of the eighteen ladies whom Gower names—twelve 'star-crossed heroines,' two sorceresses, four 'Chief Ladies'—all but two have their stories told at length in the preceding books of Gower's own *Confessio Amantis*.³ The omissions are Polyxena (to whose story Gower twice alludes)⁴ and Cleopatra (where the influence of Chaucer seems probable). The two heroines of Chaucer's ten whom Gower fails to mention—Hypsipyle and Hypermnestra—are not mentioned anywhere in the *Confessio Amantis*. Gower's list tends to prove that at the time when he composed it he was acquainted with the Prologue and the *Legend of Cleopatra*. Any further inferences drawn from it as to Chaucer's *Legend* rest on a very uncertain foundation.

On examination, the 'obvious and received opinion' turns out to be opinion pure and simple, with only the most shadowy basis of positive evidence. Though not inherently impossible or improbable, it can hardly be considered as 'prima facie impregnable.' Let us look for a moment at

¹ Pp. 362-363.

² Cf. Tatlock, p. 129 and Kittredge, p. 359.

³ For the references see Macaulay's 'Glossary and Index of Proper Names.'

⁴ *Confessio Amantis*, 4, 1693, ff., and 5, 7591, ff.

the 'revolutionary' opinion that some of the individual legends were written during the period of the *Canterbury Tales*. Mr. Kittredge admits that shortly after 1390, fired perhaps by the appearance of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Chaucer intended, at the time when he wrote the *Man of Law's Prologue*, to continue the *Legend of Good Women*. The 'revolutionary' opinion supposes nothing more startling than that Chaucer actually carried out part of his intention. Even Professor Kittredge is willing to believe that about 1394, well on in the *Canterbury* period, Chaucer found time to work on a thorough-going revision of the Prologue.¹

The theory that the *Legend of Medea* was written later than the *Man of Law's Prologue* is in no way inconsistent with the known facts of Chaucerian chronology nor with general probability; it is a natural and obvious explanation of a puzzling discrepancy between Chaucer's poem and his own allusion to it; and, though not capable perhaps of absolutely conclusive proof, it has in its favor positive evidence which, I have tried to show, Professor Kittredge's objections do not invalidate.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

¹ If, as Mr. Kittredge thinks 'quite possible' (*The Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, Chaucer Society, 1909, pp. 51-52.), Chaucer had already begun to plan the *Canterbury Tales* as early as January, 1386, and at that time wrote a new stanza for his *Tragedies* with the intent of utilizing the work in his great collection, the whole of the *Legend*, including the earlier form of its Prologue, was written during the period of the *Canterbury Tales*.

X.—THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE SPENSERIAN PASTORAL.

Modernity has taught us, with some reason, to laugh at pastorals. Nevertheless there is deep humanity in those artificial songs of shepherds and shepherdesses. With the frigid pipings of Thyrsis and Corydon we are indeed out of tune. Since, however, the pastoral fascinated Theocritus, Virgil, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Spenser, who wrote for all time, we ought to approach the outworn form in a spirit of serious sympathy. Even proud idealists sometimes waver. Poetry must furnish, at times, an escape from life—not always the clarion call to life's struggles. Men took the pastoral in order to flee for a moment into Arcadia, to clothe in pleasant vagueness confessions of the delightful miseries of calf-love, though strife stole too often even into Arcadia and goaded the shepherds into worldly bickerings. We have the same aspirations to-day as those poets when they wrote their pastorals,—moods that are not mere toys ; but because hope is edged with doubt, we trifle with our dreams in ways no less artificial than the pleasant game of pastoral-making. We have not outgrown the pastoralist's moods.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the influence of Spenser's *Shepherds Calender* on the English pastoral during its period of greatest activity, from 1579 to the close of the seventeenth century. The story of Spenser's attempt to make the formal eclogue native in England and of the interesting but vain attempts of his imitators to give it a permanent place among the cherished forms of English poetry has never been carefully told.

It is not worth while to ruminate long over the well-considered antecedents of *The Shepherds Calender*. In 1579

Italianate England was awakened by the fresh notes of an April-tide music, pipings at times thin and hesitant, but sweet and new. Barclay and Googe and Turberville had blown the scrannel pipes of Mantuan. But nobody had listened. Now a young anonymous poet who called himself Colin Clout came and enriched English poetry with the indolent laughing sunshine of Theocritus, with the graver music of Virgil, with the homely touches and quarrelsome moralising of Mantuan, above all with the fairy grace of Clement Marot. With his compound of easy Elizabethan colloquialism, of the revived magic of Chaucer's tongue, of the rough Lancashire dialect, and of some quaint coinages, he was one of the greatest builders of a new and varied literary language for the remarkable throng of poets who were already impatient to give Elizabeth's England a supreme place in the world's literature.

It has frequently been observed that Spenser failed to work out his own innovations thoroughly, that month and mood do not always correspond, that there is too little English nature in the *Shepherds Calender*. Nevertheless literary England was entranced. The *Shepherds Calender* was reissued in 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597. The critics lacked a hundred brazen tongues to give full vent to their exuberant praise.¹

Spenser's pastoral imitators confined themselves for the most part to the formal eclogue. Guarini and Tasso became the great forces in the pastoral drama, and into this the spirit of Spenser made few incursions. In the pastoral novel Sannazaro and Sidney and Montemayor reigned supreme, although men like Lodge and Greene brought occasional echoes of the *Shepherds Calender* into their tales. The *Polyolbion* of Drayton and the *Britannia's Pastorals* of

¹ Sidney, Harvey, Puttenham, Webbe, Meres, Drayton, practically all of the contemporary critics, welcomed the *Calender* at sight. In a more sceptical day, Dryden liberally meted out praise.

Browne have much talk of shepherds, but owe their being to the *Faërie Queene*. From the pageant of rivers which assembled at the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, as described in the fourth book of the *Faërie Queene* with many a cunning reference to associations legendary and historical which haunted their shores, Drayton derived his idea of a colossal poetic Baedeker to commemorate every brook in Merry England. From the tangled story of Florimel, which shattered the elaborate structure of the *Faërie Queene*, William Browne conceived his garrulous story of Marina. Browne's men and women are merely Spenser's knights and ladies unhorsed. As for Drayton, he was much more interested in Guy of Warwick, Arthur, and Robin Hood than in the shepherds and shepherdesses who gathered garlands by his river-banks.

The earliest important attempt to follow Spenser was made by George Peele in his pretty drama, *The Arruignment of Paris*, published in 1584, but said to have been presented in 1581, only two years after the appearance of the *Shepherds Calender*. In this play a genuine formal eclogue is introduced in which Colin and his comrades mingle strangely with Paris, CEnone, and the stately Greek goddesses on Mount Ida. In the third act Diggon, Hobbonol, and Thenot talk with Colin as he is lamenting the cruelty of his love Thestylis. Peele gallantly revenges his master's misfortunes in love. For later, when we are shown poor Colin's grave, Thestylis is condemned by Venus to love an ill-favoured rustic who spurns her. In 1589 Peele published *An Eclogue Congratulatorie* to Robert, Earl of Essex. The dialogue between Piers and Palinode, the two interlocutors of *Maye*, with its stiff archaisms from the *Calender*, shows a poet vainly endeavoring to use the new instrument.

There were other faltering imitations which, though not published until English poetry had become more fluent, were

probably composed in those years of experiment. To the little group of elegies on Sidney, collected and edited by Spenser in 1595, it was probably Ludowick Bryskett who contributed *A Pastoral Æglogue upon the Death of Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight*, in which Lycon and Colin lament in measured terms and in the language of the *Calender*. In his *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602) Francis Davison published *A Dialogue betweene two shepheards, Thenot and Piers, in praise of Astrea*, by Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, written in the same manner.

That Robert Greene was not insensible of the insipidity which is the constant pitfall of this form, is shown by his burlesque eclogue between Doron and Carmela.¹ More than a century later Gay took virtually the same method, with his coarse and boisterous *Shepherd's Week*, to deal a death-blow to the nerveless pastorals of Ambrose Philips. But in his own day Greene mocked alone; and even he wrote a serious pastoral lyric of the Spenserian type in *Greene's Mourning Garment* (1590).

In 1590, Thomas Watson and Thomas Lodge also entered the lists. Watson's dull English version of his dull Latin elegiac eclogue on Francis Walsingham, slightly influenced by the *Calender*, and containing verses in praise of Spenser, is worth only bare mention. Lodge's pastoral novel, *Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie*, set Shakespeare singing of woodland and shepherd and eternal youth. It contains a Spenserian *Eglog betweene Montanus and Coridon*, prototypes of Shakespeare's youthful lover Silvius and the aged shepherd Corin:—

Coridon.

"Say shepheards boy, what makes thee greet so sore?
Why leaves thy pipe his pleasure and delight?
Yong are thy yeares, thy cheekes with roses dight:
Then sing for joy (sweet swaine) and sigh no more.

In *Menaphon* (1589.)

Montanus.

Ah (Coridon) unmeet is melodie
 To him whom proud contempt hath overborne :
 Slaine are my joyes by Phoebes bitter scorne,
 Farre hence my weale and nere my jeopardy."

We must pause to see the shepherds becoming thoroughly human in *As You Like It*:¹—

Cor. " This is the way to make her scorn you still.
 Sil. O Corin that thou knew'st how I do love !
 Cor. I partly guess, for I have lov'd ere now.
 Sil. No, Corin, being old, thou canst not guess,
 Though in thy youth thou wast as true a lover
 As ever sigh'd upon a midnight pillow :
 But if thy love were ever like to mine,—
 As sure I think did never man love so,—
 How many actions most ridiculous
 Hast thou been drawn to by thy fantasy?"

We have been led, by a strange by-path in poetry, from the debate of crabbèd age and youth in *Februarie* to these gentle lines with their smiling indulgence towards amorous shepherds. In *Phillis* (1593) Lodge imitated the *Januarie* in *Egloga Prima*; *Demades*, *Damon*. Lodge's enthusiasm flickered out in four dull eclogues printed in *A Fig for Momus* (1595).

Most of these attempts to divine the secrets partly revealed by the herald of modern English poetry had proved sorry enough. It remained for Michael Drayton to imitate effectually his master's most spirited melodies. To the formal eclogue he brought an English yeoman's temperament and something of Chaucer's sly sense of humour. He began in 1593 with the *Shepherds Garland*, *Fashioned in nine Eglogs*, the first elaborate imitation of the *Calender*. He reprinted a carefully polished version in 1606, with an added eclogue; and in 1619 he again brought forth the ten

¹ Act 2, Sc. iv.

under the title *Pastoralls Containing Eglogues*, still further, though only slightly, revised.¹ It does not seem to me that his revisions lessened his indebtedness to Spenser. But they did spoil some good poetry in favor of decorous commonplace lines. Happily, while he was enervating his eclogues, he was creating, in such works as *The Muses Elysium*, a type of pastoral that was brimfull of youth. The eclogues in 1619 were introduced by an entertaining preface, as follows:—

“The subject of pastorals as the language of it ought to be poor, silly, and of the coarsest woof in appearance; nevertheless, the most high and noble matters of the world may be shadowed in them, and for certain sometimes are: but he who hath almost nothing pastoral in his pastorals but the name, (which is my case), deals more plainly, because detracted velamine, he speaks of most weighty things.

“Master Edmund Spenser had done much for the immortality of his name, had he only given us his Shepherd’s Calendar, a masterpiece, if any. . . . Spenser is the prime pastoralist of England. My pastorals, bold upon a new strain, must speak for themselves and the labor striking up, if thou hast in thee any country quicksilver, thou hadst rather be at the sport, than hear thereof. Farewell.”

¹ Drayton’s revisions must be considered carefully. Mr. Oliver Elton has done much painstaking work of this kind in his *Michael Drayton* (London, 1907). He notes changes in the ordering of the eclogues in the second edition. No. 4 becomes No. 6, No. 6 No. 8, No. 8 No. 4, and No. 9 No. 10. The added eclogue becomes No. 9. He notes also certain changes in the material of the eclogues which do not concern us here. For my own purposes, however, I am forced to transcribe variations in the readings wherever any question of the waxing or the waning of Spenser’s influence is involved. If I understand Mr. Elton aright, he feels that Drayton in his later work tended to draw away somewhat from Spenserian influence, an impression which, without the slightest derogation of Drayton’s remarkable qualities, I cannot share, even in the case of these pastorals. Many of Drayton’s latest works, notably his most ambitious poem, the *Polyolbion*, are full of Spenser. *The Mooncalf*, again, is an elaborate imitation of *Mother Hubbard’s Tale*. As for the pastorals, the reader can form his own opinion from my footnotes. For my standard text I use Drayton’s first version, both because I consider it to be the best poetry and because I am trying, as far as possible, to employ the chronological method. A, B, and C stand in my notes for the editions of 1593, 1606, and 1619 respectively.

The first eclogue, in which "Poore Rowland, malcontent, bewayles the winter of his griefe,"¹ is in the manner of Spenser's *Januarie*. The second eclogue follows the motive of *Februarie*. Aged Wynken reproves Moth for his youthful intemperance in love, and edges his remonstrances with a simile drawn from the fable with which Spenser's old Thenot sought to reprove the youthful Cuddie:—

"And though thou seemest like the bragging bryer,
As gay as is the mornings Marygolde,
Yet shortly shall thy sap be drie and seere,
Thy gaudy Blossomes blemished with colde."

The next eclogue contains a charming imitation of Spenser's famous Eliza song in *April*:—

"O thou fayre silver Thames! O clearest chrystall flood!"²

"Beta alone the Phoenix is of all thy watry brood,
The queene of virgins onely shee.

Make her a goodly Chapilet of azur'd Columbine,
And wreathe about her Coronet with sweetest Eglentine:
Bedeck our Beta all with Lillies,
And the dayntie Daffadillies,
With Roses damask, white, and red, and fairest flower delice,
With Cowslips of Jerusalem, and cloves of Paradice."³

¹Quoted from the argument. Drayton prefixed arguments, in the manner of Spenser's doggerel labels for each canto of his "Faërie Queene," to each eclogue in A but omitted them in B and C. Compare ll. 1 and 2 in each edition:

A: "Now Phoebus from his equinoctial Zone,
Had task'd his teame unto the higher spheare."

B: "Phoebus full out his yearly course had run,
Whom the long winter laboured to outweare."

C: "Phoebus full out his yearly course had run
(The woeful Winter labouring to outweare)."

Line 2 in C is thoroughly in the manner of the *Shepheards Calender*.

²B and C are more Spenserian:

"Stay Thames to heare my song, thou greate and famous flood."

Compare Spenser's *Prothalamion*:

"Sweete Themmes! runne softly till I end my song."

Drayton's poem bristles with happy thefts from *Eliza*.

³Compare the Song to Eliza:

"Bring hether the Pincke and purple Cullambine," etc.

In the following eclogue Drayton laments the death of Sidney under the name Elphin. This pastoral elegy is also under great obligations to Spenser; for it is inspired by the lament for Dido in *November* which Spenser, in his turn, had adapted from Marot. In his revised edition Drayton supplanted this lyric with an elegy far less Spenserian. In the fifth eclogue Rowland sings the praises of his mistress Idea. Drayton seems to have imitated Spenser's scheme of devoting the beginning and middle and end of his group of eclogues to personal love-poetry. The sixth eclogue begins with Gorbo's complaint against the degeneracy of the times; but Perkin assures him that virtue is not dead, and in earnest thereof sings the praises of Sidney's sister under the name Pandora. The seventh eclogue returns to the *Februarie* motive. Borril, an aged shepherd, reproves "Batte, a foolish wanton boy, but lately falne in love." In the next poem Drayton's sense of humour flashes forth with some very significant and charming verses. Humour, except for delicate touches in Theocritus, had been too much lacking in the pastoral. A few sly touches would have saved many a bucolic poem. Spenser pointed out this way of improving the pastoral by an attempt to enliven his eclogues with echoes of the merry notes of Chaucer. In *Februarie* he introduces a fable which he says is a poem of Chaucer's and which is, unquestionably, an imitation of Chaucer's manner. A similar attempt to infuse some of the racy qualities of Chaucer's narrative is found in the fable of the fox and the kid introduced in the *Maye*. In the ballad of *Bonnie Dowsabelle*, which Motto sang to Gordo, Drayton adopted Spenser's plan of enlivening the pastoral with a pseudo-antique, pseudo-Chaucerian story and carried it to perfection. It is an evident imitation of Chaucer's indulgent mirthmaking in *Sir Thopas*. So delicate is the interplay of cunning satire and fancy in these poems that one reads of

Chaucer's knight and Drayton's shepherdess with the smile of a man who loves a jest and the saucer-eyes of a child who loves a fairy-tale. This complex reaction may be best described to readers of our day as the *Alice-in-Wonderland* mood :—

“ Far in the country of Arden
There wonn'd a knight, hight Cassamen
As bold as Isenbras.
Fell was he and eager bent
In battle and in tournament
As was the good Sir Topas.
He had, as antique stories tell,
A daughter cleaped Dowsabell,
A maiden fair and free.

“ This maiden, in a morn betime
Went forth when May was in her prime
To get sweet setywall.
The honeysuckle, the harlock,
The lily and the lady-smock
To deck her summer hall.
Thus as she wander'd here and there
Y-picking of the blooming brier,
She chanced to espy
A shepherd sitting on a bank,
Like chanticleer he crowed crank,
And pip'd full merrily.

“ Full crisp and curled were his locks,
His brows as white as Albion rocks
So like a lover true.
And piping still he spent the day,
So merry as a popinjay,
Which liked Dowsabelle ;
That would she ought, or would she nought,
This lad would never from her thought
She in love-longing fell.
At length she tucked up her frock,
White as a lily was her smock,
She drew the shepherd nigh.”

Thus easily love progresses in Arcadia. The lilt of the French *pastourelle* and of Henryson's *Robyn and Makyn* is

here found in a man who probably never saw them. The ninth eclogue of the edition of 1593¹ lapses into the conventional winter lament, like the *Januarie* and *December*. But the new eclogue² is full of Drayton's fresher fancy.³

Drayton employed Spenser's innovation of using a variety

¹ This is retained as No. 10 in B and C.

² Added as No. 9 in B and C.

³ I supplement the footnotes which have been quoted from the different editions with a few other characteristic examples of Drayton's revisions:—

Eclogue 1.

A. "Rejoycing all in this most joyfull tide :

C. "Highly rejoicing in this goodly tide."

Some critics, I imagine, would call the play on words in A a Spenserian trick.

Drayton shows an occasional tendency to revise quaint words or spellings that had doubtless been suggested by the *Shepheards Calender* or directly borrowed from it. Thus :

A. "Now am I like the knurrie-bulked Oke."

B. & C. "Now am I like the knotty aged Oak" (Eclogue 2.)

I may note here that Drayton, in my opinion, when he eliminates Spenserian touches, tends to strike out mere affectations rather than more skillful borrowings. His apparent sensitiveness in this matter often leads him to replace picturesque phrases with smooth commonplace.

A Latin motto, like those affixed to each eclogue in the *Shepheards Calender*, appears at the end of A but is omitted in B and C.

In the sixth eclogue B and C have some very Spenserian lines which do not appear in A.

"Nay stay, good Gorbo, Virtue is not dead,
Nor ben her friends gon al that wouned here
But to a nymphe for succour she is fled,
Which her doth cherish and most holdeth deare," etc.

Eclogue 7.

A. "Why liest thou here, then, in thy loathsome care"

in B and C the Spenserian "ligs't" replaces "liest."

It is not worth while to multiply these examples. They seem to me to show: (1) that Drayton added as many Spenserian touches as he struck out; (2) that he never departed from the deepest influence of Spenser except in his imitation of the "Dido" elegy in his lament for Elphin, which he struck out entirely.

of stanzas. He had a whimsical sense of humour, a rich fancy for airy trifling, and a gift for careless popular song that saved him from some of the absurdities in the *Calender*. As a whole, his imitation is more readable mainly because Drayton controlled the materials which Spenser, in a time of dusk and groping, could only suggest.

Some of Drayton's friends, notably Wither, Browne, and Basse, made use of the new elements which Drayton developed in the eclogue, but we must first consider some intervening figures who followed other paths.

Richard Barnefield, a sensitive, somewhat decadent poet, who wrote a few pretty but not very original poems in his youth, and suddenly became silent, published in 1594 *The Affectionate Shepherd*, two eclogues which he claimed to be "nothing else but an imitation of Virgil in the second Eglogue of Alexis." The poem, a rather morbid complaint because a youth beloved by the poet is infatuated with one Guendolen, is really Virgilian only in outline, and is much more full of Sidney and Spenser. It is Spenserian sensuousness grown sickly, the characteristic work of an immature and somewhat academic poet.

Bodenham's delightful anthology *England's Helicon* (1614) contains a breezy little pastoral lyric by Henry Constable, which doubtless belongs to this period.¹ It is an uncommonly good imitation of the gay contest of Willy and Perigot in *August*.

A Pastorall Song Betweene Phillis and Amarillis.

"If every Maide were like to me,
Heigh hoe, hard of hart!
Both love and lovers scorn'd should be,
Scorners shall be sure of smart.
If every Maide were of my minde,
Heigh hoe, heigh hoe, lovely sweete!
Kindness is for maydens meete."

¹ Constable's period of active writing and publishing seems to have been in the early nineties.

In 1602 Francis Davison collected his own and his friends' verses in *A Poetical Rhapsody*. I have ventured already to group one of these poems, the Countess of Pembroke's, with the earliest imitations of the *Calender*. I should doubtless have been more consistent had I dared to treat all or most of these in similar fashion; for they bear the brand of earlier Spenserianism. Davison included an eclogue of his own, closely in the manner of *Januarie*, an *Eclogue* [signed A. W.] *made long since upon the death of Sir Phillip Sidney*, in which Thenot and Perin speak in the language of the *Calender* and lament Colin's silence because of his poverty and loss of love; an *Eglogue by Ignoto*, in which shepherd and herdman debate in the manner and metre of similar characters in *Julye*, and a fragmentary *Eglogue Concerning Olde Age* in imitation of *Februarie*. This last, in which Perin and Wrenock quarrel on a theme the most human in pastoral, is, in spite of its wholesale borrowings from the *Shepherds Calender*, vigorous and attractive. Wrenock upbraids Perin, as aged Thenot had chided Cuddie, for irreverence to white hairs. Perin replies in the exultant and unsympathetic pride of youth:—

“ Ah Thenot, be not all thy teeth on edge,
 To see youngths folke to sport in pastimes gay?
 To pitch the Barre, to throwe the weightie fledge
 To dance with Phillis all the holli-day ?”¹

¹ Cf. Cuddie :

“ Ah, foolish old man ! I scorne thy skill,

 But were thy yeares greene, as now beene mine,
 To other delights they would encline :
 Tho wouldest thou learne to caroll of love,
 And hery with hymnes thy lasses glove :
 Tho wouldest thou pype of Phyllis prayse.”

Note also that the poet here mistakenly uses the name “Thenot” from Spenser instead of his own “Wrenock.”

William Basse was almost unknown even to thorough students of literature until his works were collected for the first time by Mr. Bond.¹ Hitherto his memory has existed almost solely through his famous lines on Shakespeare. His most ambitious work was devoted to pastorals of the Spenserian type. In 1602 appeared his *Three Pastoral Elegies of Anander, Anetor, and Muridella*. An introductory stanza is explicit in its acknowledgment of the poet's master, telling us how he had "Beene nursed up in Colins lore." These poems, in fluent *ottava rima*, do not fall very clearly within the type of pastoral which we are discussing. From our point of view the most interesting passage is a beautiful and sensuous, if somewhat eccentric, description of Muridella's body, in a manner slightly reminiscent of Spenser's physiological allegory of the *House of Alma* (the soul) in the *Faërie Queene*.² This is a mingling of the manner of pastoral and *Faërie Queene* which we shall see carried out even more fully in the eclogues of Phineas Fletcher. Basse's third elegy contains a lament for Colin. In 1653 nine eclogues were collected and published, perhaps posthumously. In these Basse followed Spenser much more closely. He arranged them under two headings: under the days of the week, in imitation of the arrangement by months of the *Shepheards Calender*, or under some particular virtue, as Spenser had done with each book of the *Faërie Queene*. In his *Dedication* he did not fail to speak of

"The famous Shepheard Collin, whome we looke
Never to match, (though follow him we may
That follow sheep, and carry scrip and hooke)."

¹ *The Poetical Works of William Basse now for the first time collected and edited with an introduction and notes by R. Warwick Bond.* London, 1893, Ellis and Elvey.

² *F. Q.*: bk. 2, c. ix. Basse: *Elegie*, II. This canto of Spenser was also the source of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*. The resemblance between the passage in Basse's elegy and Spenser's is noted by Mr. Bond in his edition of Basse: P. 58, footnote.

Perhaps it was this humility which led him to name himself a diminutive Colin, Colliden. Each eclogue is followed by Latin emblems after the fashion of Spenser's. Under the heading *Munday*, in eclogue one, Colliden laments, in the orthodox way, the ill-success of his love-making with Laurinella. But this eclogue is not merely erotic poetry. It is in celebration of "true and chast"; and the moral gravity of Basse is more notable than that of any Spenserian we have hitherto noticed. Colliden's lament is interrupted by Wilkin, who sings a graceful lyric with the disgruntled swain. Under *Tuesday*, in eclogue three, Meliden and Chantlet have a debate about lowland and highland, as did Thomalin and Morrell in *Julye*; Chantlet speaks eloquently of the virtues of the dales and exalts *Contentment*. In the last eclogue, under the heading *Humility*, Colliden confides to Hobbinoll his remorse for having written so many amorous lays full of the false joys of life. Songs, however beautiful, are worthless unless they benefit mankind.

Whether or not Basse was a personal friend of the members of Drayton's group, a matter possible but not proven, he owes something to Drayton's influence as well as to Spenser's, and falls in with Browne and Wither, men whom we have already described as bringing the eclogues of the type of the *Calender* to their highest stage of development. Basse had much less of the light touch and the gift for pure song, but he shared with these associates that lofty puritanism which speaks out most confidently in Wither, and above all that sturdy belief in the nobility of poetry which was the slogan of the group.

Chronology again forces us to turn for a moment from the climacteric development of the Spenserian pastoral to some minor efforts. The accession of James the First, in 1603, was greeted by Henry Chettle's *Englandes Mourning Garment: Worne here by plaine Shepheards: in memorie of*

their sacred Mistresse. Elizebeth, Queene of Vertue while shee lived, and Theame of Sorrow, being dead. To which is added the true manner of her Emperiall Funerall. After which foloweth the Shepherds Spring-Song, for entertainment of King James our most potent Sovereaigne. Dedicated to all that loved the deceased Queen. This work, a mixture of prose and verse, contains an eclogue element in which our old friends Colin and Thenot appear. Other poets of the period are introduced under pastoral names.

In the same year Edward Fairfax is said, on the authority of his son,¹ to have written twelve eclogues, all of which are now lost but two. These are of that particular Spenserian cast which exploited religious allegory in the harsh vein of Mantuan.

John Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, although it falls outside our field, the formal eclogue, is of such general importance in pastoral literature that it cannot go unmentioned. Fletcher's beautiful though decadent drama certainly owes some of its sweetness to Spenserian honey. An exquisite lyric at the end has a flower-passage which resembles that in the Song to Eliza in *Aprile*. At the concourse of happy shepherds the high-priest bids them

"Sing to the God of Sheep, that happy lay,
That honest Dorus taught ye, Dorus, he
That was the soul and god of melodie."

Dorus has not unreasonably been conjectured by Grosart to be Spenser. In one stanza of this song lies the whole fascination of the pastoral longing. It is a praise of Pan :—

"He is great, and he is just,
He is ever good and must
Thus be honoured : Daffadillies,

¹ William Fairfax's annotations on his father's pastorals are preserved in a letter from Brian Fairfax to Bishop Atterbury (1704). William Fairfax says that they were written in the first year of King James. They were never published during Fairfax's lifetime, at least.

Roses, Pinks, and loved Lillies
 Let us fling
 Whilest we sing,
 Ever holy,
 Ever holy,
 Ever honour'd ever young
 Thus great Pan is ever sung."¹

After 1603 the strict Spenserian pastoral seems not to have been written for fully ten years. But in 1614 appeared William Browne's *Shepherds Pipe*, which takes rank with Drayton's *Shepherds Garland* as one of the best productions of this type. The first eclogue tells how

"Roget and Willie both ymet
 Upon a greeny ley
 With roundelays and tales are set
 To spend the length of day."²

Willy (Browne) opens with the usual exhortation, so familiar to readers of the Spenserian pastoral, to sing and to praise the fair season. We can see how admirably Browne carries on the turn given to Spenserian pastoralism by Drayton, the lightness, the brighter swifter play of fancy, the greater impulse towards pure song. Roget replies with a surliness that is in admirable keeping with the disgruntled Wither, whose virulent moral satires were not relished by his foes. Wither, indeed, had been imprisoned in 1613 for his frankness, and this eclogue was doubtless intended as a comforting tribute. Roget is, however, finally persuaded to sing, in a lighter vein,

". . . What I did here
 Song agone in Janivere
 Of a skilful aged sire,
 As we toasted by the fire."

¹ Besides general similarity of flowers note the particular phrase "loved lillies" in Spenser's Song to Eliza.

² Arguments of this type precede each eclogue as in the *Faërie Queene* and the *Shepherds Garland* of 1593.

Roget proceeds to retail a Chaucerian narrative of Thomas Occleve's, which Browne merely transcribes with slight modernizations. Browne, like Drayton, took the hint of *Februarie* and sought to enliven his pastorals by the introduction of a Chaucerian tale. The second eclogue is a sprightly dialogue between Willie and Jockie who complain of the depredations of a "swinish lout." Then follows a beautiful eclogue in which Piers and Thomalin bemoan the poverty of old Neddy, a figure like Spenser's Thenot and Diggon Davy. It is interesting, by comparing this light but tender lyric with the cumbersome lines of its nearest model, the gloomy *September*, to see in what way the pastoral had progressed :—

Piers. "Yet see, yonder (though unwist)
Some man cometh in the mist ;
Hast thou him beheld ?
See he crosseth o'er the land
With a dog and staff in hand
Limping for his eld."

Thomalin. "Yes, I see him, and do know him,
And we all do rev'rence owe him,
'Tis the aged sire
Neddy, that was wont to make
Such great feasting at the wake,
And the blessing-fire.
Good old man ! See he walks
Painful and among the balks,
Picking locks of wool !
I have known the day when he
Had as much as any three ;
When their lofts were full.

"Wilkin's cote his dairy was
For a dwelling it may pass
With the best in town.
Curds and cream with other cheer
Have I had there in the year
For a greeny gown.
Lasses kept it, as again

Were not fitted on the plain
 For a lusty dance.
 And at parting home would take us,
 Flawns or syllabubs to make us
 For our jouissance."

The fourth eclogue contains a pastoral elegy.¹ The fifth eclogue follows Spenser's *October* in its complaint against the times and in its lofty faith in the nobility of poetry, the favorite credo of Drayton, Basse, Wither, and all the members of this group. Cuttie (Christopher Brooke) is urged to turn from lowly pastoral to the deep notes of the epic. Poor Brooke, who never wrote even a tolerable pastoral, is made to reply with dramatic appropriateness enough :—

"It shall content me on these happy downs
 To sing the strife for garland, not for crowns."

He complains, like Cuddie in *October*, of the languid interest in poetry. Willy retorts with a fine scorn that doubtless owes some of its inspiration to the eloquence of Piers in *October*, but which associates itself particularly with the utterances of Drayton's group, because they reiterated their proud devotion to poetry so frequently and with such invincible enthusiasm. The sixth eclogue attempts an infusion of humour, an element with which Drayton and his friends wisely attempted to revive the drooping pastoral.

"Philos of his dog doth brag
 For having many feats,
 The while the cur undoes his bag
 And all his dinner eats."

The last eclogue treats of Palinode's attempts to wean Hobbinoll from his love for a wanton girl.

Like Drayton, Browne used the homely touches with more felicity than Spenser. He talked with the good wives

¹ In the stanza *ababbcbodd* used by Basse, discussed in note above (p. 253).

and conned their lore about Queen Mab. He lingered by the May-poles and watched real maidens and their brown lovers at delightful play. From Browne and Drayton, Robert Herrick certainly learned a lesson or two.

Browne's friends, Christopher Brooke and John Davies of Hereford, wrote inferior eclogues, of the general Spenserian type, which may be classed with the *October* group. High astounding terms were confidently expected from Brooke. But his aspiration died in a handful of commonplace verses. John Davies of Hereford produced *An Eclogue* between "Young Willy" and "Old Wrenocke," clumsy with the archaisms and dialect words of the *Calender*. Davies was a lover of the narrow streets of London-town, and was more picturesque when he allegorized the gluttons and toppers of the city than when he wrote of shepherds. Wrenocke incites the despondent Willy to sing. A lad who sang less well than thou or I, won Venus on Mount Ida:—

"So thou maiest with thy pas'trall Minstrelsy
Draw to thee Bonnibels as smirke as hy."

Willy is reassured, whereupon the worldly-wise Wrenocke closes the discussion with:—

"Agreed deare Willy, gent and debonaire,
Wee'l hence : for rheumaticke now fares the Aire."

George Wither spent his prison-months in composing his prettiest poems, including *The Shepherds Hunting* (1622).¹ Wither strayed farther away from the Spenserian pastoral than his friends except when he sounded the favorite *October* note. In the first eclogue, Willy laments the imprisonment of Philarete, but finds his friend rejoicing in steadfast freedom of mind. In the second eclogue, Cuddy

¹ Two of its five eclogues had appeared in Browne's *Shepherds Pipe* (1614).

brings words of comfort. In this and the following poem, Philarete explains allegorically the cause of his imprisonment. Eclogues four and five sing the credo of the group of Drayton. The season is ripe for melody :—

“Corydon with his bold rout
Hath already been about.
.
.
Now the dairy-wenches dream
Of their strawberries and cream.
.
.
I do here this very day
Many learned grooms do wend
For the garlands to contend
Which a nymph that hight Desart,
Long a stranger in this part,
With her own fair hand hath wrought
A rare work, they say, past thought,
As appeareth by the name,
For she calls them wreathes of fame.
.
.
She hath wove in Daphne's tree,
That they may not blasted be.
Which with thyme she edged about,
Lest the work should ravel out,
And that it might wither never
Intermix'd it with live-ever.”

In Wither Puritanism brightened, if possible, the clear springs of his early song. A youthful worship of sensuous beauty and moral fervour linked hands happily in the days of his rippling pastorals.

With Phineas Fletcher we find a direct classical influence as well as Spenserian, a greater languor, and the marks of decline. Fletcher was one of those poets who, in their youth, lent a readier ear to the complaints of the shepherd Colin than to the high seriousness of the *Faërië Queene*.¹ But there came a time when the young pastor repented his

¹ See his lyric *To My Beloved Thenot in Answer of His Verse*.

amorous days and sealed high resolves with a boyish lyric of regretful farewell.¹

The *Piscatorie Eglogs* were written at the time when Fletcher was painfully turning away from his love-lyrics to fervent religious poetry full of a sensuous love for Christ, and bitter with the rank gall of his hatred for the Catholic Church. In point of style they represent a change from his earlier devotion to the *Shepherds Calender*, and are more full of the midsummer music of the *Faërie Queene* than of the thin April pipings of Spenser's eclogues. In the *Purple Island*,² the ingenious and eccentric, though often beautiful epic in which Fletcher celebrated the glories of man's body and soul and of his Maker, the pastoral setting and the characters of the *Piscatorie Eglogs* were largely retained to begin and to close each canto. It is the *Eglogs* only, however, which concern us here.

The sources of the *Piscatorie Eglogs* are more varied than those of the usual Spenserian pastoral. The scheme of exchanging shepherds for fishers was used, to a slight degree, by Theocritus (Idyll 21), and was regularly adopted by Sannazaro in his *Egloga Piscatoria* (1526). The work of Sannazaro doubtless suggested the general idea to Fletcher. The Italian poet, with his angler-substitutes, had brought some freshness into the pastoral. The influence of Virgil, too, was quite as potent as that of Spenser. Fletcher made use of a great variety of stanzas,³ most of which are modelled upon the Spenserian.

¹See *To Mr. Jas. Tomkins*. These poems were published in *Poeticall Miscellanies* (1633) along with the *Piscatorie Eglogs*, but they clearly fell within his earliest period, from his first verses to the time when the *Eglogs* were begun.

²The *Purple Island*, too, was published in 1633. But though I believe Fletcher to have begun it in a very early period, I feel certain that it was continued throughout his literary career, and was, in its last form, his maturest product.

³To the *ab ab bc bc* stanza Spenser added his final alexandrine, *C*.

The sixth eclogue, in which the young poet is exhorted to turn from earthly loves, is attractively earnest. Very charming is the eighth eclogue, a series of song-contests between shepherds and fishers. But the mingling of classical influence has made these pastorals seem languorous when we remember the sprightly native notes of Drayton.

The pastoral might have been honored by Thomas Randolph had he lived to fulfill the promise of his youth. Though, in general, a devoted son of Ben, he contributed a Spenserian eclogue between Collen and Thenot to the *Annalia Dubrensis*, or *Celebration of Captain Robert Dover's Cotswold Games* (1636).

In 1646 *The Shepherds Oracles* by Francis Quarles was published posthumously.¹ It is not difficult to understand the poet's reluctance to print it. It is a versified religious pamphlet in which outlandish shepherds, allegorical figures for various sects, abuse each other roundly. Catholicism, of course, is very roughly handled. The influence of Spenser is remote but perceptible. Occasionally there is some really worthy poetry when Quarles gives himself an opportunity to write in that peculiar stiff and affected quaintness that has made his *Emblems* famous. Such is the case when Pan (Christ) is wooed and reconciled by Gentilla (the Gentiles) in the third eclogue. Some of the more satirical eclogues have a coarse spiritedness that is entertaining. Catholic and Protestant revile each other for being lean or fat after the manner of Piers and Palinode in Spenser's *Maye*. Quarles makes allegories of a Biblical type² and one on the

Fletcher often adopted the same method of adding an alexandrine to current forms. In these eclogues he uses *ababcC*, *ababb*, *ababB*, *ababbccC*, *abbaabb*, *ababcc*, *abaabbccc*, *ubababccC*, *ababbaaccC*. Fletcher's stanza-forms are well discussed by Prof. E. P. Morton, *The Spenserian Stanza before 1700*, *Modern Philology*, May, 1907.

¹ Said to have been published during Q's lifetime without his consent.

² Eclogue 5. The allegory of the grain and the husks.

model of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island* and its principal source, Spenser's *House of Alma*.¹ But the essential elements of the Spenserian pastoral have fled. There is nothing left here but crude polemics and raw vigour in his jangling couplets.

In 1647 Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, author of the huge *Platonical Song of the Soul* in Spenserian stanzas, and a prominent figure in a very important reaction against the materialism of Descartes and Hobbes, published not only his long philosophical poem but a group of minor verses. One of these was an eclogue in imitation of *March*, where Thomalin tells Willye how he shot at the little Love, as he fluttered in the bushes, and of Cupid's woeful revenge.² More, however, adds a very interesting and unmistakably autobiographical conclusion of his own. *Cupid's Conflict* opens with a conversation between Mela and Cleanthes like that of Spenser's shepherds, in which one exhorts the other to throw aside melancholy and enjoy the bright season.

"Mela, my dear! why been thy looks so sad?"

Mela, like Thomalin, answers by describing how he met Love. One day, as he wandered near a pretty stream —

"Lo! on the other side in thickest bushes
A mighty noise! with that a naked swain
With blew and purple wings streight rudely rushes."³

¹ Eclogue 7. The allegory of Kephalos or the Isle of Man.

² Spenser's model for this eclogue, as Thomas Warton noted, was Bion.

³ Cf. *March* :

"At length within an Yvie todde,
(There shrouded was the little god),
I heard a busy bustling."

Also :

"Where in a bush he did him hide,
With wings of pирle and of blewe ;"

The remainder of More's eclogue, although uneven in quality, is an interesting variation on *March*. Love abused Mela for wasting his youth and for hating this life's delight. "If I had pierced you," he said, "you would have been happy, and all the world

"Would wonder at thy gracefull quill.

But now thy riddles all men do neglect,
Thy rugged lines of all do ly forlorn.
Unwelcomed lines that rudely do detect
The Reader's ignorance. Men holden scorn
To be so often non-plus'd or to spell,
And on one stanza a whole age to dwell."

Mela made sturdy answer. "I'll cherish my own ideals,

"And if my notions clear though rudely thrown
And loosely scattered in my poesie
May lend men light till the dead night be gone.
And morning fresh with roses strew the sky :
It is enough, I meant no trimmer frame
Nor by nice needle-work to seek a name."

It is impossible for one who knows the lofty but somewhat ineffectual life-work of More to disbelieve in the autobiographical seriousness of this pastoral allegory.¹

and :

"With that sprang forth a naked swayne."
At's snowy back the boy a quiver wore
Right fairly wrought and gilded all with gold :
A silver bow in his left hand he bore."¹

¹ Cf. *March* :

"His gylden quiver at his backe
And silver bowe which was but slacke."

² I choose this place to interject a few vagabond references :—

Richard Braithwaite's *Shepheards Tales* (1621) are formal eclogues which show some Spenserian influence but which do not seem to me to have either the quality or the significance which would warrant detailed treatment.

Dr. William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, wrote an imitation of the

The twilight of the Spenserian pastoral was murky enough. Imitations of the *Shepherds Calender* declined and grew rare, not because a distaste for Spenser sprang up, but because a variety of literary interests attracted men elsewhere. Fanshawe, Chamberlayne, Ayres affected the pure Elizabethan style. There were countless Marinists with a passion for tasteless conceits. Neo-classical verse, with Waller and Denham at its head, was advancing, not in triumph, as some writers seem to fancy, but with a painful struggle against many counter influences. Augustanism did not win the field until Pope struck the final blows. The age of the Restoration and Revolution had a corresponding literary age of anarchy. Many poets wrote in several distinct styles. Dryden, in his criticism, typifies finely the uneasy self-doubt of many of the writers.

Pastoral eclogues abounded throughout this period, and the Spenserian eclogue was cultivated to a certain extent. In 1661 was published an extraordinary medley, by a writer calling himself Bocalini, entitled *To Carole or an extract of a letter sent from Parnassus Wherein are contained Severall Epigrams, Odes, etc., upon His Majesty's Coronation*. In this eccentric performance Homer speaks in Greek verse, Virgil, Ovid, and Martial in Latin verse, while Spenser and

Shepherds Calender called *A Protestant Memorial of The Shepherds Tale of the Powder-Plott*, which was not published till 1713. Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain this work. My only information concerning it is in Todd's edition of Spenser, vol. 1, p. clxxxii (1805).

Bishop Hall, the satirist, wrote a pastoral lyric in praise of Bedell's imitation which itself owes something to Spenser's eclogues. See Hall's poems, Grossart edition. Prof. Schelling (*Eliz. Drama*, 1, 15) notes the influence of the *Calender* on Rollinson's comedy *Sylvanus* and W. W. Greg (*Pastoral and Pastoral Drama*, p. 360), quotes lines from Rutter's pastoral drama *The Shepherds Holiday* (1635) as reminiscent of Spenser. These may be grouped with my observations on Peele and John Fletcher as showing the occasional incursion of the Spenserian eclogue on the pastoral drama.

Quarles are the English representatives. Spenser is given an eclogue in which Thenot and Hobbinoll mouth archaisms of the most approved sort. Of a very different order is a *Pastoral Written at Dublin in May 1682*, printed by Nahum Tate in his collection of *Poems by Several Hands* (1685), in which the Spenserian tradition, such as it is, is thoroughly reconciled with Augustanism. The same type of remote Spenserianism gives a sallow tinge to an eclogue *On the Death of Mr. Oldham*, printed in Dryden's *Sylvæ or Second Part of Poeticall Miscellanies* (1685). These last two pastorals may be taken as typical of a considerable number of poems which attempted to follow Spenser at a distance and were also indebted to Virgil. These lead us directly to the eclogues of Ambrose Philips, Pope, Gay, Moses Browne and many more in which Virgil gradually gained the ascendancy, greatly to the detriment of bucolic poetry.

The main influence of the *Shepherds Calender* was upon the formal eclogue. Spenser put new life into the pastoral by an arrangement of the eclogues under the headings of months, by an effort to bring more nature in with the attempted but imperfect correspondence of month and mood, by rendering the pastoral thoroughly English through the medium of a new type of language, less academic and more native, and by taking the crown from the Roman Tityrus, Virgil, and placing it on the head of the English Tityrus, Chaucer. Spenser also suggested the possibility of saving the pastoral by a wholesome infusion of Chaucerian humour and by the use of the light lyrical spirit caught from Marot. But these innovations were too radical for a young poet to perfect. After some stumbling imitations by early followers, Drayton and his group adroitly chose these most essential innovations of Spenser's and brought the English eclogues to their climax of development. The pastoral was never more English and more Spenserian. With the min-

gling of classical influences and the less discerning imitations of Phineas Fletcher and Quarles, the Spenserian eclogue rapidly degenerated. A supreme poet, taking up the work where Spenser and Drayton's group had left it, would have created perhaps the greatest pastoral of the world's literature, and might have saved this type of poetry from the disgrace of dilettanteism. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* show how well Milton could have achieved the light pastoral. But when he wrote his perfect *Lycidas*¹ he drew far more from classical literature than from Spenser and his followers. There remained no one who could perform the task at the vital moment, and the formal eclogue has perished.

HERBERT E. CORY.

¹On the classical and Spenserian influences on *Lycidas* cf. Dr. J. H. Hanford, *Pastoral Elegy*, to appear in these *Publications*, xxv, 3.

XI.—UN HIJO QUE NEGÓ Á SU PADRE.

Dios sea en todo.

Entremes de un hijo que negó á su padre. Son figuras : un amo ; un ama, muger del que es señor de la casa ; un estudiante ; su padre, en abito de billano y onbre biejo, y el Billano, y enpiesen el entremes el biejo y el billano.

Billano. Dezi, buen biejo y onbro de mi tierra, ¿cómo se dize vuestro hijo?

Biejo. Mi hijo se llama Bartolico.

Billano. ¿Bartolito se dize? ¡ Pardies, que tiene nonbre de boleta de soldado! Y ¿qué señas tiene para que yo os diga si lo conosco?

Biejo. Es licenciado.

Billano. Aqueso es dezir Mahoma en Granada, y ¿el ser licenciado trajolo de nuestra tierra, por dicha?

Biejo. No, que aca fué él el dichoso por allegarse á los buenos para ser uno dellos, sirbiendo á su amo que lo debe de ser de ayo de sus hijos.

Billano. Pues ése y uno que tenemos en nuestra casa deben de ser ermanos.

Biejo. Y ¿á quién serbis vos?

Billano. Al mercader Jirona.

Biejo. Pues ay está mi hijo, segun bengo ynformado.

Billano. Pues no puede ser bueno, si es el que yo digo.

Biejo. Pues ¿por qué?

Billano. Porque tiene un jiron de necio, y otro de malicioso.

Biejo. Antes me an dicho á mí al rebes, que de puro sabio no sabe hablar romance.

Billano. Eso es quando habla el algarabia de allende, que el que la dize no la sabe, y el que la oye no la entiende.

Biejo. Ahora, amigo y de mi tierra, dejando las burlas y tomando las beras, ¿ á este mi hijo, quierenlo mucho sus amos ?

Billano. Sabeis que tanto lo quieren que a enseñado á mi ama el *amo*, *amas*, *amabi*.

Biejo. Es sapentísimo, segun me an dicho.

Billano. Y aun bellaquisimo, si Dios no lo remedia.

(*Entran el amo y su muger y el estudiante, y dize el amo.*)

Amo. Reportáos, señora, por bida mia, que aqui está el licenciado que lo aclarará.

Ama. Pues como él lo diga, yo pasará por ello.

Billano. Por esto se dijo : “ *Cobra buena fama y echate á dormir.* ”

Amo. Entende bien, licenciado, sobre que es nuestra porfia, porque ay apuesta en ello.

Licenciado. Diga vuestra merced.

Biejo. Aq(q)ueste que beo es mi hijo sin falta.

Billano. Pues si es ése, más tiene faltas que sobras.

Amo. Nuestra adibinança es sobre un refran muy biejo que dizen : “ *Debajo del sayal, ay al* ” y yo doyle este sentido, que debajo de lo malo s’encubre lo bueno.

Billano. Tambien yo digo eso, que debajo de mala capa ay buen bebedor.

Muger. Pues yo digo al contrario, y niego eso.

Billano. Eso tiene[n] las mugeres, que si les ban á la mano, niegan y reni[e]gan.

Muger. Á eso boy. ¿ Cómo puede ser encubrirse debajo de lo malo lo que es bueno ?

(*Buelto á su ama el licenciado dize.*)

- Licenciado.* Muy bien apuntó vuestra merced, aunque ay mucho que dezir. Aquese es argumento, y se dijo por mí.
- Muger.* Pues declaraos, licenciado y sabremos quien gana en la diferencia.
- Licenciado.* Yo me aclararé que yo soy la enima en esta manera. *Ay al* en lenguaje uicaro quiere dezir hidalgo, que es lo que yo soy, y me encubro con el sayal, ques la probeza, porque soy pobre y asi no soy conosido que soy como Juan Despera en Dios,¹ que muchos lo an bisto y nadie lo conose, y soy sifra de lo que an sifrado.
- Biejo.* ¿Qué os pares[e] á bos aora de l[a] abilidad de mi muchacho? ¿No puede ser alcalde de nuestro pueblo?
- Billano.* Eso fuera para que andubieramos todos lo de abajo ariba, como onbre que anda de manos.
- Muger.* ¿De suerte que mi marido gana por sólo la comparacion?
- Licenciado.* Esto está claro, que en un anblema lo dize Alsiato.²

¹ This may refer to Esperaindeo, abbot at Córdoba, who lived in the ninth century. For his condemnation of the Christians who were living on intimate terms with the Moors, he was called by San Eulogio, the "Light of the Church." However, the allusion may merely be to one of those traditional characters which occur so often in colloquial Spanish. Vasco Diaz Tanco de Fregenal refers to Juan de Espera-en-Dios, in the prologue to his *Jardín del Alma cristiana*, Valladolid, 1552. "Quisiera que fuera verdad lo que algunos de sus comensales (del obispo de Cuenca) en burla proponen, scilicet, que Fregenal se hace cada año más mozo, como Juan de Espera-en-Dios." Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, Vol. II, col. 783.

² This refers to the *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), an Italian jurist. A Spanish translation by Bernardino Daza of this celebrated collection of emblems appeared in 1549.

Billano. Ésta, sí, fué buena bachillerada.

Biejo. Y ¿qué fué, que no la entendí?

Billano. Que con una oblea haze un garabato.

Amo. Pues yo e salido con la mia, señora, paga la pena y conbidamos¹ á mí y al licenciado á dos capones.

Billano. Yo los pelaré como no sea de seniza.

(*Aqui parese el billano y el biejo que estaban escondidos.*)

Amo. ¿Aca estais bos, señor?

Billano. Esa es pregunta y nesedad y perdone vuestra merced.

Amo. Y ¿por qué es nesedad, Señor asno?

Billano. Porque si aqui me habla, por fuerza e d'estar aqui, que no e d'estar en otro cabo.

Licenciado. Eso tiene bueno el billano, que antes perderá el comer que las malicias.

Billano. Todos somos de una tierra.

Amo. Y ¿quién es el buen biejo?

Billano. El padre del licenciado, segun él dize.

Licenciado. ¿Mi padre, y billano? No puede ser, ni ay tal.

Billano. Pues uno de los dos desmiente y yo creo más al biejo. ¡Ea! Conoseldo, que biene probe y no debe de aber comido.

Amo. ¿Que sierto que sos² su padre, biejo onrado?

Biejo. ¡Onrrada sea su bida! Sí, por sierto. Y dime, hijo. ¿Tú no me conoses?

Licenciado. Buen biejo, yo no os conosco ni os quiero conoser.

Billano. El diablo lo conoserá. El otro dezia aora que era hijo del Conde Partinunples.

¹ conbidamos for conbidanos.

² sos for sois.

Amo. Pues no tengais pena, onbre de bien, que yo lo remediaré. Dezime de donde soys y cómo os llamais.

Biejo. Señor bueno, yo me llamo Juan Rrazimo y soy de la Para.¹

Billano. Aora digo (ques) que es vuestro hijo, porque sinpre se acuesta hecho uba.

Amo. Oye, moço, para que nos oyga más. ¿Tiene alguna señal conosida por donde él no lo pueda negar?

Biejo. ¡Y cómo si tiene! Él es saludador² y tiene una crus debajo de la lengua.

Amo. Esa es buena señal y no la puede encubrir. ¡Beamosla!

Billano. ¡Ea licenciado! Abri la boca, si no quereis que os echemos un asial.³

(Aqui le hazen que enseñe la lengua por fuerça y es esto. Puede el billano dezir lo que más le llegara á cuento y luego dize el amo.)

Amo. Pues como onbre ynconsiderado á tu padre niegas, por hazerte hidalgo no lo siendo, pues no a de pasar asi; sino vos, buen biejo, quedeis en mi casa en lugar de mi padre, y éste que estaba en lugar de mi hijo, baya á buscar amo, que onbre que negó á su padre no puede hazer cosa buena y con esto nos entremos, dejandolo para quien él es.

¹ There are two towns in Spain with the name Para, one in the province of Burgos, and the other in the province of Oviedo. There is a play of words here on Para and parra (grapevine).

² Concerning the *saludadores*, see M. Rouanet's interesting note in his *Intermèdes Espagnols*, p. 311-12.

³ asial for acial.

Billano. Aora queda bueno el licenciado que parese el nominatibo *quis bel qui*.¹

(Aqui lo apoda el billano los apodos que mejor le cuadraren y pide licencia para cantalle unas coplas y respondente y dize.)

Coplas.

Por su padre emos trocado
Al licenciado, al licenciado.

Pensando de baler algo
Se quiso hazer hidalgo,
Y estaba á espulgar un galgo,
Porque á su padre a negado
El licenciado, el licenciado.

Y le fuera más partido
El aberlo conosido,
Porque fuera en más tenydo,
Y no como lo an dejado
Al licenciado, al licenciado.

Bien podeis tener paciencia,
Porque en Dios y en mi conc[i]encia,
Que os lo digo aqui en presencia,
Que soys asno enalbardado,
Licenciado, licenciado.

Fin. Laus Deo.

Repartido.

Padre del licenciado	Gaspar de Huerta.
Licenciado	Christoual de Castro.
Muger	Michael.
Amo	Alonso Robleño.
Villano	Torres.

¹ *quis bel qui*, Latin *quis vel qui*.

Para el padre del licenciado, unas polainas, caperuça doblada, capote serrano con capilla. Para el licenciado, una ropa de clérigo y bonete o sombrero.

This *entremés*, which is here published for the first time, is found in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, numbered 3379. Barrera does not mention it in his *Catálogo del Teatro Antiguo Español*. The manuscript, which formerly belonged to Böhl de Faber, consists of two sheets in folio. The handwriting is of the sixteenth century, but there is no clue to the authorship nor to the date of composition. Immediately following the play is a list of the actors, but as far as I know, none of these names occurs elsewhere in the annals of the Spanish stage. As was pointed out by Dr. Rennert in his *Spanish Stage*, p. 406, the fact that the rôle of the woman (*muger*) was played by a man (*Michael*), is an evidence of the early representation of the *entremés*.

The literary merit of the *entremés* is not great, although the dialogue, with its numerous allusions to old Spanish proverbs, is not without interest. It deserves attention, however, as one of the few extant *entremeses* of that period which have not been published. I have preserved the orthography of the manuscript, except that abbreviations have been printed in full and capital letters have been used where necessary. I have also used punctuation marks to facilitate the reading and have used accent marks to distinguish homonyms and the future and preterite tenses of the verb.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

XII.—ON THE SOURCES OF GUILLAUME
DE DEGUILEVILLE'S *PÈLERINAGE*
DE L'ÂME.

The sources of the allegorical religious trilogy¹ of the Cistercian monk and prior, Guillaume de Deguileville, have not been thoroughly investigated until comparatively recent years. In 1896, Tobler,² reporting on Stürzinger's edition of the *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*, stated that Deguileville's characteristics as a poet must be compared to those of Jean de Meun and Dante, and that Deguileville's powers of description did not approach those of Dante. Gröber³ gives it as his opinion that Deguileville's trilogy was composed without any knowledge of the *Divina Commedia*, though there are analogies between the two. He cites St. Bernard, Aristotle, the Book of Daniel, the Apocalypse, Dionysius Areopagita, and ms. illustrations, as sources of certain features of *Âme*. J. E. Hultman, in an excellent study of the poet's life and works,⁴ brings to light the sources of a large part of the three poems. His is the first serious attempt to discover the literary antecedents of Deguileville, and is a thorough, though inevitably not an exhaustive, treatment of the subject. Farinelli⁵ points out additional analogies between Dante and Deguileville, at the same time denying the possibility of any direct influence.

Hultman's monograph is the point of departure of the

¹ *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*, in two versions, 1330–1332 and 1355 respectively ; *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, 1355–1358 ; *Pèlerinage Jhesucrist*, 1358.

² Cf. *Archiv f. d. Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. 96, pp. 347–348.

³ *Grundriss* (1902) ii, 749 f.

⁴ *Guillaume de Deguileville, En Studie i Fransk Litteraturhistoria*, Upsala, 1902.

⁵ *Dante e la Francia dall' età media al secolo di Voltaire*, 2 vols., Milano, 1908. Vol. i, pp. 146–7.

present study. He makes the general statement¹ that the *Pèl. de l'Ame* shows much less markedly the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* than does the *Pèl. de Vie Humaine*. This is perfectly evident to anyone who has read the three poems. He also states with reason² that the preceding French visions of the otherworld³ had no direct influence upon Deguileville. When, however, he comes to speak of the mediæval legends of Purgatory, Hell and Paradise as possible sources of inspiration,⁴ he dismisses them summarily with a reference to the studies of Thomas Wright, Ozanam, and Fritsche, and the statement that visions of the punishment and glory of the otherworld are naturally a part of every mediæval religious fiction having to do with a personal continuation of this world's life. While this is perfectly true, yet we know from the amount of borrowing Hultman has already brought to light, that Deguileville was as ready as any of his contemporaries to appropriate whatever literary material came his way ; and it is the purpose of this present study to discover what features of *Ame* its author owes to the early Christian and mediæval visions of the otherworld, and to show, wherever possible, the particular vision which was most likely his source. Yet the cases in which we shall be able to point to a single source will be few ; nor are we to be surprised at this when we consider the opportunities Deguileville must have had of reading such visions in the works of Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, Bede, Boniface, Vincent de Beauvais, and Jacobus a Voragine, to cite but a few mediæval writers who gathered up and circulated the legends of the otherworld current in their day.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

³ Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'Enfer*, Raoul's *Songe de Paradis*, Rustebuef's *Voie de Paradis*, and Baudouin de Condé's *Voie de Paradis*.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

That Guillaume intended the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* to be an otherworld continuation of his *Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine* he tells us in vv. 25–32 of the former :¹

“Un autre songe ressongai
Que cy apres vous compteraï,
Et me semble que deppendant
Est de l'autre songe devant
Pour continuer le chemin
Dont fait estoie pelerin ;
Car encor pas ne l'avoie
Acheve si com cuidoie.”

The *Pèl. de Vie Humaine* is, in a broad way, a religious *Roman de la Rose*, and in *Âme* also our poet's style and method of treatment are much like those of Jean de Meun. He has taken the simple narratives of the Christian visions, most of which are of no great length when compared with *Âme*,² and introduced discussions³ which destroy the unity of the poem and add considerably to its length. Our poet also resembles Jean de Meun in the essentially material character of his point of view, which is expressly stated in vv. 8233–8238 of *Âme* :

“Plus necessaire est un foueur
Quē .i. orfevre ne changeur.
Miex se aïd' on d'un charretier,
Dē .i. couvreur, dē .i. potier
Qu'on ne feroit d'un orgueneur,
D'un paintrē ou d'un ymageur.”

Again, Guillaume resembles Jean de Meun in his zeal for

¹ Edited by Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1895.

² The poem contains 11,161 lines.

³ *E. g.*, the debate between the Soul and Body, vv. 4063–4330 ; that between the green tree and the dry tree, vv. 5931–6164 ; the complaint of the green tree, vv. 6353–6626 ; the discussion of the nature of the soul, vv. 6914–7200 ; the allegorical treatise on the state, vv. 7205–8344 ; the discussion of the various meanings of the word *siecles*, vv. 9216–9364 ; the discussion of the nature of the trinity, vv. 10751–10981.

collecting and imparting what he considered useful information, though in Guillaume's case the facts are spiritual and in Jean's profane. To sum up, we have in the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* just such a vision of the otherworld as we might expect from the pen of a monk perfectly familiar with the Christian visions, and writing under the spell of the author of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*.¹

Material pertinent to our subject has been found in the Book of Revelation (and, to a less extent, in other books of the Bible),² the New Testament apocrypha,³ and early Christian and mediæval Latin visions and legends.⁴

¹ The present study has been much simplified by the appearance of many studies of vision literature, chiefly in relation to Dante, e. g., Cancellieri, *Osservazioni intorno alla Questione . . . sopra la Originalità del Poema di Dante*, Rome, 1814; Labitte, *La Divine Comédie avant Dante*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, ivth series, xxxi (1842), 704-742; Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844; D'Ancona, *I Precursori di Dante*, Firenze, 1874; Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique au xiii^e siècle*, Paris, 1845; Fritsche, *Die Lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12ten Jahrhunderts*, in *Romanische Forschungen*, ii, 2, p. 247 f., and iii, 2, p. 337 f., with additions by Peters in vol. viii of the same periodical; Nutt, *The Happy Otherworld*, in vol. i of Meyer's edition of *The Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1895 and 1897; Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Mediæval Visions*, etc., Baltimore, 1899; Dods, *Forerunners of Dante*, Edinburgh, 1903; Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, London, 1908.

² In addition to Hultman's numerous parallels.

³ Of the Apocalypse of Peter and the Acts of the Apostle Thomas, to which we shall have occasion to refer, no Latin versions are known. The evidence adduced by comparison with them must, therefore, be discounted, as it is not necessary to postulate a knowledge of Greek on the part of Deguileville. It is possible that they influenced the poet through the medium of Latin visions to which the writer has not had access.

⁴ For the visions previous to the middle of the twelfth century we have used the editions cited by Fritsche and Peters, with the following exceptions: Gregory of Tours, *Gregorii Turonici Historiæ Francorum Libri Decem* (liber vii, cap. i), Basileæ (per Petrum Pernam), 1568; Gregory the Great (Dialogues, liber 14, cap. 36), *Sancti Gregorii Magni Papæ Primi Opera*, 6 vols., Paris, 1640 (vol. iii); Furseus, Drithelm, and an anony-

A brief analysis of the *Pèl. de l'Âme* will serve to make more intelligible the discussion of the individual passages of the poem.

The Soul leaves its vile body and is borne above the earth by a good and a bad angel to the gate of Paradise, where its view is shut off by a black curtain. Here it is judged. The balance of Justice swings finally in the Soul's favor, and it is decreed that it shall bear the record of its sins upon its back into Purgatory. It witnesses the happiness of certain souls which are being conducted to Paradise, and the disfigurement of other souls which are being led to Hell by devils. The Soul is first conducted to Purgatory, where it beholds the round fire surrounded by another sphere like a cloud (the bosom of Abraham). The Angel explains that Hell, like a nut, has three coverings. Hell proper is the kernel, and around it is a skin, the place of unbaptized infants. About that is the shell, or Purgatory proper. Outside the shell lies the bark, the place where Christ bit Hell, and which is now empty. All together is called Hell. The transparent earth is enclosed within its fire. The Angel conducts the Soul as it were down into the earth, where a vile odor greets it. It finds itself in a place full of human bones, and sees among them its own body. The Soul and body revile each other and argue at length as to which one has brought the other to its present unhappy state. The Soul then perceives a greater stench, which issues from Hell. It sees the flames

mous vision related by Bede, *Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (liber iii, cap. 19, and liber v, cap. 12 and 13), rec. J. Stevenson, London, 1838; Boniface, *Epistola Bonifacii ad Eadburgam*, in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, xiii, 78 f.; English Presbyter, in Dods, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-201; Charles III, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Rolls Series, 2 vols., London, 1887, liber ii, § 111; Anschar, Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*, vol. i (Hafniæ, 1772), pp. 430-434; Paul, usually the edition by Brandes, Halle, 1885, sometimes (when noted) the version in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 3; Walkelin, Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 188, cols. 607-612; Child William, Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, Venetius, 1494 (liber xxvii, cap. lxxxiv f.); St. Patrick's Purgatory, *Matthei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, London, 1874, vol. ii, pp. 192-203. For the visions after 1150 we have used the editions mentioned by Dods, with the following exceptions: Monk of Evesham, *Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, vol. i (1886), pp. 246-266; Thurcill, *R. de Wendover*, vol. ii (1887), pp. 16-35. Citations from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine are from the second edition by Graesse, Lipsiæ, 1850.

and smoke, and Satan seated bound in a fiery chair, beaten by the devils. Here hypocrites are burned and trodden under foot. Sinners hang over the fire suspended by the offending parts of the body. After witnessing numerous other and varied torments, the Soul leaves Hell and returns above the earth where it had been before. There it sees a green and a dry tree, and pilgrims playing with an apple. This apple (Christ) first grew on the green tree (the Virgin Mary), then was transferred to the dry tree (the cross) to make reparation for that apple which was wrongfully taken by Adam. After listening to an account of the origin of the two trees, a debate between the two, and the complaint of the green tree, the Soul and its guide pass on and see tombs upon each of which is cut the image of an ass, and nearby a hermitage. The angel explains that those who dwell in the hermitage follow St. Bernard's injunction to bear without complaint any burden that is put upon them. As they die they are buried under the tombstones. Passing on, they see Dame Doctrine sitting in her chair and licking the pilgrims as they pass to correct the deformities caused by sin. Next the Soul sees two statues, one of an armed knight on a horse, the other like the statue of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, the meaning of both of which is explained by the angel. The Soul's burden of sin has by this time been entirely burned away, and it flies to high Heaven, to find the black curtain which formerly obstructed its view removed. It beholds St. Michael seated on the throne of judgment, and listens to the harmony of the firmament. High Heaven is surrounded by a body of water as pure as crystal. It consists of eight divisions. The first, crowned with marigold, is that of the preachers; the second, crowned with roses, is that of the martyrs; the third, crowned with primroses and lilies, is that of the virgins; the fourth, crowned with carbuncles, is that of the apostles and evangelists; the fifth, crowned with sapphires, is that of the seraphim and cherubim and the other seven orders; the sixth, crowned with emeralds, is that of the prophets; the seventh, crowned with chrysolites, is that of the hermits and confessors; the eighth, of gold, is that of the King. There is a great sapphire-colored circle, three feet wide, bearing groups of thirty stars, each terminating in a bright sun, within the Golden Heaven. Above it angels dance and sing. This circle is the calendar of church festivals, which makes one revolution a year. The angel explains at length the meaning of the signs of the zodiac and their relation to the life of Christ. Then the Soul beholds a tall tree having a long dry branch with a cross piece. At its foot is a throng rejoicing. These are Adam and Eve with their descendants, and the tree is the tree of the Garden of Eden. Christ is now seen ascending from Mt. Olivet between ranks of angels, and Heaven resounds with joyful harmony at his return. In response to the Soul's question, the angel explains the nature of the trinity, then flies away, promising to show the Soul greater marvels in Heaven. At this juncture the poet is awakened by a burst of light from on high.

The poem is seen to be an account of a vision in which the Soul of the poet is represented as visiting successively Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise. Therefore its prototype in the broadest sense can be sought neither in the canonical books of the Bible, nor in the apocryphal gospels, as in these Purgatory has no part. The general idea is present, however, in many mediæval visions of trips to the other world, the three-fold division being especially fully developed in the twelfth century.¹ The preëminent example of the three-fold treatment of the otherworld before Deguileville's time is, of course, the *Divina Commedia*, which antedates *Âme* by some thirty-five or forty years; but a careful comparison of Dante's poem with that of Deguileville bears out the view of Gröber and Farinelli. The resemblances are slight in comparison with the parallels to be drawn between *Âme* and the Latin visions, and are easily explained on the ground of common sources. Deguileville, moreover, lacked the genius of Dante, and the French poem is a strictly mediæval production, entirely wanting in those spiritual elements that make the *Divina Commedia* immortal.

We will now proceed to a detailed examination of those passages in *Âme* which show unmistakable evidence of the influence of the otherworld legends and visions extant from early Christian times.²

The struggle of Satan for physical possession of the Soul is mentioned in vv. 55–57 of *Âme*:

“Car soutainnement agraper
Et a ses deux pates happer
Me vout la beste sauvage.”

Elsewhere the devils resort to argument, as in vv. 61–186,

¹ Dods, *op. cit.*, p. 217 f., analyzes several of the most important of them.

² The results are arranged in the order of the passages cited in *Âme*. Where several passages are considered together, they are placed according to the order of the first of them.

274–280, 326–332, 383–404. In a dialogue of Gregory the Great we find devils and angels struggling for the possession of souls: “Cumque hoc luctamen esset, ut hinc boni spiritus sursum, mali deorsum, traherent.” In the Vision of Fursey, devils try by arguments to prevent the pilgrim’s reaching Paradise: “maxima malignorum spirituum certamina, qui crebris accusationibus improbi iter illi coeleste intercludere contendebant; nec tamen, protegentibus eum angelis, quicquam proficiebant.” In the letter of Boniface, angels and devils dispute over the possession of souls: “& maximam inter se miserrimos Spiritus & sanctos Angelos de animabus egredientibus de corpore disputationem habuisse, Daemones accusando & peccatorum pondus gravando, Angelos vero releuando, et accusando.”

In *Ame* the Soul is guided on its journey through the otherworld by a bright angel (79–82):

“Moult eusse este desconforte,
Se ne m’ëust reconforte
Un juvencel de grant clarte
Qui me costoioit d’un coste.”

The Soul is conducted to judgment by Satan and this angel (187–190). Each of the other souls had its guide also (556–559):

“Mon gardian avant se mist
Et chascun des autres aüssi
Qui admenerent, si com vi,
Chascun avant son pelerin.”

The Soul’s angelic guide complies with its numerous requests for explanations of what it sees (5181 f., 5513 f., 5597 f., 6780 f., 6805 f.), and comforts it (cf. 79–82 above). In most of the Latin visions with which we are concerned, the earthly visitor is accompanied by one or more angels who act as its guides. This usage is as old as the Book of Enoch.¹ Examples which may have influenced Deguileville

¹ Cf. Boswell, *op. cit.*, p. 182, note.

are numerous. Drithelm: "'Lucidus,' inquens, 'aspectu, et clarus erat indumento, qui me ducebat.'" Boniface: "ductusque fuit per quendam candidissimum spiritum." Alcuin: "Candidus en subito videbatur ductor adesse." Child William: "vidit virum splendidum dicentem sibi, Sequere me."¹ The guides of the Latin visions explain the sights of the otherworld. Gregory of Tours: "... quos mihi qui præcedebant enarrauerunt esse martyres ac confessores."² The guide's function as comforter is also indicated. Anschar: "Qui mecum tam euntes, quam redeuntes, nihil locuti sunt, sed tamen pro affectu in me respiciebant, quemadmodum mater unicum filium contemplatur." Charles III: "Cumque cerneret comes meus in tanto pavore esse spiritum meum, dixit ad me, 'Sequere me ad dextram luculentissimæ vallis paradisi.'"

The judgment scene in *Âme* takes up most of the first 2640 lines. St. Michel presides over the trial,³ while Satan, acting as scribe, writes down the words of the Soul's accusers and places the resulting document in the left-hand pan of Justice's scales, while the Soul has only its pilgrim's staff and wallet to put in the right-hand pan. The balance swings heavily to the left.⁴ Then St. Benoit brings two great books in which he has entered the good and bad deeds of the Soul while a member of his order⁵ (2333-2339):

"Lors vint et monta haut Benoit
Qui deux grans sedules tenoit
Et dist: "Dedens vous trouverez
Tout ce que demande aves.
En l'un escript sont contenus
Biens, en l'autre les maus scëus
Du pelerin de mon habit."

¹ Cf. also Gregory of Tours, Furseus, Rotcharius, Wettin, Anschar, Alberic, and Tundal.

² See also Drithelm, Barontus, English Presbyter, and Paul.

³ Cf. vv. 8728-8734.

⁴ Vv. 2277-2279.

⁵ The Cistercian order, of which Deguileville was a member, is an offshoot of the Benedictine order.

When these volumes are placed one in each pan the left-hand pan remains the lower.¹ Then Misericorde lays in the right-hand pan a letter from Jesus Christ, and the balance swings at last in the Soul's favor. In Revelation xx, 12, we have doubtless the ultimate source of all such judgment scenes. There judgment is represented as being rendered in God's presence according to the account of the souls' earthly deeds contained in books: "Et vidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes in conspectu throni, et libri aperti sunt; et alius Liber apertus est, qui est vitæ; et judicati sunt mortui ex his, quæ scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum." In the mediæval visions we find the source of Deguileville's materialistic treatment of the books of evidence. In an anonymous vision related by Bede, the contrasting size of the books is emphasized with comical effect:

"Paulo ante, inquit, intraverunt domum hanc duo pulcherrimi juvenes et resederunt circa me, unus ad caput et unus ad pedes; protulitque unus libellum perpulchrum, sed vehementer modicum, ac mihi ad legendum dedit, in quo omnia, quæ unquam bona feceram intuens scripta reperi, et hæc erant nimium pauca et modica. Receperunt codicem, neque aliquid mihi dicebant. Tum subito supervenit exercitus malignorum et horridorum vultu spirituum, domumque hanc et exterius obsedit et intus maxima ex parte residens implevit. Tunc ille, qui et obscuritate tenebræ faciei et primatu sedis major esse videbatur eorum, proferens codicem horrendæ visionis et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pene importabilis, jussit uni ex satellitibus suis mihi ad legendum deferre. Quem cum legissem, inveni omnia scelera, non solum quæ opere vel verbo, sed etiam quæ tenuissima cogitatione peccavi, manifestissime in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris. Dicebatque ad illos, qui mihi assederant, viros albatos et præclaros, 'Quid hic sedetis, scientes certissime quia noster est iste?' Responderunt, 'Verum dicitis; accipite et in cumulum damnationis vestræ ducite.'"

The Vision of Paul,² 17, represents the angel of the sinful soul as bringing to its trial a book of its bad deeds:

¹ V. 2352.

² *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 3.

"Et venit angelus anime peccatricis habens in manibus cirographum, et dixit: *Æc sunt, domine, in manibus meis omnia peccata anime istius a iuventute eius usquæ in odiernum diem.*" The Vision of Thurcill gives much detail of the weighing of the bad and good deeds by the apostle Paul and the devil, and of the consignment of the souls to Purgatory or to Hell according to the result :

"Quædam vero libra, æque lance dependens, affixa erat super murum inter apostolum et diabolum, cujus pars media dependebat ante conspectum apostoli interius et altera pars ante conspectum diaboli exterius ; habebat itaque apostolus duo pondera, majus et minus, omnino nitida et quasi aurea, et diabolus similiter duo fuliginea et obscura. Accesserunt igitur animæ ex toto nigræ cum magno timore et trepidatione, una post alteram, singulæ ponderationem operum suorum ibidem visuræ bonorum et malorum ; nam pondera prædicta ponderabant singularum opera animarum, secundum quod fecerant bonum sive malum. Cum ergo statera se versus apostolum inclinaret per suorum librationem ponderum, tollebat apostolus animam illam et introduxit eam per portam orientalem, quæ conjuncta erat basilicæ, in ignem purgatorium, ut illic crimina expiaret ; cum vero pars stateræ ad diabolum se inclinaret et præponderaret, mox ille cum satellitibus suis animam miseram nimis ejulantem, patremque suum ac matrem, qui eam ad æterna genuerant tormenta, maledicentem, rapientes cum multo cachinno præcipitabant in foveam profundam et flammivivam, quæ secus pedes diaboli librantis erat."

Dazzling light is a feature of Paradise referred to several times in *Âme* ; e. g., vv. 257-260 and 8735-8736 :

"A un grant lieu resplendissant
Et de lumiere flamboiant
Qui sus et jus estinceloit
De grans merveilles et luisoit.
.
.
.
La grant clarte que la estoit
Et qui par tout resplendissoit."

Brightness is a familiar feature of the Biblical descriptions of Heaven,¹ and is frequently alluded to in the mediæval visions :—Gregory the Great : "Ibi mansiones erant . . .

¹ Cf. Revelation xxi, 10, 11, 23 ; xxii, 5.

magnitudine lucis plenæ." Drithelm : "Tanta autem lux cuncta ea loca perfuderat, ut omni splendore diei, sive solis meridiani radiis, videretur esse præclarior." Anschar : "Porro anima ejus egressa, statim in immensa claritate, qua totus mundus implebatur, sibi videbatur esse. . . . In ipso vero Orientis loco erat splendor mirabilis, lux inaccessibilis immensæ claritatis, cui inerat omnis color pretiosissimus."¹

When the Soul first approaches the judgment seat, its vision of Paradise is cut off by a black curtain (302-306):

"Car ma vëue obumbree
Fu d'une tresgrant courtine
Qui sembloit noire voirrine,
Si ques ne peu appertement
Rien plus vëoir ne clerement."

After its burden of sin is burned away, the Soul is led again to the judgment seat, and finds the curtain withdrawn (8725-8730):

"Lors me sembloit que voloie
Et que le ciel haut vëoie
Qui estoit desclos et ouvert,
Et que je vëoie en appert
Ce qui me fu encourtine
Par devant, de quoi j'ay parle."

The idea of the curtain was doubtless suggested to the poet by the veil of the temple, which shut off the Holy of Holies from view,² and by the various references in the New Testament to the rending of the veil.³ He may also have been influenced by 2 Corinthians iii, 13 and 14, and its reflection in Boniface : "veluti si videntis & vigilantis hominis oculi densissimo tegmine velentur, & subito auferatur velamen, & tunc perspicua sint omnia quæ ante non visa & velata, & ignota fuerunt."

¹ Cf. also Bernold, Child William, Cistercian Novice, Jacobus a Voragine (Graesse, p. 822).

² Exodus xxvi, 33.

³ Matthew xxvii, 51 ; Mark xv, 38 ; Luke xxiii, 45.

Deguileville's devils are thoroughly mediæval, and correspond to those of the Latin visions. They indulge in inarticulate cries (377, 1901-2, 2815-6):

"Crions harou, on nous fait tort.

.
Adonc s'escria le Sathan :
Enhan Michiel, enhan enhan !

.
Aussi com .i. tor fist grant cri
Et sus ses pates jus chaî."

Two examples from the Latin visions will suffice, though many might be cited. Ansellus Scholasticus :

"Ululantque ac mugiunt
Dira voce ac rugiunt."

Jacobus a Voragine (Graesse, p. 543) : "Ille autem solutus cum magno strepitu et ululatu disparuit." The devils of *Âme* bear in their hands various instruments for the chastisement of the souls (4413-4416 and 5441-5446):

"Les Sathanas a grans troupias
Par mi se monstrent moult isniaus.
Les uns pour le feu ont souffles,
Aucuns fourches, aucuns croches.
.
Mains Sathanas la estoient
Qui entour l'environnoient
Atout fourches et atout cros,
A mailles et a bastons gros
Et a mains autres instrumens
Dont il leur faisoient tourmens."

Specific mention of devils bearing implements of torture seems not to be found in Latin visions previous to the twelfth century. Tundal : "Ipsi quoque prefati tortores furcas habebant ferreas ignitas, et acutissimos tridentes preparatos, quibus jugulabant animas transire volentes et trahebant ad penas. . . . Viderunt carnifices cum securibus

et cultris et sarmentis et bisacutis cum dolabris et terebris et falcibus acutissimis, cum wangiis et fossoriis et cum ceteris instrumentis, quibus animas excoriare vel decollare vel findere vel truncare poterant." St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Dæmones etiam super miseros currentes, gravibus eos flagris cædebant." Cistercian Novice: "Qui etiam postea eos percutiebant fustibus per media capita usque ad excussionem cerebrorum, et eiectionem oculorum, et hoc incessabiliter." Monk of Evesham: "cum tridentibus et flagris et apparatu vario tormentorum accurrentes denuo tortores pœnis restituebant."

Guillaume's Paradise is harmonious, like that of the Apocalypse and the Latin visions. *Ame* 2755-2758:

"En ce point d'autre partie
Ouy une melodie
De divers instrumens sounans
Et de pluseurs doulcereux chans." ¹

Cf. Revelation xiv, 2 and 3; xv, 3. Drithelm: "vocem cantantium dulcissimam audiui." Tundal: "Voces vero diverse consonantes quasi musicum melos reddebant sonos." St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Chori choris per loca astiterunt, ac dulcis harmoniæ concentu Creatorem omnium laudaverunt." Jacobus a Voragine (Graesse, p. 822): "Ubi ætherei quidam exercitus cantantes canticum, quod auris mortalium non audivit."

Deguileville refers many times to the purgatorial theory that prayers of living friends lighten the pain of those undergoing punishment in the otherworld. For example, in *Ame*, v. 3271 f., Priere is made to state that she brings relief to individual souls which are prisoners in the fire, in the form of ointment representing prayers, masses, and

¹See also vv. 9115, 9129-9136, 9823-4, 9945-9960, 9991 f., 10057, 10350 f., 10413-10420, 10641, 10713 f.

alms, offered by relatives and friends on earth. *Ame* 3282–3288 :

“ Si vous senefie de voir
Que Grace Dieu si a broie
Mains oingnemens que m'a baillie
Qui generaument vertu ont
Que, qui sus leur chies en aront,
Leur tourmens seront alliges
Et leurs fardiaus appetices.”

There is one ointment which represents the intercession of the church, and in whose benefits all share (3345–3348) :

“ Une en y a, la general,
Qui est de sainte Eglise aval ;
Celle a tous est profitable
Et necessaire et vailable.”

Guillaume's idea of representing prayers concretely is perhaps drawn from Revelation v, 8, where the prayers of the saints are offered to God in the form of incense: “ Et cum aperuisset librum, quatuor animalia, et viginti quatuor seniores ceciderunt coram Agno, habentes singuli citharas, et phialas aureas plenas odorum, quæ sunt orationes sanctorum.” With the general theory that prayers, masses, and almsgiving were of avail to departed souls we are hardly concerned, as that is a well established doctrine of the church. It will be sufficient to mention that the doctrine in question is specifically referred to in the visions of Drithelm, Bernold, Charles III, and in St. Patrick's Purgatory.

Guillaume refers three times in *Ame* to Christ's descent to Hell (3715–3718) :

“ C'est ou Jhesucrist descendi
Et le lieu ou enfer mordi.
Le mors fu grant, quant en sacha
Ses amis et les emmena.”¹

¹ Cf. vv. 10261–4 and 10652–3.

Hultman offers ¹ as parallel for vv. 3715–6 Hosea xiii, 14 : “De manu mortis liberabo eos, de morte redimam eos ; ero mors tua o mors, morsus tuus ero inferne.” Deguileville may also have had in mind the account of the descent of Christ to Hell in the Gospel of Nicodemus : ² “Tunc salvator perscrutans de omnibus momordidit infernum, quantocius partem deiecit in tartarum, partem secum reduxit ad superos.”

The description of the fire enclosing the earth (*Ame* 3803–3808) looks like a reminiscence of either Boniface or Paul, more likely the former :

“Selon le feu en costoiant
Alai et en li rivoiant.
Plus grant que la terre il estoit,
Car en son milieu l'enclōoit
Et toutes choses qui y sont
En lonc, en le et en parfont.”

Boniface : “& subleuabant me in æra (dixi) sursum, & in circuitu totius mundi ignem ardentem videbam, & flammam immensæ magnitudinis anhelantem, & terribiliter ad superiora ascendentem.” Paul : ³ “Et respexi et uidi nubem magnam igne spansam per omnem mundum.”

In vv. 3853–4 of *Ame* is found an allusion to the punishment by alternating heat and cold which figures in many mediæval visions :

“Les uns en feu et ardure
Ou en glace ou en froidure.”

This feature is as old as the Book of Enoch,⁴ and a common-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

² *Evangelium Nicodemi Pars altera sive Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, Latine B, cap. ix (xxv), in *Evangelia Apocrypha*, rec. Tischendorf, Lipsiæ, 1876, p. 430.

³ *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 3.

⁴ Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

place in mediæval visions. Drithelm: "Devenimus ad vallem multæ latitudinis ac profunditatis, infinitæ autem longitudinis; quæ ad lævam nobis sita, unum latus flammis ferventibus nimium terribile, alterum furenti grandine ac frigore nivium omnia perflante atque verrente, non minus intolerabile præferebat." Bernold: "per vices nimio frigore horribiliter cum fletu et stridore dentium tremulantes, et per vices calore nimio æstuentes." Examples are to be found also in the visions of Alberic, Child William, Tundal, Monk of Evesham, and Thurcill.¹

Guillaume's Soul recognizes acquaintances on its journey through the other world (*Ame* 3943-7, 4531, 6771-4):

"Je li demandai et li dis :
 'Nes tu mie cil qui jadis
 La ens souloies demourer
 Et te faisoies .N. clamer ?'
 'Ce sui je, dist il, voirement.'

 Aucuns asses bien je cognu.

 Hommes et femmes terriens
 Des quiex y ot de mes parens
 Et d'autres que cognoissoie
 Vi et trouvai en ma voie."

Such recognition is found in the non-Christian visions,² and is a commonplace of the Christian visions. Gregory the Great: "hunc quem prædiximus Stephanum se recognovisse testatus est." Furseus: "cognovitque hominem." Baron-tus: "venimus ad paradisi primam portam, ubi plures vidimus ex Fratribus monasterii nostri." Similar examples are to be found in Alcuin, Rotcharius, Wettin, Bernold, Anschar, Charles III, Paul, Walkelin, Tundal, Monk of Evesham, and Thurcill.

¹ Cf. Dods, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 226, 232, 254 and 260.

² In the Vision of Er (Plato, *Republic*, x) and that of Thespesius (Plutarch, *The Delays of Divine Justice*), to cite but two of many examples.

As the Soul descends into Hell it is assailed by a terrible stench (*Ame* 4353–4361):

“Tantost par le chemin devant
Tousjours et en aparfondissant
En terre l'ange me mena ;
Mes lonc temps pas ne demoura
Que tel punaisie senti
Qu'a pou que n'o le cuer parti,
Pour quoi mon gardien me dist :
'Celle pueur que sens, si ist
D'enfer que je te vueil monstres.' ”

Examples of the association of a vile odor with Hell occur in apocryphal literature,¹ but in not many Christian visions before the twelfth century. Drithelm: “Set et foetor incomparabilis cum eisdem vaporibus ebulliens, omnia illi tenebrarum loca replebat . . . Porro puteus ille flammivomus ac putidus, quem vidisti, ipsum est os gehennæ.” Paul: “Et tulit eum ad septentrionem super puteum sigillatum sigillis .vii. Et dixit angelus: ‘Vade longe, si non possis sustinere fetorem loci.’ Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit quidam fetor super has omnes penas.” Beginning with the early part of the twelfth century, examples are comparatively numerous.² Later examples are:—Thurcill: “Erat autem juxta murum putei gehennalis introitus, qui indesinenter fumum cum teterrimo foetore per quasdam cavernas circumquæque in vultus astantium exhalabat.” Jacobus a Voragine (Ed. Graesse, p. 822): “Deinde ad loca teterrima ipsum duxerunt omni foeditate plena dictumque est: iste est locus injustorum.” Hultman cites³ Revelation ix, 1, as the source of *Ame* 5479–5481:

“De la fosse dois, dist, savoir
Que d'enfer est .i. grant manoir
Cellui qui est dit abisme.”

¹ *E. g.*, in Acts of the Apostle Thomas, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 420.

² Alberic, Tundal, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Monk of Evesham.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

That it is rather the Hell of the mediæval vision, with its intolerable stench, than the Hell of the Apocalypse, that is the true source of Guillaume's description, is shown by the passages cited above, and by a comparison of *Ame* 5505-6 :

"Sens faillir tousjours y dure
Toute punaisië et ordure,"

with Revelation ix, 2: "Et aperuit puteum abyssi; et ascendit fumus putei, sicut fumus fornacis magnæ."

Revelation xx, 1-3, is evidently the ultimate source of Guillaume's reference to Satan's being bound in Hell (*Ame* 4426-4430):¹

"En chaëre de feu sëoit,
Lie par les pies et les mains,
Entour le col et par les rains
De chaënnes de fer tresgrans,
Grosses et lourdes et pesans."

In the stress laid upon the size and weight of the chain, however, Deguileville betrays the influence of the mediæval visions. *E. g.*, Tundal: "Ligatur vero prefatus humani generis hostis per singula membra et per omnes juncturas membrorum catenis ferreis atque ereis, ignitis et valde grossis."

Suspension by various parts of the body over hellfire is a familiar feature of early Christian and mediæval eschatology, and Guillaume has included it (*Ame* 4567-4570):

"Haus tres et lons et estendus
Vi ou estoient mains pendus
Au dessous des quiex feu avoit
Qui de toutes pars les ardoit."

Some hang by their eyes (4574), some by their tongues (4577 and 4600) of which some had two (4578), some by their hands (4601), and some by their ears (4602). It is

¹ Cf. Gospel of Nicodemus, Ante-Nicene Library, xvi, 220.

the envious who hang by their eyes (4620), slanderers by their tongues (4643), traitors and flatterers by a double tongue (4665), and among them Judas (4673), thieves by their hands (5145), those who listened to slander by their ears (5115). In apocryphal literature we find this feature first in the Apocalypse of Peter,¹ where blasphemers hang by their tongue over fire, and adulterous women who adorned themselves for their lovers hang by their hair. Again we find it in the Acts of the Apostle Thomas,² where slanderers are suspended by their tongues, the shameless by the hair, and thieves by their hands. Two of the mediæval Latin visions contain similar punishments. Paul: "Vidit vero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas et peccatores cruciatos et suspensos in eis. Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachiis." St. Patrick's Purgatory: "alii ibi pendebant in flammis sulphureis, igneis cathenis per pedes et tibias, capitibus ad ima demissis, alii per manus et brachia, alii per capillos et capita; alii pendebant in flammis igneis in uncis ferreis et ignitis per oculos et nares, alii per aures et fauces, alii per testiculos et mamillas." In the mediæval visions cited there is no mention of the sins corresponding to the several punishments, such as we find in the apocryphal gospels. It is likely, however, that such was the case in other versions of these visions not accessible to the writer.³

Guillaume introduces us to two sorts of wheels of torture. The first (*Ame* 4873–5038) tears with iron hooks, as it revolves, two fraudulent stewards standing at a small door at the foot of a tower. *Vv.* 4883–6:

¹ Ante-Nicene Fathers, ix, 145–6.

² Ante-Nicene Library, xvi, 419–420.

³ Cf. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 36, in regard to the Vision of Paul, and p. 88, in regard to the comparative brevity of Matthew of Paris's version of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

“ Cros de fer estoient fichies
 En la roe et fort atachies
 Et desciroient deux chetis
 Qui estoient a ce postis.”

We have not found this form of wheel of torment in the visions. On the other hand, the second wheel, to which souls are bound, is familiar, though the method of torture by striking the heads of the victims against a pillar is novel. *Âme* 5309–5328 :

“ Au joignant une roe avoit
 Qui sens mesure grant estoit
 Sus la quelle estoient assis
 Et attachies plusieurs chetis.
 Et celle roe isnellement
 Et tres impetueusement
 Deux fors Sathanas tournoient
 Et ceux qui sus se sèoient
 Faisoient tresformement hurter.
 A chascun tour .i. pilier
 Qui deles la roe estoit mis
 En tel maniere a mon advis
 Qu'au hurter s'escerveloient
 Et que leurs yex hors yssioient.
 De ceux ci li anges me dist
 Et grant paour au cueur me fist :
 Ce sont les fils de Tristece,
 Gens endormis en parece,
 Gens negligens et pareceux
 Lasches et fetars et huiseux.”

The wheel of torment is mentioned in apocryphal literature.¹ It also occurs in several comparatively late mediæval visions. Child William : “ Postea vidit multos super rotas volubiles affigi : viros per virilia : feminas per membra genitalia et omnes clamabant ve ve.” St. Patrick's Purgatory (the wheel is turned rapidly by devils, cf. vv. 5313–5 above) : “ rotam quandam ferream et ignitam, cujus radii et

¹ Acts of Thomas, Ante-Nicene Library, xvi, 419.

Those who rob the poor are gnawed by wolves in *Ame* (5172-6 and 5219-5222), as those who exact usury from orphans and widows are bitten by worms in the Vision of Paul :

“ D’autres chetis vi tost deux tas
Dont les uns grans loups¹ rungoient
Et aus dens les cherpissoient
Et les desciroient aus pies
Les ongles trais et hors sachies.

¹ Some mss. read: "serpens et crapaus."

Ceulx la que menguent les leus¹
 Pour verite ont este ceux
 Qui ont mengie la pource gent
 Et leur ont tolu leur argent."

Paul: "Postea vidit locum terribilem et angustum, in quo erat flumen magnum ascendens ad septentrionem, et viri et mulieres erant in eo linguas suas comedentes et vermes in circuitu comedentes eos. Paulus plorans dixit: 'Qui sunt hi?' Angelus dixit: 'Hi sunt, qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt et usuras et lucrum quesiverunt sine misericordia.'"

In Deguileville's poem it is the usurers who are punished by having molten metal poured down their throats. *Ame* 5177-5180, 5241-8, and 5257-5260:

"Les autres envers gisoient
 Et gueule beee avoient
 Et Sathan dedens leur getoit
 Arain fondu que prest avoit.

 Les autres qui deles eux sont,
 Qui les gueules baees ont,
 Usurier sont qui haut nommer
 N'osent leur mestier ne crier,
 Et toux ceux qui generaument
 Leur cueur ambicieusement
 Ont mis a argent amasser
 Et a li sens cause garder.

 Ainsi Avarice les a
 Servis et tousjours servira.
 En la gorge leur fait geter
 Leur argent pour eux saouler."

This punishment is mentioned, though not applied to usurers, in several mediæval visions. The Vision of a Poor Woman: "taetrosque spiritus duos aurum liquefacere et in os ejus infundere." Child William: "et demones monetam

Here also the variant readings show *serpens*.

flameam de sacculis proferebant; et in ora singulorum projiciebant: quam illi per voces et guttur mittebant: sed demones iterum in ora eorum reingerebant." Jacobus a Voragine:¹ "Tunc Julianus plumbum fecit liquari et in os ejus infundi." Jacobus a Voragine:² "Tunc iratus præsides jussit facibus latera ejus incendi et plumbum bulliens in os ejus infundi." In the Vision of Thurcill, a lawyer guilty of malpractice and bribe-taking is represented as being forced to swallow heated coins: "Adducitur in medium quidam legum mundanarum peritissimus, a suo sedili cum cruciatu magno abstractus, quod sibi per longum tempus male vivendo fabricaverat et judicia acceptis muneribus subvertendo. . . . Cumque diutius demones miseri hominis gestum ludificando conspexissent, nummi subito velut ardentes effecti miserum miserabiliter exurebant, quos in os suum ardentes projicere, atque in ore receptos compulsus est deglutire." This may be compared with the punishment assigned by Deguileville (*Ame* 5043-8) to perjured lawyers and bribe-taking judges, who hang by their tongues from the money representing their bribes:

"Or avez vous vostre soulas
Seigneur plaideurs, faus avocas,
Vous aussi menteurs parjures
Et vous qui fustes faus juges.
A l'argent qu'aves pourchasse
Par la langue estes atachie."

The burning of certain thorny, knotty, sinners bound in fagots is thus described in *Ame*, 5274-5288:

"En .i. des liex Sathan faisoit
Grans hars et a son compaignon
Les bailloit par condicion
Que tantost grans fagos faisoit
D'une gent que illeuc estoit

¹ Ed. Graesse, p. 310.

² Ed. Graesse, p. 345.

Qui estoit moult espineuse,
 Poignant, aspre et nououlleuse.
 De ceux le fagoteur faisoit
 Fagos et de hars les lioit
 Et pluseurs lioit ensemble,
 Bien dix ou plus, se me semble ;
 Et puis .i. autre en y avoit
 Qui a sa fourche les getoit
 En la fournaise la dedens
 Ou n'est pas le feu d'ardoir lens."

These are the *impaciens et rioteus* (v. 5291), *c'est de Ire la ligniee* (v. 5299). The figure was well established before Deguileville's time. Matthew xiii, 30, refers metaphorically to the binding of sinners (the tares) into bundles to be burned: "Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum." Echoes of this passage are found as follows:—Barontus: "Juxta quod S. Gregorius in libro dialogorum exposuit:¹ Ligabunt eos in fasciculos ad comburendum, et reliqua." Paul: "Sicut dicit dominus in ewangelio: 'Ligate eos per fasciculos ad comburendum; id est similes cum similibus, adulteros cum adulteris, rapaces cum rapacibus, iniquos cum iniquis.'" In the Vision of the Monk of Evesham, the bonds have become an abstraction (similarity of sin): "Vidi et audiui per lata illius campi spatia . . . miserorum choros miserabiliter nimis turmatim collectos, et gregatim criminum parilitate et professionum similitudine constrictos, pariter æstuarere et dissimiliter sub pœnarum cumulis ejulare."

In Guillaume's Hell the sensual are punished by burning, and by the bite of toads, snakes and other vermin; *Ame* 5411–5420 and 5427–8:

"Après je vi trepies assis,
 Ou deux et deux estoient mis
 Tresgrant foison de maleureus
 Dessous les quies estoit li feus

¹ I have been unable to identify this reference.

Qui de toutes pars les ardoit,
 Et entour eux foison avoit
 De crapos et couleuvres grans
 Et autres vermines nuisans
 Qui a tous les les mordoient
 Et tresgrant grief leur faisoient.

 Car ont vescu tresordement
 Et tresluxurieusement."

The burning of the sensual in various ways (in no case, however, on tripods) is a familiar feature of the mediæval visions. Furseus: "Sicut enim quis ardet in corpore per illicitam voluptatem, ita solutus corpore ardebit per debitam pœnam." Wettin: "in quibus plurimos tam minoris quam maioris ordinis sacerdotes stantes, dorso stipitibus inhærentes in igne stricte loris ligatos viderat: ipsasque feminas ab eis stupratas simili modo constrictas ante eos, in eodem igne usque ad loca genitalium dimersas." Paul: "Et vidit ibi multos homines dimersos in flumine ignito, . . . 'Domine, qui sunt hi, qui usque ad umbilicum?' Respondit angelus: 'Hi sunt, qui fornicantur, postquam assumpserunt corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi.'" Walkelin: "Sic nimirum pro illecebris et delectationibus obscenis, quibus inter mortales immoderate fruebantur, nunc ignes et fetores, et alia plura quam referri possint supplicia dire patiuntur."¹ Toads are a feature of St. Patrick's Purgatory, though not as a punishment for the sensual: "Bufones etiam miræ magnitudinis et horroris, super quorundam pectora incumbentes, deformibus rostris suis eorum corda extrahere conabantur." In the Vision of Tundal, women illegitimately pregnant are said to be bitten *in visceribus more viperino a prole concepta*. In St. Patrick's Purgatory fiery dragons bite the damned, though not speci-

¹ Cf. also Monk of Evesham, pp. 257-259; the passage is too long to quote.

fically the sensual : "Dracones autem ignei super quosdam sedentes, et dentibus eis igneis corrodentes, modo miserabili affligebant." The sensual are represented as being consumed by worms in the Vision of the Monk of Evesham : "Planities loci illius multitudine vermium constrata scatebat, ut junco solent domorum areæ operiri ; et hii, super omnem æstimationem horridi, deformes et monstrosi, terribili oris rictu et naribus ignem spirantes execrabilem turmas miserorum voracitate inextricabili lacerabant. . . . Horreo referens et sceleris obscœnitate in memetipso supra modum confundor."

Guillaume's fondness for etymology is illustrated by the following passage (*Ame* 8799-8806) :

"Ce sont les oiseaux que Diex fist
Ou miex il vouloit que prëist
Homme mortel exemplaire
Pour aussi commë eux faire.
Aloes il sont il sont apelles
Et de loer a droit nomes,
Purement veulent Dieu loer
Et loing de terre haut chanter." ¹

A similar discussion of the etymology of a word meaning "praise" as used by the angels with respect to God is contained in the Vision of Paul, 30 : ² "Et dixi angelo : 'Domine, quid est alleluia ?' Et respondens angelus dixit mihi : . . . 'Dicitur alleluia Ebrayca loquella dei et angelorum : narracio autem alleluia hæc est : tecel. cat. marith. macha.' Et dixi : 'Domine, quid est tecel. cat. marith. macha ?' Et respondens angelus dixit mihi : 'Hæc est tecel. cat. marith. macha. Benedicamus eum omnes in unum.'"

Flowers and sweet odors are a feature of Deguileville's Paradise, in common with that of pagan antiquity,³ the

¹ Cf. the derivation of *estalue*, *Ame* 7265 ff.

² *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 3.

³ Cf. Boswell, *op. cit.*, p. 50 and Note 2.

Apocalypse of Peter,¹ and the Middle Ages. *Ame* 9113, 9825–9832 and 9987–9 :

“ Les beautes, les odouremens.

 Lors sont les beaus jardins du roy
 A tous ouvers par son cetroi.
 Dedens s'en vont festoier tuit
 Pour queillir y et fleurs et fruit,
 Puis revont es preries
 Galement vers et flories
 Ou s'esbanient a leur gre
 Tous d'un accort et voulente.

 Et alerent les uns au may
 En la forest dont parlé ay.
 Les autres aus fleurs alerent.”²

Gregory of Tours: “operuit me odor nimiae suauitatis.”
 Gregory the Great: “amœna prata . . . odoriferis herbarum floribus exornata. . . . tantusque in eodem loco odor suauitatis inerat, ut ipsa suauitatis fragrantia illic deambulantes, habitantesque satiaret.” Drithelm: “Et ecce, ibi campus erat latissimus ac lætissimus, tantaque fragrantia vernantium flosculorum plenus, ut omnem mox fœtorem tenebræ fornacis, qui me pervaserat, effugaret admirandi hujus suauitatis odoris. Boniface (the fragrance is the breath of the blessed): “& inde miræ dulcedinis fragrantia veniebat, quæ beatorum halitus fuit ibi congaudentium spirituum.” It is needless to multiply examples, which might be cited from Alcuin, Bernold, Alberic, Tundal, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Cistercian Novice, Monk of Evesham, and Thurcill.

When the black curtain is withdrawn, and the Soul is finally permitted to behold the glories of Paradise, it hears praises sung by souls just come from Purgatory (*Ame* 9121–8):

¹ Ante-Nicene Fathers, ix, 145.

² Cf. vv. 9397–9408.

“ Es lieux qui plus pres estoient
 Du cristalin et joingnoient
 Estoit mis le commun menu
 Qui de purgatoire venu
 Estoit et respondoient
 A ceux qui en haut chantoient.
 Souvent estoit reprins sanctus
 Devotement et sus et jua.”

There can be small doubt that this is that praise-singing multitude who had “washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb,” Revelation vii, 9–14.¹

Of the precious stones which ornament four of the eight *siecles* of Guillaume's Paradise (*escharboucles* 9456, *saphirs* 9466, *esmeraudes* 9508, *crisolites* 9528), three are mentioned in St. John's description of the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem (*sapphirus*, *smaragdus*, Revelation xxi, 19; and *chrysolithus*, Revelation xxi, 20). They are also mentioned in the order *crisolitus*, . . . *smaragdus*, *saphirus* in the list of precious stones of which the wall of Paradise of the Vision of Tundal² was constructed. The carbuncle's popularity in Old French poetry is responsible for its inclusion in Guillaume's list.³

Each of the nine orders of Guillaume's fifth heaven contains 6,666 legions, and each legion 6,666 spirits; the number of fallen angels was that of a single order (*Ame* 9485–9495):

“ Ordre n'y a ou il n'ait mis
 Six mil six cens soixante et six
 A tout le moins de legions,
 Et nulle n'est des legions
 Ou il n'ait de tex esperis
 Six mil six cens soixante et six,

¹ Hultman, *op. cit.*, p. 148, refers v. 9127 f. to the influence of the liturgy.

² Edition cited above, pp. 51–2.

³ Cf. *Vie Humaine*, vv. 238 and 3456.

Par quoi bien tost savoir pourras
 Quel le nombre est des Sathanas.
 Car tel nombre il en chut aval
 Qui eüst fait en general
 Un ordre et du tout acompli."

The numerical strength of the Roman legion at no time exceeded six thousand two hundred;¹ so we must look elsewhere for the source of Guillaume's figures, and we find it in the *Legenda Aurea*² of Jacobus a Voragine: "Congregantes igitur electam militum legionem, scilicet vi millia dclxvi." And elsewhere:³ "Sed mox, dum incantaretur, iudicio Dei legio dæmonum, id est vi millia sexcenti et lxvi in eam ingressi ipsam acrius vexare cœperunt." In the first words of the chapter from which the second citation is made the author refers to Gregory the Great as his source,⁴ but Gregory makes no mention in the place indicated of the number of devils in a legion, and so it is probable that the number is an invention of Jacobus a Voragine.

The highest heaven of Guillaume's Paradise is golden (*Ame* 9573-4):

"Le ciel d'or que le plus haut vois
 Est celui ou se siet li roys."

Such was also the color of Heaven in St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Quo cum aspiceret, interrogabant, cujusmodi coloris cœlum esset, respectu loci in quo stetit; qui respondit, colori simile esse auri in fornace ardentis."

The "great white throne" of Revelation xx, 11, becomes for Deguileville something brighter than the sun, and redder (*Ame* 9575-9580):

¹ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, iii, 1050-1.

² Ed. Graesse, p. 629. We know that Deguileville was acquainted with the *Legenda Aurea*; cf. Hultman, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³ Ed. Graesse, p. 112.

⁴ "Refert Gregorius in primo libro dialogorum."

"Ou milieu est son siege mis
 Qui est rouont, cler et polis,
 Et est autel com le souleil
 Fors de tant qu'il est plus vermeil,
 Et si est aussi plus luisans,
 Plus cler et plus resplendissans."

The saints in Paradise singing praises (*Ame* 9674–9684) remind the poet of those birds which often assemble upon a tree to praise God their Creator (*Ame* 9685–9690):

"Lors me souvint de ces oiseaus,
 Si com mauvis ou estourniaus,
 Qui sus .i. arbre bien souvent
 S'assemblent moult espesement,
 Et la chantent par grant doulceur
 En louant Dieu leur createur."

This is a common feature of Irish eschatology,¹ and appears in Latin visions of Irish origin. The most extended account is that of the *Vita Sancti Brendani abbatis*:

"Super ipsum fontem autem erat arbor ingens, mire beatitudinis, sed non magne altitudinis, cooperta avibus candidissimis, in tantum ut rami ejus et folia minime viderentur. . . . Ecce una ex illis avibus volavit de arbore. . . . Que statim ait: 'Nos sumus de magna illa ruina antiqui hostis. . . . Vagamur per diversas partes hujus seculi, æris et firmamenti et terrarum sicut et alii spiritus qui mittuntur. Set in sanctis diebus dominicis, accipimus corpora talia que tu vides, et per Dei dispensacionem commoramur hic et laudamus creatorem nostrum.' . . . Et cum hoc dixisset, . . . ad alias reversa est. Cum autem vespertina hora appropinquasset, ceperunt omnes quasi una voce cantare percucientes latera, atque dicentes: 'Te decet hymnus Deus in Syon, et tibi reddetur votum in Jherusalem per servitium nostrum.' . . . Omnes alie aves alis et ore sonabant dicentes: 'Laudate Dominum omnes Angeli ejus, laudate eum omnes Virtutes ejus.' Similiter ad vesperum per spacium unius hore semper cantabant; cum autem aurora refulsisset, ceperunt cantare, et sic splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos equali modulacione et longitudine psallendi sicut in matutinis laudibus. Similiter ad terciam horam versiculum istum: 'Psallite Deo nostro, psallite, psallite regi nostro, psallite

¹ Cf. Boswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–3 and 189.

sapienter.' Ad sextam : 'Illuminavit Dominus vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri.' Ad nonam autem psallebant : 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jocundum habitare fratres in unum.' Ita die et nocte ille aves reddebant laudes Deo.'

Guillaume de Lorris had also used the birds and their songs as a feature of his earthly paradise.¹ Their theme is, however, amorous, while that of *Ame* and the Christian visions is religious. Cf. *Rose*, vv. 707-8 :

" Lais d'amors et sonnés cortois
Chantoit chascun en son patois."

The fundamental inspiration came therefore from the Life of St. Brandan rather than from the *Roman de la Rose*; yet Guillaume evidently had both in mind; for he chose the birds he mentions from the latter (*mauvis*, *Rose* 658, and *estorniaus*, *Rose* 650).²

In *Ame*, vv. 10520-10564, the Soul is represented as seeing in Paradise the tree of the Garden of Eden, transplanted hither (vv. 10575-6). The tree, with Adam beneath it, is introduced into the Vision of Thurcill. The correspondence of Thurcill and *Ame* is not universal, yet there is sufficient similarity to indicate the possibility of a borrowing (the beauty of the tree and its bearing of fruit, Adam's comeliness, his conflicting joy at the salvation of part of his race and grief for the damnation of the rest.) *Ame* 10521-3, 10531-6, 10559-10564 :

¹ *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Francisque-Michel, v. 647 ff.

² Jean de Condé's *La Messe des Oisiaus* seems hardly to be reckoned with here, as in it the birds merely go through the form of the mass, and there is no verbal emphasis on the praise of the Creator which forms an important part of Deguileville's recollection and of the Life of St. Brandan. Moreover, the amorous intent of *La Messe des Oisiaus* is shown by the elevation of the rose instead of the host (vv. 326-8).

"Un arbre qui moult haut estoit
 Et qui feuilles et fruit portoit,
 Et de grant beaute estoit plain.

 Au pie dessous ot grant foison
 De peuple qui tout environ
 Grant joie et feste faisoient
 Et a Dieu graces rendoient,
 Entre les quiez je vi .i. grant
 Qui moult estoit de bel semblant.

 Adam le regarde souvent,
 Et moult eüst le cuer dolent,
 Se la redempcion ne fust
 Qui faite fu ou haut sec fust,
 C'est en ce rain lassus croisie,
 Le quel quant il voit, moult est lié."

Thurcill: "Super hunc fontem erat arbor pulcherrima
 miræ magnitudinis et immensæ proceritatis, quæ omnigeno-
 rum abundantia fructuum ac specierum redolentia affluebat.
 Sub hac arbore prope fontem requiescebat homo quidam
 venustæ formæ ac gigantæi corporis, qui a pedibus usque ad
 pectus indutus erat quodam vestimento varii coloris et mira
 pulchritudine contexto; ex uno oculo ridere et lugere ex
 altero videbatur. 'Hic,' inquit sanctus Michael, 'est primus
 parens generis humani Adam, qui per oculum ridentem
 innuit lætitiā, quam habet de filiorum suorum salvandorum
 ineffabili glorificatione, et per alium lachrymantem denuntiat
 tristitiā, quam habet de quorundam filiorum suorum repro-
 batione et justo Dei judicio damnandorum.' "

In conclusion, Hultman devoted his attention to those
 passages for which could be found an assured source with
 verbal correspondences. What he left was the task of
 searching out the origin of certain well-defined elements in
 the poem, and showing their relation to the body of legen-
 dary and vision literature current in the first half of the
 fourteenth century. We have made some additions to Hult-

man's extended list of the Biblical sources of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, and have shown that the New Testament apocrypha in some instances modified Guillaume de Deguileville's conception of the other world. But most important of all have been the results obtained from a comparison of Deguileville's picture of the punishments and rewards of the other world with the Latin visions of the Middle Ages. There can be no doubt that he drew from them many features of his Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise; and even in cases where it has been impossible to find a perfect parallel we can often see the source of his idea. A comparative study of the number of parallels found in the various visions shows that Drithelm, Paul, Tundal, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Monk of Evesham, and Thurcill contain the largest number, and among these visions are doubtless those which had the greatest influence on the form of Deguileville's vision.

STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN.

XIII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDIÆVAL PASSION-PLAY.

Some fifteen years ago the prevailing theory as to the origin of mediæval plays concerning the Passion was authoritatively expressed in these words:

Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die *Marienklagen*.¹ Erst diese scheinen die Anregung zur Darstellung der Passion gegeben zu haben. Dass dem wirklich so ist, ersehen wir noch aus der Anlage der Passions-spiele. Die Kreuzigungsszene, die den Mittelpunkt bildet, enthält als Hauptteil stets eine *Marienklage*.²

A more recent investigator has again stated the case unequivocally as follows:

Nor indeed can the liturgical drama proper be shown to have advanced beyond a very rudimentary representation of the Passion. This began with the *planctus*, akin to those of the *Quem queritis*, which express the sorrows of the Virgin and the Maries and St. John around the cross. Such *planctus* exist both in Latin and the vernacular. The earliest are of the twelfth century. Several of them are in dialogue, in which Christ himself occasionally takes part, and they appear to have been sung in church after Matins on Good Friday. The *planctus* must be regarded as the starting-point of a drama of the Passion.³

This theory, that the lament of the Virgin and others at the foot of the Cross is the germ from which the passion-play developed, has not, however, passed without question, as we may infer from the following challenge:

¹ The italics are inserted by the present writer.

² E. Wechsler, *Die romanischen Marienklagen*, Halle, 1893, p. 98.

³ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 39-40.

We may conclude with a word about the generally accepted theory that the *planctus* forms the starting point of the passion-plays . . . Whatever the truth may be in other languages as regards the origin and development of the passion-plays, when considered in connection with the English plays as we have them, this theory cannot be accepted without at least certain qualifications. The date of composition of those plays in which the *planctus* are present is so late that it seems very improbable that it is, in its present form, the germ of the play around which other materials gathered. Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the *planctus* portion written along with the rest of it? . . . In no case is there any conclusive proof which goes to show that the *planctus* is, in the English passion-play, the original portion from which the rest of the play was expanded.¹

Whatever may be the ultimate importance of the *Planctus Mariæ* as a dramatic germ,² a survey of the early passion-plays themselves³ reveals at least two facts: namely, (1) that each of these plays contains a *planctus*, which in some cases pervades a large part of the play,⁴ and which in other cases is a mere lyrical incident in the

¹ G. C. Taylor, *The English Planctus Mariæ*, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 636-637.

² Of the *Planctus Mariæ*, both as an independent lyric and as a dramatic germ, the most valuable studies are the following: A. Schönbach, *Ueber die Marienklagen*, Graz, 1874; E. Wechsler, *op. cit.*; G. C. Taylor, *op. cit.*; and H. Thien, *Ueber die englischen Marienklagen*, Kiel, 1906.

³ By passion-play I mean a play that actually deals with the complete *Passion* itself, either as an independent play, or as a member of a more comprehensive play or group of plays.

⁴ For documentary evidence see, for example, R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, pp. 758-813; F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 131-151; A. Pichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, pp. 115-140; F. Torraca, *Il Teatro Italiano dei Secoli XIII, XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1885, pp. 47 ff.

complete drama of the Passion; ¹ and (2) that the groundwork of the passion-plays is clearly the Gospel accounts of the Passion. Although the relation of *planctus* to passion-play has been assiduously investigated, little attention has been paid, in this connection, to the Gospel itself. For this reason, I venture to scrutinize the uses in mediæval worship of the Gospel narrative of the Passion, and to offer certain observations on the relation of *evangelium* to passion-play. Waiving for the moment, then, the question as to whether, in each case, the *planctus* attracted to itself the Passion narrative, or whether the narrative, in becoming dramatized, merely incorporated into itself the *planctus*, we may inquire into the dramatic possibilities of the Passion narrative as it confronted the mediæval dramatist.

I.

The Biblical account of the last hours of Christ upon earth stirred the consciousness of the mediæval worshippers not only from the pages of the Vulgate, but also through one of the most affecting and dramatic of the liturgical observances of Holy Week. From a very early period,—certainly from the time of Leo the Great (Pope, 440-461),²—to the present day, the Roman Liturgy of

¹ For documentary evidence see, for example, W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, p. 124; *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 8, 1889, p. 164; Froning, pp. 362, 296-299; Mone, Vol. II, pp. 121, 327 ff.; A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, Paris, 1837, pp. 236-237, 247-252; Torraca, pp. 166 ff.; *Ludus Coventriæ*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1841, pp. 321 ff.; *The Chester Plays*, edited by T. Wright, London, 1843-47, Vol. II, pp. 61-64; *The Towneley Plays*, edited by England and Pollard, London, 1897, pp. 267-272.

² See the anonymous article *L'Évangile de la Passion*, in *Le Messager des Fidèles (Petite Revue Bénédictine)*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 64. It is unfortunate that this admirable article has been so generally overlooked.

Holy Week has included, in connection with the Mass, the reading of the four Gospel accounts of the Passion,—that from Matthew ¹ on Palm Sunday, that from Mark ² on Tuesday, that from Luke ³ on Wednesday, and that from John ⁴ on Good Friday. Since these lections,—called *passiones*,—contain precisely the matter, and, in some cases, the exact text, of some of the earlier passion-plays, we may well seek accurate information as to the manner in which these lections were delivered,—that is, as to the ceremonial of the *passiones*.

The manner in which the *passio* has been rendered in comparatively recent times has been eloquently described by Cardinal Wiseman:

. . . But there is another part of the Office performed on Sunday [i.e., Palm Sunday] and repeated on Friday, which goes much beyond all this in dramatic power and sublimity of representative effect. I allude . . . to the chaunting of the Passion, according to St. Matthew and St. John, in the service of these two days. This is performed by three interlocutors, in the habit of deacons, who distribute among themselves the parts, as follows:—The narrative is given by one in a strong, manly tenor voice; the words of our Saviour are chaunted in a deep solemn bass and whatever is spoken by any other person is given by the third in a high contralto. This at once produces a dramatic effect; each part has its particular cadence, of old, simple, but rich chaunt, suited to the character represented, and worthy of ancient tragedy. That of the narrator is clear, distinct, and slightly modulated; that in which ordinary interlocutors speak, sprightly and almost bordering upon colloquial familiarity; but that in which our Saviour's words are uttered, is slow, grave, and most solemn, beginning low, and ascending by full tones, then gently varied in rich though simple undulations, till it ends by a graceful and expressive cadence, modified with still greater effect in interrogating phrases. . . . But the peculiar beauty,

¹ Matt. xxvi, 1—xxvii, 61.

² Marc. xiv, 1—xv, 46.

³ Luc. xxii, 1—xxiii, 53.

⁴ Joan. xviii, 1—xix, 42.

or rather the magnificence . . . consists in the chorus. For, whenever the Jewish crowd are made to speak, in the history of the Passion, or indeed whenever any number of individuals interfere, the choir bursts in with its simple but massive harmony, and expresses the sentiment with a truth and energy which thrills through the frame and overpowers the feelings.¹

To many an intelligent and sensitive observer who has stood for an hour before such a ceremonial as this, and has felt the awful approach to the catastrophe, *Emisit spiritum*, it must have occurred that the liturgical *passio* is a sacred drama, or, at least, that the addition of the merest suggestion of impersonation,—a gesture, a change of facial expression, a bit of costume,—would transform the dramatic dialogue into true drama.² To some persons, indeed, the very changes in voice so sympathetically described by Cardinal Wiseman, may seem to indicate a definite effort toward impersonation. It would appear, then, that if the mediæval dramatist had before him a text and a ceremonial so obviously dramatic, he were truly dull not to exert the modicum of effort necessary for converting *passio* directly into passion-play, without the mediation of *planctus* or of any other literary type. It is of capital importance, then, to determine the age of this highly dramatic ceremonial, to determine the nature of the liturgical *passio* during that period of the middle ages when liturgical plays were actually written.

¹ *Four Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week, as performed in the Papal Chapels*, by Cardinal Wiseman, Baltimore, 1854, pp. 67-68. Although Cardinal Wiseman is describing the singing of the Passion in the Sistine Chapel, his description applies, in all essential features, to the same liturgical observance in all modern churches that pretend to adequate ceremonial.

² The essentials of true drama are two: (1) the presentation of a story in action, and (2) impersonation of the characters concerned. See Professor Manly's illuminating article in *Modern Philology*, Vol. iv, pp. 577-595.

One writer has inferred that some such ceremonial,—in which the *passio* was delivered in dialogue, by several persons, in several voices,—was prevalent as early as the eleventh century:

We may say also that the arrangement of dividing the narrative between three deacons likewise dates from a remote period. In the liturgical books written considerably before the Norman Conquest we find the parts divided as we divide them now. One deacon, whose allotted portions are marked with an E, sang the part of the Evangelist or narrator; another, by X or a cross, sang all the speeches of Christ our Lord; a third, marked S, for *synagoga*, took the utterances of the other speakers and the mob.¹

Another writer has confidently traced this liturgical practice to a still earlier period.² On the other hand, a few investigators have reached the conclusion that the practice of distributing the parts of the *passio* among several persons arose during the late period when the Middle Ages were giving way to the Renaissance.³

None of these writers, however, has given complete evidence for his inferences. Such scattered evidence as has been given has been drawn from certain letters of the alphabet found written in the manuscript above the passage spoken by the several persons or groups of persons concerned in the Passion story. Above the words of Christ, for example, is often found the letter *t*; above the words of the Jews, the letter *s*; above the merely narrative passages, the letter *c*. A section of the *passio* thus marked presents the following appearance:

¹ H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231. See below, p. 330.

² Monsieur l'Abbé Müller, in *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, Année 1902, Paris, 1903, p. 133.

³ See below, p. 331.

... Quem quaeritis? Responderunt ei: Jesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Jesus: Ego sum. Stabat autem et Judas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ergo dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum ergo interrogavit eos: Quem quaeritis? Illi autem dixerunt: Jesum Nazarenum. Respondit Jesus: Dixi vobis, quia ego sum: si ergo me quaeritis, sinite hos abire.¹

Since these letters must have an important bearing upon the manner of rendering the *passio*, an explanation is imperative.

Since neither an extended collection nor a comprehensive explanation of these *litterae in superscriptione* has as yet been published, I must first present a somewhat substantial list of the *litterae* themselves. One would gladly relegate this task to liturgiology rather than to literary history; but, since liturgiology has not performed its duty, literary history must itself seek those data without which a sound investigation of the origin of the passion-play is impossible.

The *litterae* found in the manuscript *passiones* may be grouped as follows:

TABULAE LITTERARUM IN SUPERSCRPTIONE.²

I.	Christus = <i>t</i>
	Narrator = <i>c</i>
	Judaei = <sine littera>

¹ Joann. xviii, 4-8. I believe that this passage in the liturgical *passio* has not been sufficiently considered as to its possible influence upon the original composition of the *Quem quaeritis* Introit trope of Easter.

² These tables, based primarily upon the *evangelitaria* and *missalia* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with a few additions from

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. ms. 155, saec. x. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 176, saec. x in. B.

A has no *litterae* for Mark. B has *litterae* only for Matthew.

II. Christus = *t*
Narrator = *c*
Judaei = *a*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 43, saec. xi. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Bibl. 45, saec. xi. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. Lat. Liturg. e. 3., saec. xi. C.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Liturg. 324, saec. xi. D.—Rome, Bibl. Vatic., ms. 9449, saec. xii. E.

III. Christus = *a*
Narrator = *e*
Judaei = *sl, sm* <*sm* for Discipuli only>.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 26, saec. x.

IV. Christus = *t*
Narrator = *c*
Judaei = *l*

Paris manuscripts, do not pretend to be exhaustive. I know of no similar list in print, and I consider the present list entirely adequate for the deductions that I wish to make. The definitive list of such *litterae* will appear eventually in the monumental *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana* now being prepared by the distinguished liturgiologist, The Reverend Henry Marriott Bannister, M. A., of Rome. I await a more adequate opportunity for expressing my innumerable obligations to the inspiring erudition and generosity of The Reverend Mr. Bannister. In the present case I would thank him for my first acquaintance with the general subject, and, more particularly, for several of the citations from manuscripts in Rome, Modena, and Nonantula. Mr. Bannister, however, is responsible neither for the arrangement nor for the interpretation of data presented herewith.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 27, saec. xi. The manuscript has *litterae* only for John.

- V. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *l*, *m* <*m* for Discipuli only>.

Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. lat. 6080, saec. xi.

- VI. Christus = +
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Lat. Liturg. b. 4., saec. xiv. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Rawl. C. 147., saec. xv. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 313, saec. xiv in. C.—*Ibid.*, ms. Canon. Liturg. 350, saec. xi. D.—*Ibid.*, ms. Auct. D. 2. 16., saec. xi. E.—Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1106, saec. xiv. F.—*Ibid.*, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1890, saec. xii. G.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 890, saec. xiv. H.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 895, saec. xi. I.—Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 278 (*olim* A. 33), saec. xiv. J.—*Ibid.*, ms. 279 (*olim* A. 308), saec. xiv. K.—Tours, Petit Seminaire, Missale plenum saec. xi. L.¹—London, Brit. Mus., ms. Add. 36616, saec. xiv in. M.

ms. A has the following peculiarities only in connection with Mark: the words of Christ, *Deus meus*, *Deus meus*, *ut quid dereliquisti me*, and those of the Centurion, *Vere*, *hic homo filius Dei erat*, are marked *mi*; the words of the Jews are sometimes marked *m*.

- VII. Christus = +
 Narrator = *s*
 Judaei = *c*

¹ My acquaintance with this manuscript is due to the kindness of The Reverend Father Dom G. M. Beyssac, O. S. B.

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 61, saec. XII.

The ms. lacks the Gospel of John, and for Matthew has Christus = X, Narrator = e, Judaei = i. Cf. Tables VIII and XVII.

VIII. Christus = X
Narrator = e
Judaei = i

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. 61, saec. XII.

These *litterae* occur in this ms. only in connection with the Gospel of Matthew. Cf. Tables VII and XVII.

IX. Christus = +
Narrator = c
Judaei = l

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 29, saec. XIII. A.—Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. lat. 4770, saec. X-XI. B.—*Ibid.*, ms. lat. 6378, saec. XIII-XIV. C.

In A occasionally Narrator = io. Cf. Table XVIII.

X. Christus = s
Narrator = t
Judaei = c

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Lat. 102, saec. X.

The ms. has complete *litterae* only for Matthew. Luke and John have no *litterae*, and Mark has only Christus = t, Narrator = c. Cf. Table I.

XI. Christus = t
Narrator = c
Judaei = s

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Lat. Liturg. e. 2., saec. xi. A.—*Ibid.*, ms. Douce 292, saec. xi. B.—Edinburgh, Advocates' Library, ms. 18. 5. 19 (*olim* A. 6. 12), saec. xiii-xiv (published by H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, London, 1899, Henry Bradshaw Society). C.—Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. Palat. 48, saec. xii. D.—*Ibid.*, ms. 8892, saec. xii. E.—Rome, Bibl. Vallicellana, ms. B. 50, saec. ix-x. F.—Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 823, saec. xii. G.—London, Brit. Mus., ms. Add. 34662, saec. xiv. H.

B lacks *litterae* for Luke and John, and C has *litterae* only for Matthew. For the text of Luke F has Christus = *c* (manu¹), + (manu²); for the text of John, Christus = *t* (manu¹), *m* (manu²).

XII. Christus = + (manu¹), *a* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)
 Narrator = *m* (manu¹), *c* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)
 Judaei = *s* (manu¹), *a* (manu² saec. xv-xvi)

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Laud Miscell. 273, saec. xiii.

XIII. Christus = *l* (manu¹), + (manu² passim)
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Canon. Liturg. 350, saec. xi.
 The ms. lacks *litterae* for Mark and Luke. Cf. Table vi.

XIV. Christus = *i*
 Narrator = *c*
 Judaei = *s*

F. E. Warren, *The Manuscript Irish Missal belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, London, 1879, (ms. saec. xii). The ms. has *litterae* only for Matthew.

XV. Christus = *b*
 Narrator = *m*
 Judaei = *a*

Missale ad usum . . . Sarum, edited by F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-83, col. 264-324.

XVI. Christus = *t*
 Narrator = *m*
 Judaei = *a*

Rome, Bibl. Vat., ms. Palat. 502, saec. xiv.

XVII. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *e*
 Judaei = *l, i, s.*

Modena, Bibl. Capit., ms. 24, saec. xi.

XVIII. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *pt̄*
 Judaei = *s, io.*

Nonantula, Relic Chamber, Graduale saec. xii.

XIX. Christus = *d*
 Narrator = *s*
 Judaei = *l*

Rome, Bibl. Casanatensis, ms. 1907 (B. II. 1), saec. x-xi.

XX. Christus = *h*
 Narrator = *a*
 Judaei = *su, si*

Monte Cassino, ms. CXXVII, saec. XI. A.—Monte Cassino, ms. CCXXIX (from which the *Passio secundum Matt.* is printed by Wilmotte, *Études Critiques sur la Tradition Littéraire en France*, Paris, 1909, pp. 43-47). B.

In A the words of Peter are sometimes marked with a P.

XXI. Christus = i
 Narrator = t
 Judaei = a

Missal of St. Médard, Soissons (saec. XII). Communicated from Abbé Eugène Müller in the *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*. Année 1902. Paris, 1903, pp. 132-133.¹

The *litterae* in the lists above may be conveniently grouped as follows:

<i>Christus</i>	<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Judæi</i>
✝	a	a
×	c	c
a	e	i
b	io	io
c	m	l
d	pt	m
h	s	mi
i	t	s
l		si
m		sl
s		sm
t		su

¹ See *ibid.* for a communication concerning the *litterae* u, t, and s in an "Evangélaire de Noyon" of the 9th century. In the communication there is no indication as to the part of the *passio* marked by each *littera*.

Although no one has offered a comprehensive explanation of these *litterae* as a whole, numerous writers have made suggestions as to the interpretation of single letters. We may first review the opinions of those who have inferred that the *litterae* refer directly to the *persons* engaged in delivering the *passio*. The series +, c, s has been interpreted as Christus, Clerus, Subdiaconus,¹ as Christus, Chronista or Cantor, Synagoga or Succentor,² and as Presbyter, Clericus, Subdiaconus.³ The series X, e, s has been interpreted as Christus, Evangelista, Synagoga.⁴ The series X, e, t has been interpreted as Christus, Evangelista, Turba.⁵ For the series X, c, t we have the interpretation Christus, Cantor, Turba.⁶ It is suggested that the series s, e, ch may mean Salvator, Evangelista, Chorus.⁷ As to the intention of the series H, P, si, su we have the suggestion Hiesus, Petrus or Pilatus or

¹ E. DuMéril, *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Leipzig and Paris, 1897, p. 47, note 3.

² D. Magri, *Notizia de' Vocaboli Ecclesiastici*, Venezia, 1732, p. 339; Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. ix, col. 1575. Cf. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by J. A. F. Maitland, Vol. III, New York, 1907, p. 646.

³ See Sepet, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. xxviii, 1867, p. 13.

⁴ H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231.

⁵ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 646. No document is given in support of this series. As may be inferred from my tables above, I have encountered no manuscript in which the words of the Judaei are marked with a *t*. As to the ultra-modern practice of assigning the part of the Jewish crowd to a choir, called *turba*, see Cardinal Wiseman's description quoted above.

⁶ Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. ix, col. 1575.

⁷ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 646. No document is given in support of this series. I have seen no manuscript in which the words of the Judaei are marked with the combination *ch*.

Pontifex, Synagoga, Subdiaconus.¹ To explain the combination *cs*, Mone suggested *Cantus solus*.² The extremity seems to be reached in the suggestion that the *littera a* means *Ancilla*.³

Although certain of these suggestions are less fantastic than others, one gladly turns from what, in most cases, are obvious guesses, to an interpretation that has at least the virtue of resting upon a comprehensive principle. As early as the thirteenth century, Durandus, Bishop of Mende, recorded the fact that the several *rôles* in the *passiones* were sung in *different tones of voice*:

On ne lit pas non plus toute la passion sur le ton ordinaire de l'évangile; mais la partie du chant des paroles du Christ est plus douce et plus suave, pour marquer que les paroles du Christ retentissaient dans sa bouche plus doucement et d'une manière plus suave que dans la bouche de n'importe quel évangéliste qui rapporte ces paroles. Les paroles du Christ se chantent sur le ton de l'évangile; celles des Juifs impies et criminels sont criardes et pleines d'âpreté, pour désigner qu'ils parlaient au Christ avec rudesse et dureté.⁴

In this passage Durandus gives no hint that the *passio* was

¹ M. Wilmotte, *Études critiques sur la tradition littéraire en France*, Paris, 1909, pp. 10-12.

² F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. I, p. 60. One surmises that Mone misunderstood this 15th century *passio*, and that what he really had before him was the familiar series +, c, s. See Table VI above.

³ See *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts*, 2e Série, Tome VIII (1880), p. 472.

⁴ G. Durand, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. VI, cap. LXVIII, § vi; in the translation of C. Barthélemy, 5 Vols., Paris, 1854, Vol. IV, p. 56. On this point see Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra*, Vol. I, p. 533. Mr. Bannister has kindly given me the basis for the following note: Benevento, Chapter Library, MS. VI. 29, saec. XI-XII, fol. 126r sqq.,—Christus is marked *plane*; Narrator, *lec<tio>* or in *lec<tione>*; Judaei, *sur<sum>*. The brackets are mine.

sung by more than one person, but merely reports that the words of Christ were not sung in the ordinary Gospel tone, and that the pitch and manner in which the words of the Jews were sung were different from the pitch and manner adopted in the singing of the words of Christ.

In the light of such evidence, the query arises as to whether the *litterae in superscriptione* may not refer to such vocal variations as those mentioned by Durandus. To such a query various affirmative answers have been given.¹ One writer communicates the following suggestions: *m* = *mediocriter*, *a* = *alte*, *t* = *tacite*, *c* = *clare*, and *s* = *sonoriter*.² The Sarum Missal explicitly indicates that according to its use the series *a*, *b*, and *m* means *alta voce*, *bassa voce*, and *mediocri voce*.³ Although these suggestions are based upon the fundamental principle that the *litterae* indicate not persons but musical values, these interpretations themselves apply only to particular documents, and can be accepted only as more or less successful conjectures, unless they can be based upon some comprehensive mediæval authority. Such comprehensive authority can, I think, be found in a document from the hand of the St. Gall monk, Notker Balbulus.

Ekkehard IV († 1036), chronicler of the Abbey of St. Gall, mentions as the inventor of such *litterae* as we

¹ On the general matter see *Le Messager des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 65; F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. v, p. 666; M. Sepet, *Origines Catholiques du Théâtre Moderne*, Paris, [1901], pp. 16-17.

² H. J. Lawlor, *The Rosslyn Missal*, Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1899, p. 128.

³ *Missale ad usum . . . Sarum*, edited by F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-1883, col. 264. Cf. *Grove's Dictionary. ed. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 646.

have been considering, one Romanus, a Roman *cantor* who sojourned at St. Gall during the last of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. In his account of Romanus, Ekkehard refers to an explanation of these *litterae* in a letter of Notker Balbulus:¹

In ipso <antiphonario>² quoque primus ille <Romanus> literas alphabeti significativas notulis, quibus visum est, aut susum, aut iusum, aut ante, aut retro assignari excogitavit. Quas postea cui-dam amice <sic> querenti Notker Balbulus dilucidavit.³

The letter of Notker containing the desired explanation seems to be the following:⁴

Notker Lamtbertæ fratri salutem.

Quid singulae litterae in superscriptione significant cantilenae, prout potui iuxta tuam petitionem explanare curavi.

a—Ut altius elevetur admonet.

b—Secundum litteras quibus adiungitur ut bene id est multum extollatur vel gravetur sive teneatur belgicat.

c—Ut cito vel celeriter dicatur certificat.

d—Ut deprimatur demonstrat.

¹ Notker Balbulus died about the year 912. For the sources of information concerning this highly cultivated monk see L. Gautier, *Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, pp. 19-20.

² The brackets in this passage are mine.

³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz, Vol. II, Hanover, 1828, p. 103. Cf. *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. IV, Solesmes, 1894, p. 9.

⁴ This letter is printed by Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXXXI, 1171. I quote from a later edition in *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. IV, p. 10, based upon St. Gall ms. 381 and an abridged form of the letter in a manuscript of the Church of St. Thomas, Leipzig.

- e—Ut equaliter sonetur eloquitur.
- f—Ut cum fragore seu frendore feriat^r efflagitat.
- g—Ut in gutture gradatim garruletur genuine gratulatur.
- h—Ut tantum in scriptura aspirat, ita et in nota idipsum habitat.
- i—Iusum vel inferius insinuat, gravitudinemque pro g interdum indicat.
- k—Licet apud Latinos nihil valeat, apud nos tamen alemannos, pro χ greca positum chlenche il est clange clamitat.
- l—Levare laetatur.
- m—Mediocriter melodiam moderari mendicando memorat.
- n—Notare hoc est noscitare notificat.
- o—Figuram sui in ore cantantis ordinat.
- p—Pressionem vel prensionem predicat.
- q—In significationibus notarum cur quaeratur? cum etiam in verbis ad nihil aliud scribatur nisi ut sequens *v* vim suam omittere quaeratur.
- r—Rectitudinem vel rasuram non abolitionis sed crispationis rogitat.
- s—Susum vel sursum scandere sibilat.
- t—Trahere vel tenere debere testatur.
- v—Licet amissa vi sua, valde, veluti vau greca vel hebrea, velificat.
- x—Quamvis latina per se verba non inchoet, tamen expectare expetit.
- y—Apud Latinos nihil ymnizat.
- z—Vero licet et ipsa mere greca, et ob id haut necessaria romanis, propter praedictam tamen r litterae occupationem, ad alia requirere in sua lingua zitîse . . . ¹ require.

¹ Small erasure.

Ubicumque autem duae vel tres aut plures litterae ponuntur in uno loco, ex superiori interpretatione, maximeque, quam de b dixi, quid sibi velint facile poterit adverti

The *litterae* expounded by Notker may be conveniently arranged in groups: ¹

I. *Litterae* relating to intonation:

Elevation	{	a—Ut altius elevetur admonet.
		l—Levare neumam.
		s—Sursum scandere.
		g—Ut in gutture garruletur gradatim.
Lowering	{	d—Ut deprimatur.
		i—Iusum vel inferius insinuat.
Unisonant	{	e—Ut equaliter sonetur

II. *Litterae* relating to rhythm:

Acceleration	{	c—Ut cito vel celeriter dicatur.
		t—Trahere vel tenere.
Retardation	{	x—Expectare.
		m—Mediocriter moderari melodiam.
		p—Pressionem significat.
Intensity	{	f—Ut cum frangore feriat.
		k—Clange clamat.

III. *Litterae* used to modify other *litterae*:

- b—Ut bene extollatur vel gravetur sive teneatur.
- v—Valde.
- (m)—Mediocriter.

¹ These groups are adapted from those in *Paléographie Musicale*, Vol. iv, Solesmes, 1894, pp. 12-15.

IV. *Litterae* rarely or never used:

h—Nota aspirationis.

n—Notare notificat.

o—Figuram sui in ore cantantis notificat.

q—In significationibus notarum non invenitur.

r—Rectitudinem vel crispationem significat.

y—Nihil ymnizat.

z—. . . haut necessaria romanis.

Notker's letter seems to explain substantially,—perhaps completely,—the *litterae* that we have found actually attached to the liturgical *passiones*. Let us consider first the marks attached to the words of Christ. The sign † or +, common in later manuscripts, seems to indicate merely that the accompanying words are those of Christ.¹ The sign × may be merely a Greek *Chi*,² or it may, in some cases, be Notker's χ, indicating retardation, or it may be merely a form of the cross. Aside from the marks †, +, and ×, which may have no connection with the true *litterae*, the letter *t* is present in an overwhelming majority of manuscripts. The musical significance of this *littera* is retardation, an interpretation suggested also by the letter *m* (*mediocriter moderari melodiam*), found in a fair number of manuscripts. The letters *d* and *i* both indicate a lowering in pitch. The letter *b* may be used in Notker's sense of *bene*, or it may mean merely *bassa voce*, as it certainly does in the opinion of the compilers of the Sarum liturgy.³ The letter *h* found in two Monte Cassino manuscripts seems to suggest something

¹ It is not inconceivable that the sign † in this connection arose first as a scribal corruption of the letter *t*.

² Cf. $\overline{\chi\rho s}$, $\overline{\chi\rho t}$, etc., common in Latin manuscripts.

³ See Table xv.

nore than merely the *aspiratio* indicated by Notker. I have no explanation that I care to offer.¹ In a very few manuscripts an elevation in pitch is suggested by the letters *a*, *l*, and *s*. The letter *c*, very unusual in this connection,² seems to indicate acceleration.

In connection with the words of the Narrator the *littera* most frequently found is *c*, indicating, very appropriately, an accelerated *tempo*. The letter *m*, found not uncommonly, suggests retardation, as does also the occasional letter *t*. The letter *e* points to a constancy of pitch, and the letter *s* to a raising of pitch. The combination *io* may indicate a lowering of pitch and a rounding of the lips.³

For the words of the Jews the prevailing *litterae* indicate a raising of pitch (*a*, *l*, *s*, *sl*, *sm*) and an acceleration of *tempo* (*c*). A limited number of manuscripts, however, seem to suggest for these words a lowering of pitch (*i*, *io*, *m*, *mi*).⁴

In summary, then, one may fairly say that Notker's list of *singulae litterae in superscriptione* offers a consistent explanation for nearly all of the *litterae* actually found in connection with the *passiones*. In accordance with this explanation, the greater number of manuscripts seem to indicate that the words of Christ were delivered slowly, in a low pitch, the words of the Narrator, rapidly, in a somewhat higher pitch, and the words of the Jews, rapidly,

¹ I have no confidence in the explanation *Hiesus*.

² See Table XI, MS. F.

³ For *pt* I have no explanation.

⁴ I hesitate to interpret *su* and *si* from the Monte Cassino MSS. cited in Table XX. These letters may have no connection with Notker's *litterae*. *Su* may mean *sursum*; *si* probably does not mean *sibilatio*, and certainly does not mean *Synagoga*.

in a high pitch. This general interpretation accords admirably with the intention of the liturgical text itself and with subsequent traditions as to the rendering of the *passio*.

Although it is clear, then, that the *litterae* are, in general, only musical conventions indicating pitch, intensity, or velocity, the question still remains as to whether the *passio* was rendered by one person or by several persons. Were the several "parts,"—of Christ, of the Narrator, and of the Judaei,—distributed among three or more persons, or were all sung by one person? Was the *passio* actually sung in dialogue during the period represented by the manuscripts cited in our *Tabulae litterarum in superscriptione*?

One investigator, on the basis of *litterae* found in a ninth-century manuscript, reports his conviction that these signs "démontrent l'usage d'une lecture avec dialogues plus ou moins déclamée et musiquée, commencement de drame liturgique, dès le IX^e siècle."¹ Another writer assigns the practice of singing the *passio* in dialogue form to a period "considerably before the Norman Conquest."² Again, it is asserted that this practice has been customary "since the beginning of the 13th century, and probably from a much earlier period."³ The numerous writers⁴

¹ Report of a communication from Monsieur l'Abbé Eugène Müller, in *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques*, Année 1902, Paris, 1903, p. 133.

² H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 230-231, quoted above.

³ *Grove's Dictionary*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 646.

⁴ The following writers seem to share in the opinion that the dialoguing began at an early period: H. Reidt (*Das geistliche Schauspiel des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, 1868, p. 12), G. Cohen (*Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du*

who assign the dialoguing of the *passio* to an early period seem to base their opinion upon the *litterae in superscriptione* alone, and upon a mistaken interpretation of the *litterae*; for, as I have tried to show, these signs refer not to *persons* but to *music*.

On the other hand, other investigators have expressed the opinion that the dialoguing of the *passio* must date from a comparatively modern period,¹ and a few have been convinced that this practice was begun in the fifteenth century.² Although the writers last referred to hold what I believe to be, in general, the correct opinion, none of them has, I think, brought to bear upon the question the decisive evidence found in certain mediæval service-books. In an attempt to determine the manner in which the *passio* was rendered, one may consult not only the *evangelia*, which contain the actual texts of the *passiones*, but also the *ordinaria* and the other service-books that contain the *agenda* of the ceremonial. The following manuscripts furnish pertinent evidence:

(1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat., Graduale saec. XIII, fol. 90^r,— . . . diaconus legat passionem . . . ;

moyen âge, Bruxelles, 1906, p. 18), Du Méril (*Les Origines latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Leipzig and Paris, 1897, p. 47), and K. Hase (*Das geistliche Schauspiel*, Leipzig, 1858, p. 11).

¹ A writer in *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts*, 2e Série, Tome VIII, 1880, p. 472, characterizes the practice of distributing the "parts" among three persons as "sans doute très moderne." See also J. B. E. Pascal, *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1863, col. 963-964.

² See *Le Messager des Fidèles (Petite Revue Bénédictine)*, 3me Année, 1886-87, No. 2, pp. 61, 65; Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, Patavii 1760, Vol. II, p. 188; Wetzer und Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. IX, Freiburg, 1895, col. 1575; *York Missal (Surtees Society, Vols. LIX and LX)*, Vol. I, p. 102.

(2) Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. Y. 110, Ordinarium saec. xiv, fol. 79^r,—Dyaconus . . . legat passionem . . . ;

(3) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1213, Ordinarium saec. xv, p. 81,—Diaconus . . . legat passionem ;

(4) Oxford, University College, ms. 169, Ordinarium saec. xv in., p. 106,— . . . legat diaconus passionem . . .

Such evidence ¹ seems clearly to indicate that until a comparatively late date the *passio* was still delivered, not by several deacons (*diaconi*), but by a single deacon (*diaconus*), however severely the voice of the single deacon may have been taxed by so long and so exacting a recital.

Although we may be sure that the dramatic distribution of the "parts" of the *passio* among three singers is an innovation of the fifteenth century, we do find in the ceremonial of the earlier, as well as of the later, period considerable evidence to prove that the dramatic possibilities of the *passio* were appreciated. Numerous rubrics indicate an attempt to make the accompanying ceremonial illustrate in some more or less dramatic way the action recounted in the passion story itself. During the singing of the *Passio secundum Lucam* on Wednesday of Holy Week, at the words *Velum templi scissum est*, a curtain that had previously been hung before the altar was dropped

¹ The evidence, no doubt, may be multiplied indefinitely. See Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 14455, saec. xv, fol. 54^r; *Ibid.*, ms. lat. 10579, saec. xiii-xiv, fol. 67^r, 72^v; Paris, Bibl. S. Geneviève, ms. 1256, saec. xii, fol. 82^v; E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiquis ecclesiae disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, pp. 205, 369, 372, 385, 386, 397; W. Kelly, *Notices Illustrative of the Drama*, London, 1865, p. 24; J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 3 Vols., 1870, Vol. i, p. 216; *Ordines Romani*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, Vol. LXXVIII, col. 953, 1013.

or torn,¹ or at the words *Obscuratus est sol*, a curtain was let down from above.² During the singing of the *Passio secundum Joannem* on Good Friday, at the words *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea sibi* certain clerics tore, or removed, certain linen altar coverings.³ In the singing of any of the *passiones*, at the point where Christ's death is announced there was a pause in the recital,⁴ an extinguishing of lights,⁵ or a general prostration of the congregation.⁶ At the end of the recital of the *passio*, the book containing the text was sometimes placed in the *sepulchrum*,⁷ in memory, no doubt, of the burial of Christ.⁸

It would appear, then, that mediæval liturgists appreciated the dramatic value of the *passio* as *passio*. That mediæval dramatists realized the value of the *passio* also as drama, seems to be evident from the fact that the earlier

¹ E. Martène, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, pp. 222, 398; *Messenger des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 66. Cf. Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, Paris, 1865, pp. 150, 667-668; E. Hautcoeur, *Documents liturgiques et nécrologiques de l'Église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, Lille, 1895, pp. 38, 42; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 5; *Voyages liturgiques de France* par le Sieur de Moleon, Paris, 1718, pp. 205, 314, 396, 407.

² F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, Vol. I, p. 61.

³ *Messenger des Fidèles*, 3me Année, 1886-87, p. 66; Martène, pp. 369, 370, 372, 377, 382, 386, 388; Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 10579, saec. XIII-XIV, fol. 72v, ms. lat. 904, saec. XIII, fol. 90r. Cf. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lugduni, 1559, fol. 343r; Chambers, Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

⁴ *Messenger des Fidèles*, loc. cit., p. 67; Martène, pp. 379, 397. Cf. *Dublin Review*, Vol. CXVII (1895), p. 67.

⁵ Martène, pp. 198, 358.

⁶ Martène, pp. 207-208.

⁷ For information concerning the *sepulchrum* see *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II, p. 895.

⁸ Martène, p. 358; *Messenger des Fidèles*, loc. cit., pp. 66-67.

passion-plays, whatever their origin, have as their obvious groundwork the *passio* itself. Although a comparison of the complete texts of early passion-plays with the texts of the *passiones* is beyond the scope of the present article, the fidelity with which the text of the *passio* has been transferred into the dialogue of the passion-play may be illustrated by a few instances.

From the Benedictbeuern Passion-play,¹ of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the following comparison may be drawn:

BENEDICTBEUERN PASSION-PLAY.²

PASSIO.

Deinde vadat orare et dicat
quatuor discipulis:

Tunc ait illis:

Tristis est anima mea usque
ad mortem! sustinete hic et
orate, ne intretis in temptaci-
onem!

Tristis est anima mea usque
ad mortem; sustinete hic, et
vigilate mecum.³

Tunc ascendat in montem Oli-
veti, et flexis genibus respiciens
celum plorat dicendo:

Et progressus pusillum, pro-
cidit in faciem suam, orans, et
dicens:

Pater, si fieri potest, transeat
a me calix iste! Spiritus qui-
dem promptus est, caro autem
infirmas: fiat voluntas tua.

Pater mi, si possibile est, tran-
seat a me calix iste; verumta-
men non sicut ego volo, sed
sicut tu.⁴

Spiritus quidem promptus est,
caro autem infirmas.⁵

¹ In regard to the texts of this play see Froning, p. 283. On the nature of the play see Froning, pp. 278-283; W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 64 ff.

² Froning, pp. 291-292.

³ Matt. xxvi, 38. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 41; Marc. xiv, 34, 38; Luc. xxii, 40, 46.

⁴ Matt. xxvi, 39.

⁵ Matt. xxvi, 41.

Hoc facto redeat ad iv discipulos, et inveniat eos dormientes, et dicat Petro:

Et venit, et invenit eos dormientes, et ait Petro:

Symon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum? manete hic, donec vadam et orem.

Simon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare?¹
Sedete hic donec orem.²

Postea vadat iterum orare ut antea. Tunc iterato veniat ad discipulos et inveniat eos dormientes et dicat ad eos:

Et venit iterum, et invenit eos dormientes.³

Manete hic!

Et iterum dicit:

Iterum secundo abiit, et oravit, dicens:

Pater, si non potest hic calix transire, nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua.

Pater mi, si non potest hic calix transire nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua.⁴

Tunc redeat ad discipulos et cantet:

Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum, qui exhortabamini mori pro me! vel Iudam non videbitis, quomodo non dormit, set festinat tradere me Iudeis? Surgite, eamus! ecce appropinquat, qui me traditurus est!

Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?⁵

Surgite, eamus; ecce appropinquavit qui me tradet.⁶

¹ Marc. xiv, 37. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 40.

² Marc. xiv, 32. Cf. Matt. xxvi, 36.

³ Matt. xxvi, 43.

⁴ Matt. xxvi, 42.

⁵ Matt. xxvi, 40. Cf. Marc. xiv, 37.

⁶ Matt. xxvi, 46. Cf. Marc. xiv, 42.

Veniat Iudas ad Iesum cum turba Iudeorum, quibus Ihesus dicat:

Judas ergo cum accepisset cohortem, et a Pontificibus et Phariseis ministros, venit illuc cum lanternis, et facibus, et armis. Jesus itaque sciens omnia, quae ventura erant super eum, processit, et dixit eis:

Quem queritis?

Quem quaeritis?¹

Qui respondent:

Responderunt ei:

Iesum Nazarenum.

Jesum Nazarenum.

Iesus dicit:

Dicit eis Jesus:

Ego sum.

Ego sum.

Et turba retrocedat. Item Iesus dicit:

Stabat autem et Judas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ego dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum ergo interrogavit eos:

Quem queritis?

Quem quaeritis?

Iudei:

Illi autem dixerunt:

Iesum Nazarenum!

Jesum Nazarenum.

Iesus respondet:

Respondit Jesus:

Dixi vobis, quia ego sum.

Dixi vobis, quia ego sum:

Item:

¹ I have suggested above that the formation of the *Quem quaeritis* Introit trope of Easter may have been influenced by this part of the *passio*. Cf. p. 315, note 1.

Si ergo me queritis, sinite hos
abire!

Si ergo me quaeritis, sinite
hos abire.¹

The agreement between the dialogue of the thirteenth century *Ludus breviter de Passione*² and the *passio* may be illustrated by the following comparison:

LUDUS BREVITER DE PASSIONE.³

PASSIO.

Ludus breviter de passione primo inchoatur ita, Quando dominus cum discipulis suis procedere vult ad locum deputatum, ubi mandatum debet esse; et in processu dicant apostoli ad dominum:

Prima autem die azymorum accesserunt discipuli ad Jesum, dicentes:

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere pascha?

Ubi vis paremus tibi comedere Pascha?

Et dominus respondet:

At Jesus dixit:

Ite in ciuitatem ad quendam et dicite ei: Magister dicit: tempus meum prope est; apud te facio pascha cum discipulis meis.

Ite in civitatem ad quemdam, et dicite ei: Magister dicit: Tempus meum prope est, apud te facio Pascha cum discipulis meis.

Et in deputato loco faciant mensam parari cum mensale cum pane et vino. Et dominus discumbat cum duodecim apostolis suis et edentibus illis dicat:

Et fecerunt discipuli sicut constituit illis Jesus, et paraverunt Pascha. Vespere autem facto, discumbebat cum duodecim discipulis suis. Et edentibus illis, dixit:

Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est in hac nocte.

Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est.

¹ Joan. XVIII, 3-8.

² Meyer gives both the text of this play and facsimiles from the manuscript (*Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 123-124, and Plates 5-7). Concerning this play see Meyer, pp. 64 ff., 122-123; Chambers, Vol. II, pp. 40, 75.

³ Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 123.

Et unusquisque pro se respon-
(deat):

Numquid ego sum, domine?

Et dominus r(espondeat):

Qui intingit mecum manum
in parapside, hic me tradet.
Filius quidem hominis vadit,
sicut scriptum est de illo. Ve
autem homini illi, per quem
filius hominis tradetur! bonum
erat illi, si natus non fuisset
homo ille.

R(espondeat) Judas:

Numquid ego sum, Rabbi?

Et dominus dicat:

Tu dixisti.

Tunc medio tempore vadat
Judas ad pontifices et ad Judeos
et dicat:

Quid vultis michi dare? et ego
vobis eum tradam?

At illi constituent ei:

Triginta argenteos.

Et ista hora accipiat dominus
panem, frangat, benedicat et
dicat:

Accipite et comedite, hoc est
corpus meum.

Similiter et calicem.

Et postquam cenavit dominus
dicat:

¹ Matt. xxvi, 17-25.

² Matt. xxvi, 14-15.

³ Matt. xxvi, 26-28.

Et contristati valde, coeper-
unt singuli dicere:

Numquid ego sum, Domine?

At ipse respondens, ait:

Qui intingit mecum manum
in paropside, hic me tradet.
Filius quidem hominis vadit,
sicut scriptum est de illo; vae
autem homini illi, per quem Fi-
lius hominis tradatur! bonum
erat ei, si natus non fuisset
homo ille.

Respondens autem Judas, qui
tradidit eum dixit:

Numquid ego sum, Rabbi?

Ait illi:

Tu dixisti.¹

Tunc abiit unus de duodecim,
qui dicebatur Judas Iscariotes,
ad principes sacerdotum, et ait
illis:

Quid vultis mihi dare; et ego
vobis eum tradam?

Et illi constituerunt ei tri-
ginta argenteos.²

Coenantibus autem eis, accepit
Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac
fregit, deditque discipulis suis,
et ait:

Accipite, et comedite; hoc est
corpus meum.

Et accipiens calicem, gratias
egit, et dedit illis, dicens:

Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic est
enim sanguis meus novi testa-
menti, qui pro multis effunde-
tur in remissionem peccatorum.³

Surgite, eamus hinc; ecce appropinquabit, qui me tradet.

Et Judas accedens ad Jesum clamando dicat:

Ave rabbi!

Et osculando irruant (irruat?) in eum. Tunc dominus dicat:

Amice, ad quid venisti?

Judei et milites accedant ad dominum et manus iaceant (i. e., iaciant) in eum et teneant eum.

Surgite, eamus; ecce appropinquavit qui me tradet.¹

Et confestim accedens ad Jesum dixit:

Ave Rabbi!

Et osculatus est eum. Dixitque illi Jesus:

Amice, ad quid venisti?

Tunc accesserunt, et manus injecerunt in Jesum, et tenuerunt eum.²

These brief comparisons are, perhaps, adequate examples of the evidence³ that the dialogue of the passion-play is, in many cases, the dialogue of the *passio*.

¹ Matt. xxvi, 46.

² Matt. xxvi, 49-50.

³ Abundant evidence of the fact that the earlier passion-plays derive not only their groundwork but also much of their dialogue directly from the *passio* may be adduced from a comparison of the *passio* with the relevant parts of the passion-plays found in the following places:

(1) Latin,—*Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 8, Roma, 1889, pp. 162-165.

(2) German,—Froning, pp. 340-373, 567-857; Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. i, pp. 72-128, Vol. ii, pp. 183-350.

(3) French,—A. Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du Quizième Siècle*, Vol. ii, Paris, 1837, pp. 139-311.

(4) Italian,—A. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, Vol. i, Firenze, 1872, pp. 303-327; F. Torraca, *Il Teatro Italiano dei Secoli XIII, XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1885, pp. 47-64.

(5) English,—*The Chester Plays*, edited by T. Wright, London, 1843, Vol. ii, pp. 18-70; *The Towneley Plays*, edited by England and Pollard, London, 1897, pp. 204-292; *York Plays*, edited by L. T. Smith, Oxford, 1885, pp. 219-371; *Ludus Coventriae*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1841, pp. 259-337.

I am, of course, far from being the first to point out the presence of *passio* formulæ in the passion-play. I introduce this point here because I think it has been neglected, and because it follows logically upon my discussion of the ceremonial of the *passio*.

II.

Leaving, then, our suggestions as to the relation of *passiones* to passion-plays, we may, in conclusion, consider the relation of one small part of the passion-play to a parallel part of the *passio* and to an independent liturgical office in which this part is treated dramatically.

All four *passiones* end, as they logically must, with the account of the burial of Jesus by Joseph of Arimathea or by Joseph and Nicodemus together.¹ This account is fairly represented by the following two passages:

Cum autem sero factum esset, venit quidam homo dives ab Arimathea, nomine Joseph, qui et ipse discipulus erat Jesu. Hic accessit ad Pilatum et petiit corpus Jesu. Tunc Pilatus jussit reddi corpus. Et accepto corpore Joseph involvit illud in sindone munda. Et posuit illud in monumento suo novo, quod exciderat in petra. Et advolvit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti, et abiit.²

Post haec autem rogavit Pilatum Joseph ab Arimathea (eo quod esset discipulus Jesu, occultus autem propter metum Judaeorum), ut tolleretur corpus Jesu. Et permisit Pilatus. Venit ergo, et tulit corpus Jesu. Venit autem et Nicodemus, qui venerat ad Jesum nocte primum, ferens mixturam myrrhae et aloes, quasi libras centum. Acceperunt ergo corpus Jesu, et ligaverunt illud linteis cum aromatibus, sicut mos est Judaeis sepelire. Erat autem in loco, ubi crucifixus est, hortus; et in horto monumentum novum, in quo nondum quisquam positus erat. Ibi ergo propter Parasceven Judaeorum, quia juxta erat monumentum, posuerunt Jesum.³

At a comparatively early period this final part of the *passio* narrative became the basis of a dramatic office,

¹ See Chambers, Vol. II, p. 39; B. Venzmer, *Die Chöre im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, Ludwigslust, 1897, p. 14; Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, p. 61; E. Wilken, *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1872, p. 93.

² Matt., xxvii, 57-60.

³ Joan., xix, 38-42.

which was celebrated on Good Friday, usually just after Mass, and which was called the *Depositio Crucis*. The central act of the *Depositio* was the placing of the crucifix (*crux*, or *crucifixus*), or of the crucifix together with a consecrated Host (*hostia*), in an appropriate place called the *sepulchrum*,¹ where it should remain "buried" until Easter morning. Since the number of texts of this office hitherto printed is small,² I offer here a few representative examples.

The *Depositio Crucis* is fairly represented by a text from ms. latin 9486 (fol. 41^r-42^r) of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.³ Although the ceremonial is meager, the *responsoria* appear in full.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIFIXI> *

TUNC ACCEDANT OMNES AD COMMUNIONEM.⁵ POSTEA
UADANT CUM CANDELIS ARDENTIBUS ET INCENSU (fol. 41^v)
AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI ET IMPONANT CRUCEM cum EU-

¹ For sources of information concerning the *sepulchrum* see *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 895-896.

² Texts of the *Depositio Crucis* can be found in Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 122, 127, 134; *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 319-320; *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 902, 906-907, 911, 914, 916-917, 926; Chambers, Vol. II, p. 312.

³ The ms. is described by L. Delisle (*Inventaire des Manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613*, Paris, 1863-1871, p. 35) as "Rituel de l'abb. de S. Adolph. XII s." The ms. contains a *Visitatio Sepulchri* (fol. 60^r-60^v, printed in the Appendix below), but no *Elevatio Crucis*.

* Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 9486, fol. 41^r-42^r.

⁵ Communio of the Missa Praesantificatorum of Good Friday.

CHARISTIA. IN EUNDO CANTETUR *Responsorium*: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit. *Responsorium*: Recessit pastor noster, fons aque uiue ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captium tenebat primum hominem, hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius uocem mortui resurgunt, uidentes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Ho<die>.

IMPOSITA AUTEM CRUCE, CANTENTUR HEE ANTIPHONAE:
Antiphona: In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.
Antiphona: Caro (fol. 42^r) mea requiescet in spe.

SUDARIO SUPERPOSITO, CANTETUR *Responsorium*: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

SEQUUNTUR VESPERAE¹ SUB SILENTIO.

An advance toward drama seems to be suggested by the ceremonial prescribed in the *Depositio* from Cod. lat. 5349 (fol. 195^r-195^v), of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich.²

¹ The MS. seems to have *Vespera*.

² Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, 15th century breviary from Chiemsee. In addition to the *Depositio* (fol. 195^r-195^v), the manuscript contains also an *Elevatio Crucis* (fol. 197^v-198^r, printed in the Appendix below), and a *Visitatio Sepulchri* (fol. 199^r-199^v, printed by Lange, pp. 102-103).

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹

(fol. 195^r, col. 2) ITEM COMUNIONE² EXPLETA ET SEPULCHRO PREPARATO ET DECENTER ORNATO SINT IMPROMPTO TRIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSO, THURE, MIRRA, ET THIMIAMATE, ET QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES, ET PONTIFEX SEU PRESBYTER CUM ALIIS (FOL. 195^v, COL. 1) SACERDOTIBUS ET MINISTRIS PORTENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI UERSUS SEPULCHRUM LUGUBRI UOCE CANTANTES HOC RESPONSORIUM: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; uiri iusti tolluntur et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis sublatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitacio eius. Et.

Responsorio FINITO, COLLOCETUR IN SEPULCHRO ET LINTHEAMINIBUS ET SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPERPONATUR. QUO FACTO CLERUS IMPONAT ISTA RESPONSORIA: Sepulto domino, signatum est monumentum, uoluentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites, ut custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. *Responsorium*: Recessit pastor noster, fons aque uiue, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captium tenebat primum hominem; hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius uocem mortui (fol. 195^v, col. 2) resurgunt, uidentes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Hodie.

Sequatur uersus: In pace factus est locus. Postea dicantur Vespere suppressa uoce.

¹ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, saec. xv, fol. 195^r-195^v.

² Communio of the Missa Praesantificatorum of Good Friday.

A similar ceremonial, with somewhat different liturgical formulæ, is found in ms. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv (fol. 68^v-70^r) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²

(fol. 68^v) FINITIS *Vesperis*³ EXUAT *Sacerdos* CASULAM 7 ASSUMENS UNUM DE PRELATIS IN SUPERPELLICIIS DISCALCIARI REPONANT *Crucem* PARITER CUM CORPORE DOMINICO IN SEPULCRO INCIPIENS IPSE SOLUS HOC RESPONSORIUM: Estimatus sum, GENUFLECTENDO CUM SOCIO SUO, QUO INCEPTO STATIM SURGAT. SIMILITER FIAT IN RESPONSORIO: Sepulto Domino. CHORUS TOTUM RESPONSORIUM PROSEQUATUR CUM SUO UERSU GENUFLECTENDO PER TOTUM TEMPUS USQUE AD FINEM SERVICII RESPONSORII: (fol. 69^r) Estimatus sum, CHORUS PROSEQUATUR RESPONSORIUM: Cum descendentibus in lacum, factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio, inter mortuos liber. *Versus*: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori in tenebrosis et in umbra mortis. Factus. Dum PREDICTUM RESPONSORIUM CUM SUO UERSU CANITUR, PREDICTI DUO SACERDOTES THURIFICENT SEPULCRUM, QUO FACTO 7 CLAUSO OSTIO, INCIPIAT IDEM SACERDOS HOC SEQUENS RESPONSORIUM: Sepulto domino. CHORUS RESPONDEAT: Signatum est monumentum, uolentes lapidem ad ostium monum⁴ (fol. 69^v) numentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. *Versus*: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius

¹ MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv, saec. XIV, a *Processionale* from the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin. The *Depositio* (fol. 68^v-70^r), *Elevationes* (fol. 85^v-86^v, 127^v-130^r), and *Visitatio* (fol. 130^r-132^r) from this MS. have been published together by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 915-924.

² Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Liturgical d. iv., fol. 68^v-70^r.

³ Vespers of Good Friday.

7 furentur eum et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: In pace. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: In idipsum dormiam et requiescam. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: In pace factus est. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Locus eius et in Syon habitacio eius. SACERDOS *antiphonam*: Caro mea. CHORUS PROSEQUATUR: Requiescet in spe. AD ISTAS TRES *antiphonas* GENUFLECTENTUR *predicti* DUO SACERDOTES CONTINUE. HIIS FINITIS ORDINE (fol. 70^r) NON SERVATO REINDUAT SACERDOS CASULAM 7 EODEM MODO QUO ACCESSIT IN PRINCIPIO SERVICII CUM DIAcono 7 SUBDIAcono 7 CETERIS MINISTRIS ABSEDAT, DICTIS PRIUS ORATIONIBUS AD PLACITUM SECRETE AB OMNIBUS CUM GENUFLECTIONE, OMNIBUS ALIIS AD LIBITUM RECEDENTIBUS. EXINDE CONTINUE ARDEBIT UNUS CEREUS AD MINUS ANTE SEPULCRUM USQUE AD PROCESSIONEM QUE FIT IN RESURRECCIONE Dominica IN DIE PASCHE. ITA TANTUM QUOD DUM psalmus: Benedictus, CANITUR 7 CETERA QUE SECUNTUR IN SEQUENTI NOCTE EXTINGUANTUR. SIMILITER 7 EXTINGUATUR IN VIGILIA PASCE DUM BENEDICITUR NOUUS IGNIS USQUE ACCENDATUR CEREUS PASCHALIS.¹

A more truly dramatic form of *Depositio* is found in ms. 169 (p. 108), belonging to University College,² Oxford, described as a "Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking, of the first decade of the fifteenth century."³

¹ The rubric, *Sabbato in Vigilia Pasce*, follows immediately.

² Actually in the custody of the Bodleian Library (in 1908).

³ W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, p. 149. The *Depositio* (p. 108) and the combined *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* (pp. 118-127) from this ms. have been published together by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 926-934.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹

. . . (p. 108) CUM² AUTEM SANCTA CRUX FUERIT ADORATA, SACERDOTES DE LOCO PREDICTO CRUCEM ELEUANTES INCIPIANT *antiphonam*: Super omnia ligna, 7 CHORO ILLO SUBSEQUENTE TOTAM CONCINANT. CANTRICE INCIPIENTE, DEFERANT CRUCEM AD MAGNUM ALTARE, IBIQUE IN SPECIE IOSEPH 7 NICHODEMI DE LIGNO DEPOSONENTES YMAGINEM UULNERA CRUCIFIXI UINO ABLUANT 7 AQUA. DUM AUTEM HEC FIUNT CONCINAT CONUENTUS *responsorium*: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE 7 CANTRICE RESPONDENTE 7 CONUENTU SUCCINENTE. Post uulnerum ABLUCIONEM CUM CANDELABRIS 7 TURRIBULO DEFERANT ILLAM AD SEPULCRUM HAS CANENTES *antiphonas*: In pace in idipsum. *Antiphona*: Habitabit. *Antiphona*: Caro mea. Cumque in PREDICTUM LOCUM TAPETUM PALLEO AURICULARI quoque 7 LINTHEIS NITIDISSIMIS DECENTER ORNATUM ILLAM CUM REUERENCIA LOCAUERINT, CLAUDAT SACERDOS SEPULCRUM 7 INCIPIAT *responsorium*: Sepulto domino. ET TUNC ABBATISSA OFFERAT CEREUM, QUI IUGITER ARDEAT ANTE SEPULCRUM, NEC EXTINGUATUR DONEC YMAGO IN NOCTE PASCHE post MATUTINAS DE SEPULCRO CUM CEREIS 7 THURE 7 PROCESSIONE RESUMPTA, SUO REPONATUR IN LOCO.

This last text clearly approximates true drama. Priests, "in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi," remove the Corpus from the Cross, and after having prepared it for burial by washing the wounds, place the Corpus in the sepul-

¹ Oxford, University College, MS. 169, p. 108.

² Preceded immediately by the *Adoratio Crucis*.

chrum, close the *sepulchrum*, and set lights before it. The words *in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi* are difficult of interpretation. If they indicate genuine impersonation on the part of the priests, the dramatic office before us may fairly be called true drama. Certainly a part of the Gospel story is here presented in the form of action, and it is altogether probable that the priests in some way impersonate Joseph and Nicodemus.¹

Whether or not any text of the *Depositio* hitherto published represent true drama, the dramatic value of this office seems clearly to have been appreciated, and its influence seems to be definitely shown in a substantial number of passion-plays. Although an exhaustive study of the sources of passion-plays is not my present task, I may fairly give a brief indication as to the adoption of the *Depositio* into these plays.

The *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle*² of the fourteenth century, for example, though a mere book of *incipits* or cues for the *Regens ludi*, plainly show the presence of *Depositio* formulæ in a vernacular play of the Passion.

Deinde Joseph, Nychodemus et eorum adiutores induti stolis et albis circumdati deponant Ihesum et panno mundissimo involutum deportent ad monumentum cantantes sub silentio:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus!³

¹Unfortunately we cannot tell how many persons are implied in the word *sacerdotes*. If there were only *two* priests, impersonation would appear almost certain.

²Text in Froning, pp. 340-373. Concerning this document see Froning, pp. 325-339; Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

³For the full text see *Depositio* No. (1) above,—Responsorium: Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. Versus: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit.

Responsorium: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, uol-

Sepulto itaque domino Judei veniant ad Pylatum petentes custodiam, et dicat Selegman:

Pylatus herre, uns ist bekant—

Pylatus dicat:

Ir Iuden, als ir hat geseit—

Salman dicat militibus:

Nû get ir herren, hudit wol—

Milites audientes promissa Judeorum gaudeant, et dicat unus miles:

Ir herren, ich han wol vernumen—

Euntibus igitur militibus ad sepulchrum persone Cantabunt sollempniter:

Sepulto do<mino>.¹

Similarly in the *Alsfelder Passionsspiel*,¹ of about the year 1500, we find a burial scene containing the now familiar *responsoria* of the *Depositio*:²

Johannes dicit ad Joseph:

Joseph von Armathia,
ich sage dir, das Maria
ist also vol jamers nu,
das sie dir nicht kan gesprechen zu!
doch begert sie von der,
das du Jhesum nemmest schyer
und begrabet en hirlich,
also recht ist und zemmlich!

Et sic Joseph et Nicodemus, Johannes et Jacobus maior et angeli capiunt crucifixum de gremio Marie et ponunt eum ad feretrum, portando eum ad sepulchrum, et canunt illud responsorium:

Ecce quomodo moritur <iustus, et nemo percipit corde, et uiri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. Versus: In pace factus est

uentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. Versus: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

¹ Text in Froning, pp. 567-857. Concerning this play see Froning, pp. 547-561; Creizenach, Vol. I, pp. 221-222.

² Froning, p. 811.

locus eius, et in Sion habitacio eius. Et erit>.¹ Et sic ipso sepulto canunt in reditu responsorium:

Sepulto domino <signatum est monumentum, uolentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. Versus: Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes>.¹

These two examples² seem, then, to indicate that the *Depositio Crucis* developed not only as an independent dramatic office, but also as a modest part of certain larger plays of the Passion. Among the passion-plays that show this influence, those in German are most conspicuous.

The observations in the present article lay no claim to completeness. Numerous elements connected with the origin of the passion-play,—such as sermons and the entire ceremonial of Holy Week,—have not even been mentioned. I have, indeed, made no attempt to pursue to the end even

¹ For the expansions in brackets the present writer is responsible.

² See also Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, p. 123; Vol. II, pp. 141, 149, 332; A. Pichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, p. 138; Du Ménil, p. 303. The absence of *Depositio* formulæ from the early Latin passion-plays (Froning, pp. 284-299; Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 123-124; *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, 1889, pp. 162-165) is remarkable.

One may well inquire whether the pertinent *responsoria* (*Ecce quomodo . . .*, *Sepulto domino . . .*, and the like) may not have reached the passion-plays directly from the *Liber Responsalis* (cf. *Liber Responsalis Sancti Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXVIII, 768-769) rather than through the mediation of the *Depositio*. In reply it may be observed that in the *Liber Responsalis* the *responsoria* are in no way associated with Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, whereas in the *Depositio* and in the passion-plays this association is explicit,—an association that seems to establish the direct relation of *Depositio* to passion-play.

such studies as are suggested by the obvious relation of *passio* and *Depositio*, respectively, to passion-play. My aim has been merely to assist in clearing the way for a sound discussion of the relation of the passion-play to the *passio* and to the *planctus Mariæ*.

It appears that, although the delivery of the *passio* in dialogue form by several persons was unknown until a century or two after the date of the earliest passion-plays, the dramatic value of the *passio* was so clearly appreciated that the *passio* itself became the groundwork of the earlier passion-plays. The admirable studies of the *planctus Mariæ* have revealed the fact that versions of this lament in dialogue form were written as early as the twelfth century, and that certain of these laments eventually developed into true drama. It has not been definitely proved, however, that the *planctus* developed into a true passion-play,—a play covering the entire Passion,—at a period antedating the rise of such true passion-plays as the *Ludus breviter de passione* and the longer *Passion-play* of the Benedictbeuern manuscript. In these two plays, as in other early plays that follow the *passio*, the *planctus* is only an insertion, the removal of which would in no serious way affect the action. Although it may be true that the *planctus* provided the first tangible impulse toward a dramatizing of the Passion, the true passion-plays actually written seem, in general, to rest firmly upon the *passio*, and to use the *planctus* only incidentally.

APPENDIX.

For the sake of convenience and of completeness I offer here two texts related to the *Depositio* texts printed above.

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>.¹

(fol. 60^r) <I>N VISITACIONE SEPULCHRI INFRA
MAT<UT>INAS, DUO *presbyteri* UENIANT CUM THURI-
BULIS AD SEPULCHRUM, QUIBUS DUO DIACONES INDUTI
ALBIS ET STOLIS DICANT:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, *Xpisticole*?

Presbyteri RESPONDEANT:

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

DIACONES DICUNT:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate quia
surrexit a morte. Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat
dominus, *aeua, aeua.*

TUNC *presbyteri*, ACCEPTO SUDARIO, REUERTENTES CAN-
TENT *clausulam*:

(fol. 60^v) *Antiphona*: Surrexit *Xpistus* et illuxit
populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, *aeua.*

ALIA *antiphona*: Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus,
et precedet uos in Galileam, *aeua*; ibi eum uidebitis, *aeua,*
aeua, aeua.

POST HEC MANIFESTE ET ALTA UOCE *antiphona*:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit
in ligno, *aeua, aeua, aeua.*

FINITA *antiphona* INCIPIAT ABBAS:

Te Deum laudamus.²

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>.³

(fol. 197^v) IN sancta nocte CLAM SURGATUR AD
MATUTINUM, SINTQUE PARATA TRIA THURIBULA CUM

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9486, saec. XII, fol. 60r-60v.

² Followed immediately by the rubric, In Die Sancto ad Aspersio-
nem Aque. . . .

³ Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5349, saec. XV, fol. 197v-198r.
With this text may be compared a similar text from Cod. lat. 5546

THURE MIRRA ET THIMIAMATE, ET DOMINUS *prepositus* SEU DECANUS CUM SENIORIBUS QUOS ASSUMMERE UOLUERIT CUM MAGNA REUERENCIA ACCEDANT AD SEPULCHRUM, ET STANTES LEGANT *psalmos*: Domine, quid multiplicati; *Psalmum*: Domine probasti me; *Psalmum*: Miserere mei, Deus; ET THURIFICENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI, SUBLATAMQUE DE SEPULCHRO SECUM PORTENT AD CHORUM ANTE ALTARE, per uiam CANTANDO *responsorium*: Surrexit pastor, UT in FERIA QUINTA. Quibus FINITIS, STANTES ANTE ALTARE ET MUTUA CARITATE SE INUICEM OSCULANTES UERSUM DICANT: Surrexit dominus uere, alleluia. <RESPONSIO>: Et apparuit Symoni Petro, alleluia.

ORATIO:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hac sacratissima nocte cum potencia tue maiestatis resurgens portas inferni confregisti et omnibus ibi detentis dexteram tue misericordie porrexisti scilicet miserando diucius penis estuantis Iehenne cruciari, quos dudum ad ymaginem tuam iussisti creari, Te queso ego indignus et ultima pars creature, ut per gratiam tue miseracionis ac perfecte resurreccionis tue amorem necnon omnium sanctarum animarum, quas hac sacratissima nocte de penis inferni ad celestia regna perduxisti, simulque per omne misterium, quod in resurreccione tua celebrasti michi indigno ac fragili peccatori omnium peccatorum meorum indulgenciam largiri digneris atque iram et furorem et indignacionem tue uindictae a me repellas et auxilium consolacionem proteccionem in omnibus peccatis, periculis ac infirmitatibus anime et corporis michi concedas; et sicut corpus tue humanitatis quod ad

of the same library, published in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 907-909.

tempus pro nostra salute exuisti post triduum tue maiestatis potencia resuscitasti, ita corpus et cor meum ab omnibus uiciis emundare <digneris> et animam meam in futura resurreccione beatorum spiritibus facias agregari. In memoriam et laudem glorie resurreccionis tue ympnum dicat tibi omnis creatura tua, Domine, et ego quamuis peccator et de (fol. 198^r) linquens ympnum dico et gratias ago, uenerandamque crucem tuam adoro, sanctamque resurreccionem tuam laudo et glorifico, quia parte redemptus sum, ideoque crucifixum Deum laudo et sepultum propter me magnifico resurgentemque a mortuis adoro et peto ut per te et sanctam resurreccionem tuam me a morte anime mee resuscitare digneris, amen.

ALIA ORACIO:

Celi et terre conditor, quo moriente illuminata sunt tartara, quo resurgente sanctorum multitudo gauisa est, quo ascendente celorum exultauit caterua, precamur uirtutis tue excellenciam ut directi in uia recta in illo tueamur brachiis, quo honorabiles amici tui tecum gloriantur in excelsis.

ALIA ORACIO:

Adesto, pie Pater, inuocationibus nostris, et noli spernere plasma tuum propter magnitudinem peccatorum meorum sed salua me indignum nimium peccatorem per gloriam et honorem sanctissime resurreccionis tue. Qui uiuis ac regnas.

ALIA:

Domine Deus, propter hoc gaudium, quod tu cum sanctissima tua anima et corpore in sancta resurreccione uoluisti habere cum omnibus fidelibus tuis iustis et peccatoribus uiuentibus et mortuis, miserere michi sicut uis et scis necessitatem anime et corporis, et da michi spacium penitencie et ueram compunccionem emendacionem om-

nium peccatorum meorum, et presta mihi, Ihesu Xpiste, ut precium corporis et sanguinis tui cum quo me in sancta cruce redemisti percipiam ad salutem anime mee in nouissima hora et quod spiritualem unccionem spiritualis olei et salutaris cum omni affectu cordis et corporis percipiam, amen.

DEINDE COMPULSIONE FACTA, *conueniant omnes ad Matutinum.*

KARL YOUNG.

XIV.—UHLAND'S *FORTUNAT* AND THE *HISTOIRE DE FORTUNATUS ET DE SES ENFANS*.

Professor Herford divides the *Volksbücher* of *Fortunatus* into the Frankfurt and the Augsburg groups. The Augsburg editions, he points out, have ungermanized names and slightly more copious incident. He says further: "All the known editions of the *Volksbuch* contain substantially the same story. From the first German edition, published at Augsburg in 1509, and its numerous German successors, to the Dutch, English, and Danish versions of the seventeenth century, the story everywhere unfolds itself in the same elaborate disorder, varying only in quantity of descriptive detail, or at most, in the omission or inclusion of some trifling episode."¹ With this conclusion Harms agrees;² and I have found no reason to dispute this classification, and can only emphasize the trifling nature of the differences of the two groups and the extremely close agreement of texts within the same group. I make this statement after examining all the editions of the *Volksbuch* available in the Royal Library at Berlin, such additional ones as were obtainable through the aid of the *Auskunftsbureau der deutschen Bibliotheken* (which has the coöperation of three hundred German libraries), the British Museum, and the following libraries at Paris: the Library of the *Sorbonne*, the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, and the *Bibliothèque de St. Geneviève*. I found, however, one version in prose narrative form which presents a very free

¹ C. H. Herford: *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 204 ff.

² Paul Harms: *Das Fortunatus Drama von 1620 und das Volksbuch*, Hamburg und Leipzig, 1892, p. 17.

and clumsy adaptation of the conventional material of the *Volksbuch*, namely, *Fortunatus mit seinem Seckel und Wunschhüttlein, eine alte Geschichte für neue Zeiten*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1787 (British Museum). The variations from the type found here do not correspond to those in Uhland's work. We must seek some other free adaptation of the conventional form, if we would find a source for Uhland's changes.

The first thing to be observed in Uhland's poem is its title: "Fortunat und seine Söhne." All *Volksbücher* make special mention of purse and wishing-cap, and naturally so; for their public had extraordinary interest in these magical objects. Two titles from the Frankfurt and Augsburg families of texts will illustrate them all. The Frankfurt title of 1564 runs: *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel vnd Wünschhüttlin*, etc.; that of Augsburg, 1530: *Von Fortunato vnd seinem Seckel auch Wünschhüttlin*, etc. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may confidently believe that no German *Volksbuch* with other than the stereotyped title was accessible to Uhland. The Library of the University of Tübingen, from which Uhland would naturally have drawn, contains but one copy of our *Volksbuch* printed prior to the composition of his poem. This copy formerly belonged to Uhland himself. It was printed at Augsburg in 1609 and bears the title: *Fortunatus / von seinem Seckel vnnd Wünschhüttlein*, etc.¹

Nor do we find Uhland's title in any of the German dramatized versions. Dekker's play, *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, seems to have been first presented in German at Graz with the title *Von des Fortunatus peitl und*

¹ I am indebted for this and other valuable information in regard to Uhland's library to Dr. K. Geiger, Oberbibliothekar of the Library of the University of Tübingen.

Wunschhütel.¹ It is significant that the title of the latter restores cap and purse with a vengeance. Similarly in the *Comödie, von Fortunato und seinem Seckel und Wunschhütlein*, 1620;² in the opera, *Tragödia von des Fortunati Wünschhute und Säckel mit dem Intermedio von dem alten Proculo*;³ and in Chamisso's dramatic adaptation—cap and purse are retained, and the sons are omitted in the title. Hans Sachs includes the purse, but omits the cap and sons. Tieck, like Dekker, omits cap, purse, and sons.

We find, therefore, no German precedent for Uhland's title, tho it has been used by some of his successors. There are, indeed, English precedents. The chap-book of London, 1740, has the title: *The Right Pleasant and Diverting History of Fortunatus and his Two Sons*, etc. Other English titles might be cited that include the sons and omit the cap and purse. This is substantially Uhland's form; but I know of no evidence that the poet used any of these editions, and his poem has nothing further in common with them. The Dutch editions revert to the German type; that of Amsterdam, 1796, may be taken to represent those in the British Museum and in the Royal Library at Berlin, and indeed all those that were accessible to me. Its title runs *Een nieuwe Historie van Fortunatus Borse En van zynen Wenschhoed*, etc.

The French and Italian editions show a variety of titles. That of Lyons, 1656, bears the title: *Fortunatus. Histoire comique, ou les aventures de Fortunatus*, etc.

¹Hans Scherer: *The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus*, by Thomas Dekker, Erlangen und Leipzig, 1901, p. 19.

²Published in *Sammlung Englischer Komödien* von 1620; also in *Schaubühne englischer und französischer Comödianten*, 1670, vol. 3; in Tieck's *Deutsches Theater*, Berlin, 1817, vol. 2; J. Tittmann, *Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jhdts.*, vol. 6.

³Scherer notes, *l. c.*, p. 25, that Gottsched records the performance of such an opera in Dresden in 1678.

In this, as in a number of other editions, no mention whatever of purse or cap is made. There are, however, several in the titles of which cap and purse appear; for example, that published at Troyes bearing the censor's date 1705: *Histoire des Aventures Heureuses et Malheureuses de Fortunatus, avec Sa Bourse et son Chapeau*. But the omission of the sons continues in all editions down to that of Paris, 1770, which by omitting cap and purse and adding the sons (strictly, *enfants*) gives us, like the English chap-book, substantially Uhland's form. There is an Italian edition, Naples, 1676, which bears the title *Degli Avvenimenti di Fortunato e di suoi figli*, etc.; but there is no evidence that Uhland saw it, and there is no special resemblance between it and Uhland's work. The case is very different with the French version printed at Paris in 1770, which I shall henceforth designate as *P*. Of all versions that I have examined, *P* alone accounts for a number of features in Uhland's poem.

P attracts attention at once by the liberty taken with the conventional form of the story. It adds new incidents and makes important changes in the incidents of the original form at will; it develops characters, and introduces a large reflective and subjective element. Uhland, too, changed the story, developed characters, and introduced a large reflective and subjective element of his own. For him, as for the author of *P*, the interest undoubtedly centered chiefly in the careers of Fortunatus and his sons. The change of title, therefore, corresponds in both authors to a change of attitude toward the subject.

Now *P* was accessible to Uhland in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, when he was studying at Paris in 1810-11. We know well that he was interested in this sort of literature at this time. In 1809 he wrote a preface for a book his friend Kerner intended to publish, in which occur these

words: "Die Stadt Reutlingen ist wie durch Gerberei, Färberei und den Nachdrucker Mäken, so besonders durch den Druck von Volksliedern und Volksromanen berühmt. Wie ein Nordlicht verbreitet dies über die ganze Stadt einen höchst wunderbaren Schein. Dort denk' ich bei jedem Pferd an das Ross Bayart, bei jedem Schmidknecht an den gehörnten Siegfried . . . bei jedem Ring an die Liebesringe der Magelone, und den Ort, wo sie lagen; bei jedem Hut und Beutel (den meinigen ausgenommen) an Fortunati Säckel und Wünschhütlein; vorzüglich aber besitzt diese Stadt ein herrliches gotisches Münster und demselben gegenüber eine alte Kammer, voll der herrlichsten altdeutschen Geschichtsbücher, kaum hatte ich das Letzte erfahren, als ich mich eilends dahin begab, um zu retten, was noch zu retten wäre; denn wie manche herrliche Blüte und Frucht zernagt wohl täglich der Bücherwurm!"¹ We have another passage significant for our present study in a letter to Kerner written June 15, 1810: "Ich habe mehrere französische Volksromane gefunden, Die Heymonskinder, Fortunat, Magelone . . . unter den Manuskripten der Bibliothek sind ebenfalls Aymonskinder, Magelone, Griseldis, u. s. w." But was this edition of *Fortunatus* that of Paris, 1770? In the accession-list of the library of the University of Tübingen for the years 1870-71, which contains a catalogue of Uhland's library, we find a record of one, and only one, French *Fortunatus*, and that is *P*, no doubt the copy that the poet, in his letter to Kerner, reported having found at Paris.

We find some influence of *P* on Uhland's *Fortunat* in the technique of narration. The *Volksbuch* makes scant use of the direct discourse. *P*, however, puts the whole story in the form of an autobiography. Uhland, too, allows For-

¹ *Reutlinger Geschichtsblätter*, xiii. Jahrgang, Sept.-Okt., 1902, p. 69.

tunatus to tell his own story up to the time of his taking service with the count of Flanders. The poet follows the French source, also, in making Andreas tell the story of the unfortunate nobleman held captive at Turin, whereas the *Volksbuch* reports his distressing experience in impersonal narration.

The influence of *P* is discernible also in the portrayal of character. Both Uhland and *P* omit all condemnation of Fortunatus for squandering his patrimony; but the *Volksbuch* condemns Theodorus unsparingly for dissipating his heritage and bringing his family into dire distress: "so fienge er doch wieder sein altes Wesen an / mit Stechen / Thurnieren / vñ Knechten / köstlichen Rossen / ritt dem König zu Hof / liesz Weib vñ Kind / fragt nit wie es gieng / heut verkaufft er ein zinsz / morgē den andern / das trieb er so lang und vil / bisz das er nichts mehr zu verkauffen noch zuversetzen hett / vñ kam also zu armut / hett sein junge tag vnnützlich verzehrt / vnd ward so arm / dz er weder Knecht noch Megd vermocht / vnd muszt die gute Frau Gratiana selber kochen vñ waschen / als ein armes verkaufftes Weib" (A III, 1).¹ The author of the French version, on the contrary, takes great pains to excuse Théodore, one of his extravagances having been lavish gifts to his wife (pp. 5 f.). Again: "Le seul défaut qu'on pût reprocher à mon père étoit sa prodigalité; encore étoit-il douteux si elle n'étoit pas autant l'effet de son cœur bienfaisant et généreux, que de l'ostentation" (p. 4). Uhland, too, omits the blame and is also inclined to excuse, tho in less explicit terms. We hear that the ruin of Theodorus was due to extreme hospitality:

¹ Passages quoted from the *Volksbuch* are taken from *Fortunatus. Von seinem Seckel vnd Wünschhüllin*, etc., Frankfurt a. M., 1564 (Royal Library, Berlin).

“ Er war der reichste Bürgersmann hievor,
Die Freunde haben ihm sein Gut verschmauset ” (l. 29 f.).

“ Nun denkt ihr leicht (und ich bekenn’ es ehrlich),
Dasz mir’s daheim nicht sehr behagen mochte,
Für Durst zu trinken und zu speisen nährlich,
Wo man vordem zahllosen Gästen kochte ” (l. 33 f.).

Moreover, neither Uhland nor the French source reproaches the father for neglecting the education of Fortunatus. The *Volksbuch* declares it to have been greatly neglected: “ der Son nun bey achtzehen Jaren alt, vñ kund nichts denn blosz einen namen schreiben vnd lesen / doch so kundt er wol mit dem Federspil vnd anderm Weydwerck / das denn auch sein kurtzweil was ” (A III, 1). Here, too, the French source is concerned to improve the character of Théodore; for Fortunatus declares: “ Grâce aux soins que vous avez pris de mon éducation, je puis me rendre utile,” etc., (p. 7). The retainers of the Count of Flanders are jealous, not only because of the favor shown Fortunatus, but also on account of his superior education (p. 13). We are told explicitly: “ mon père n’a rien négligé pour mon éducation ” (p. 11). Tho Uhland says nothing directly about the education of the hero, no one would dream that there had been any neglect in this respect.

Both Uhland and *P* emphasize the character of Gratiana more than the *Volksbuch*, which is singularly reticent about her. We merely read that her father “ hett ein schöne Tochter / geheiszen Gratiana ” (A II, 2); and “ muszt die gute Frauw Gratiana selber kochen.” Indeed, she hardly enters as an incident in the career of Fortunatus. When about to leave, Fortunatus assures his father that the king is a good master and will take care of him and Gratiana as long as they live (A IIII, 1). Tho he is greatly concerned to save his father unnecessary anxiety, he takes no thought

of his mother. He departs without leave or blessing of parents (A IIII, 2). In *P*, however, Gratiane is very prominent. We are introduced to her in these words: "Une jeune beauté, douce, modeste, possédant toutes les vertus de son sexe et n'en ayant presque aucun des défauts" (p. 3). When the crisis comes, Gratiane manifests supreme goodness and loving tenderness. Fortunatus is greatly disturbed over the anxiety he causes both parents, and formally asks permission to depart (p. 7). He leaves, and we hear him say: "Mes regards se tournoient malgré moi vers le demeure de mes tristes parens" (p. 10). As in the *Volksbuch*, we have in Uhland's poem no scene of parting, and naturally, therefore, the character of the mother is not so much developed as in *P*. Yet what is said of her is, as in the case of the father, more in line with the French treatment. The thoughts of Uhland's Fortunat also revert in tender solicitude to both parents. The lines in Uhland are:

"Frau Gratiana, die geehrte Dame,
Ist meine Mutter" (l. 32).

"Mir ist, als hört' ich die Verlassnen klagen;
Die Mutter sonderlich, die gute Mutter,
Sie weint so leicht, sie hat ein Herz wie Butter" (l. 62).

Then again Hieronymus is in the *Volksbuch* merely a very rich merchant with large interests. Both Uhland and *P* emphasize further his thoughtfulness and prudence. Uhland characterizes Hieronymus as "bedacht" (l. 302), and at another point tells us: "Doch dieser ist der kältste Mann der Erde" (l. 509). The French version declares him to be "prudent surtout" (p. 30); and again, "le plus entendu et le plus sage négociant de Londres" (p. 34), and is at great pains to show us that in the matter of advancing money for the release of the captive at Turin he deviates for reasons of sentiment or friendship not one hair's breadth

from correct business principles. Thus : "Après la dînée ; lorsque nous fûmes seuls, je lui demandai, pourquoi ayant si bonne opinion de D. André, il ne prenoit pas sur lui de lui confier ses fonds, sans s'inquiéter d'autre caution que lui-même. 'Je n'hésiterais pas un moment,' me répondit-il ; 'mais je suis commerçant, et ce seroit manquer essentiellement aux lois du commerce ; il faut que chacun fasse son métier' " (p. 35).

The plot, too, shows the influence of *P* at a number of points. In the Fool's allegations of the Count's jealousy and determination to compel Fortunatus to submit to the operation, the balance inclines sharply to the French side. Uhland's Count is represented by the fool as being keenly jealous of Fortunatus and of him alone, in consequence of the preference shown by the Countess (ll. 265 ff. and ll. 346 ff.). Thus far Uhland agrees with the French source, tho the latter goes still farther, making Fortunatus actively seek the love of the Countess (p. 17). In the *Volksbuch*, no allegation of jealousy focuses on Fortunatus. The duke is merely represented as wishing to eliminate four possible rivals for the affection of his wife, of whom Fortunatus is one.

We see further influence on the plot in the case of the nobleman who came to grief in Turin. The *Volksbuch* informs us that he was on a mission of the king, but we hear nothing of the cause of the imprisonment. Both Uhland and our French version assign debt as the cause (Uhl., 496 ff. ; *P*, p. 34).

There are, too, several details of influence in connection with the murder of Edmund. In the *Volksbuch* Andreas invites the nobleman to go and see the alleged jewels, and they go without ceremony : "Da sagt Andreas zu dem Edelmann / kompt mit mir hinauff in mein Kammer / so wil ich euch meine Kleinot' auch sehen lassen / und giengen

also mit einander in ein Kammer" (C 1, 1). But both Uhland and *P* emphasize the cordiality assumed by Andreas. Thus :

"Andreas aber naht sich ihm gesellig ;
Zur Sache nun, Herr Ritter, wenn's gefällig" (ll. 655 ff.).

The *Volksbuch* proceeds : "Als sie in die Kammer kamen, thet Andreas als wolt er ein grosze Truhen auffschlieszen / vñ zucket ein Messer / stach den Edelmann, dasz er fiel . . ." (C 1, 1). In Uhland and in *P*, however, the nobleman stoops, that he may examine the supposed jewelry better : "Tandisque celui-ci se baisse à cause de la faiblesse de sa vue, il lui plonge un poignard dans le sein" (p. 39). Uhland says essentially the same thing :

"Herr Edmund beugt sich hin, so sieht er's besser ;
Da führt ihm ins Genick des Welschen Messer" (ll. 663 ff.)

After the murder, Andreas, according to the *Volksbuch*, appropriates seal-ring and keys, and hastens to the murdered nobleman's home : "Gieng eilends in desz Edelmanns Haus zu seiner Frauwen" (C 1, 1). In Uhland's version, as in *P*, Andreas pauses to fasten the door upon leaving the chamber of death :

"Mit Hast
Entweichet er, nachdem er fest verriegelt" (l. 667).

P has "ferme la porte sur lui." In both versions, the door is subsequently broken in : "Die Thür wird gewaltsam eingestoszen" (l. 718) ; "Nous trouvons la porte de la chambre fermée à clef, nous l'enfonçons" (p. 39).

Both Uhland and *P* cause Andreas to explain further why the husband did not himself call for the jewels. D. André explains that it is "à cause de son âge" (p. 39) ; Uhland's Andreas :

"Er läuft nicht gern, wenn er ein Mahl beendet" (l. 676).

In the *Volksbuch* mere possession of seal-rings and keys suffices.

In the poem, as in *P*, when blood drips thru the ceiling, Roberto hastens with his servants to the scene of the murder,—a much more dramatic arrangement than that in the *Volksbuch*, where the master simply sends his servants to investigate. In the latter we read: "Was das Blut durch die Dilen in den Saal geflossen, das sahe der Herr, vñ rufft gar bald seinen Knechten / vñ sprach: Von wannen kompt das Blut? Sie lieffen vnd sahen / da funden sie den frommen Edelmañ tod ligen / sie erschracken sehr / vnd vor groszem Schrecken wuszten sie nicht was sie thun solten" (C I, 2). There is no mention of the master's presence on the scene of blood. A statement to the contrary appears in the confession of Hieronymus: "vnd sendet meine Knechte dasz sie besehen was solches wer / sageten sie mir wie es ein Gestalt hette / da wuszte ich nicht wie es zugangen war / in dem kam der Schalk Andreas gelauffen / dem setzet ich zu vmb den Mordt . . ." (C v, 1). In Uhland, however, we read:

"Roberto steckt die Feder hinter's Ohr,
Berufet zitternd seine Hausgenossen
Und steigt mit ihnen zum Gemach empor" (l. 713 ff.).

And in *P*: "Nous montons, nous trouvons la porte de la chambre fermée à clef; nous l'enfonçons: quel spectacle! Le cadavre du Lord étoit à terre noyé dans son sang" (p. 39). That the expression "nous montons" includes Alberti is clear from the development of the scene; for he and Fortunatus have a dispute in the chamber of death.

We have seen that there are excellent reasons to believe that Uhland read *P* before the composition of his *Fortunat und seine Söhne*. Altho there are no striking stylistic resemblances, and particularly no close verbal ones, we find considerable influence of another sort. This begins in the title,

is evident in the technique of narration, more so in the portrayal of character, and most of all in the supply of details, some of them important, for the plot. Those who would understand the genesis of Uhland's *Fortunat* must, accordingly, consider the French source along with the German *Volksbuch*.

JOHN C. RANSMEIER.

Philol 340

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CONTENTS.

XV.—Recent Progress of the <i>Landsmaal</i> Movement in Norway. By CALVIN THOMAS, - - - - -	367-378
XVI.—The Place and Function of a Standard in a Genetic Theory of Literary Development. By JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS, - - - - -	379-402
XVII.—The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's <i>Lycidas</i> . By JAMES HOLLY HANFORD, - - - - -	403-447
XVIII.— <i>Der Lutherisch Pfaffennarr</i> . By ERNST VOSS, - - - - -	448-458
XIX.—Some Early Italian Parallels to the Locution <i>The Sick Man</i> of the East. By A. A. LIVINGSTON, - - - - -	459-485
XX.—Good Taste and Conscience. By WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD, - - - - -	486-497
XXI.— <i>Los Alcaldes Encontrados</i> ; 6 ^a Parte. By G. L. LINCOLN, - - - - -	498-506
XXII.—Concerning Huchown. By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, - - - - -	507-534
XXIII.—Spenser and the Earl of Leicester. By EDWIN A. GREEN- LAW, - - - - -	535-561

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All communications should be addressed to

CHARLES H. GRANDGENT,
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Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The next Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at the College of the City of New York, December 28, 29, and 30. The Meeting of the Central Division will be held at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., on the same days. Attention is called to the regulations printed on the third page of this cover.

PUBLICATIONS
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1910.

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NEW SERIES, VOL. XVIII, 3.

XV.—RECENT PROGRESS OF THE *LANDSMAAL*
MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.¹

I.

Suppose that fifty or sixty years ago the idea had taken root in these United States that we ought to have a national American language ; that as a free people, with a destiny of our own to carve out, we ought not to depend on a foreign nation for the most important of all the instruments of civilization. Suppose, further, that some more or less competent scholar, by way of providing an American language, had carefully investigated a number of our local dialects and had made a sort of composite grammar and dictionary of them, standardizing the spelling on historical principles. Imagine, finally, a powerful and persistent effort to bring this language into use by means of legislation. Making all these suppositions, one has a rough analogy to what is now going on in the little rock-ribbed kingdom of Norway.

¹ A report read to the Germanic Club of Columbia University, Jan. 18, 1910.

To be sure, the analogy is imperfect, for it fails in two particulars. In the first place, our American dialects are not rooted in the soil, but were themselves brought over from England. A language based on them would be no more indigenous than our literary English, and in using it we should simply be borrowing the worse instead of the better. In the second place, an American language called into being in the way I have supposed would have been so plainly stamped with the mark of vulgarity that it could not possibly have made any headway toward general acceptance. In Norway we have to do with dialects which *were* rooted in the soil, and to which no odium of vulgarity could attach, except in the minds of dainty city-folk. And there is really the rub. The conflict in Norway is virtually a conflict between city and country; between urban refinement and rural *Urwüchsigkeit*.

The experiment of the Norsemen, however it may ultimately turn out, is extremely interesting because of its uniqueness. Never before has the attempt been made, among a people with a literary tradition, to discredit an accepted literary language and put another in its place by means of legislation. One surmises at once that there must have been something very peculiar in the conditions, and such is in fact the case. A literary language usually develops out of a local dialect, which somehow gets the upper hand and imposes itself on a wider area as the standard form. In Norway nothing of this kind took place. From 1397 to 1814 the country was virtually, if not in theory, a dependency of the Danish crown. During that long stretch of time the higher intellectual culture of the Norsemen became completely Danized. Danish was accepted as the language of books, journals, courts, laws, public administration, and refined society; and this state of affairs has continued to the present time, save as it has been modified

by the *Landsmaal*¹ movement, which is the subject of this article.

Literary Norse, then,—I like to use that name for the language of Ibsen and Bjørnson, instead of the awkward compound Dano-Norwegian,—is simply transplanted Danish. Of course it is not now identical with the Danish of Copenhagen. There are differences of vocabulary growing out of a wide difference in the physical character, the industries, and the traditions of the two countries. There is some unlikeness of idiom, much unlikeness of pronunciation. But while the differences are rather noteworthy from the philologist's point of view, they are practically unimportant, being of the same kind, tho more numerous and more strongly marked, as are found in British and American English. A Norseman converses with a Dane as an Englishman converses with an American, and on very much the same basis of mutual intelligibility and mutual toleration of each other's speech-habit. The newspapers of Copenhagen and Christiania do not differ more to the eye than do those of London and New York.

In 1814 Norway was detached from Denmark and joined to Sweden as an equal partner in a dual monarchy. In the ensuing decades came a notable quickening of that national and democratic sentiment which everywhere characterizes the first half of the nineteenth century. The Norsemen now began to take a lively interest in their own indigenous culture, as manifested in folklore, songs, tales, customs, traditions and art. The old cosmopolitan ideals no longer seemed so admirable as they had seemed to an earlier generation. There was a disposition to exalt the plain people, who had kept alive the good old ways and remained

¹ *Landsmaal* is the name given to a more or less ideal language based on the country dialects.

uncontaminated by the vanities of the so-called higher civilization. The common man came into view as a sort of hero—the hero of a long-neglected romance. All this is one of the familiar phases of Romanticism.

In such a state of public opinion it is not strange that patriotic Norsemen began to feel it as a disgrace that they had no literary language, but were compelled to use that of a neighboring people, with whom they no longer had even a political connection. It was useless for conservatives to point out that the language in which Norsemen habitually wrote was now just as much theirs as it was any one else's; that it came to them naturally in childhood, just as it came to the Dane, and that some of the best Danish authors—including Holberg, the most famous of them all,—had been born in Norway. Considerations of this kind had little weight in presence of the one damning fact that literary Norse had been originally an importation from Denmark. Thus an issue was made between the Danophiles and the Danophobes, the former being content with their alien language, the latter demanding a simon-pure Norse civilization.

And there were the dialects. During the long connection with Denmark the plain people of Norway—the farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen—had continued to speak their local idioms in very complete disregard of the imported fashion. They had not become Danized to any great extent, and their dialects were of immemorial age—much older than literary Danish. Moreover, these popular dialects were lineally descended from the Old Norse, a language which, on account of the unique interest of its literature, had now come to be invested, not only in the eyes of Norsemen, but in the eyes of scholars everywhere, with a kind of poetic halo. It is true that the majority of the more precious texts that we possess were written down in Iceland—are therefore Old

Icelandic instead of Old Norse. But Iceland was colonized in the ninth century by Norsemen, who took their language and their art with them. Politically the island became and remained Danish; but its fine old literature is a child of Norway. What wonder, then, at a time when all the world was extolling the treasures of Old Icelandic literature, if the Norsemen were disposed to say: All that is ours. We did it.

II.

In 1842 an event happened which, while seemingly trivial, was destined to have important consequences. There was a young Norse scholar by the name of Ivar Aasen, a teacher of languages and a botanist—being poor he had not received a university training—who had taken to making observations on the dialect of the country-folk among whom he lived. His work came to the attention of the Throndhjem Scientific Society, which voted him a small stipend to enable him to pursue his studies. The language of the grant is worth quoting, because it shows how the matter was then regarded. Aasen was to “sojourn from time to time in those regions where there were to be found, in the popular dialects, the most and the best remains of the Old Norse language, which had been crowded out by the connection with a Germanized Denmark, and to make a grammar and a dictionary of the said dialects.” The idea was, we see, that Norse was virtually an extinct language—killed by Danish,—but that there were “remnants” of it here and there. It was desirable to collect and preserve these remnants while there was still time. The method adopted by Aasen was to take such lists as he could find of alleged dialect words that were not literary Danish, visit the regions to which the words were ascribed, and ascertain if the words were actually in use. If he came across a new word he

incorporated it in his glossary. In this way he compiled his first dictionary of 1850.

The book was very imperfect, since he had not visited all parts of Norway, and his method was not such as to insure completeness. It merely insured that the words which it did contain were in use somewhere. But, whatever its defects, the dictionary aroused great interest. Aasen was urged to continue his researches, and a larger public stipend was given him to that end. As he went on with his work he found that the mass of material was vastly greater than he or any one else had supposed, and that a very large part of it was genuine Old Norse, but slightly modified under the operation of well-understood phonetic laws. Evidently it was not a question of collecting the fading remnants of an extinct language, but of recording a language that was very much alive and had never been anything else. He came to the conclusion that he had to do, not with a mass of dialects differing notably from one another, but with a real national language whose local variations were rather unimportant in comparison with the underlying unity. This language had no written literature, but might it not develop one in the course of time? If this was ever to happen it was necessary somehow to standardize the writing of the dialects, since there was no likelihood that any one of them would ever prevail over the rest. And the right principle of standardization was at hand, as Aasen thought, in regularity of descent from Old Norse.

The second edition of Aasen's dictionary appeared in 1873—a rather stately volume of 976 octavo pages. Prior to that time he had published a grammar and some specimens of the new-old language, which is now known as *Landsmaal*. Its partisans regard it as a discovery, while its opponents stigmatize it as an invention. In truth it is either, according to one's point of view. It is an invention

in that, as written by Aasen and his followers, it is not actually heard in any part of Norway. There is an element of artificiality in the process of standardization that was resorted to. On the other hand, it is a discovery in that it presents a real national language, different from Danish and largely the same everywhere. The local deviations from the ideal norm are no greater than can be found in England or France or Germany.

III.

A conflict soon began to rage about the new national language, which was taken up by various authors who wrote it with more or less of divergence from Aasen's orthographic norm. A party arose which regarded the use of it as a sacred patriotic duty. School readers and grammars were provided, and the spelling was officially regulated anew. From the first Arne Garborg has been the leading champion of the cause, but there is now a creditable mass of *Landsmaal* literature by other hands than his. In 1885 the matter got into politics. By a vote of 78 to 31 the Storting passed a resolution which called on the government to provide for the teaching of "the people's language" in the schools and for its use in official documents. The law went into effect in 1892 in this form :

"The local school authorities shall decide whether school readers and other textbooks are to be printed in *Landsmaal* or in the ordinary book-language, and in which of these two languages the written exercises of the pupils shall be composed. But the pupils shall learn to read both languages."

By a law of 1896 it was decreed, with reference to the intermediate schools, that the pupils "should be taught to read clearly and expressively both *Landsmaal* and the ordinary book-language, and to explain passages of literature in both." With reference to the secondary schools—the

gymnasia, which are located in the cities,—it was decreed by the same law that the pupils “might do their written exercises either in *Landsmaal* or in the ordinary book-language, but should always be given sufficient practice in writing the latter.”

In Norway the country districts can have their way if they will, for out of a total population of some 2,400,000, only about one-sixth live in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. So far as a distant observer can judge, it must have been the real purpose of the country politicians who fathered the school-laws just quoted to drive out “Danish” and put *Landsmaal* in its place. Of course they did not announce any such revolutionary purpose. On the face of it their plea was plausible enough. They said in effect that the real language of the Norse people, with its fine old literature, had at least as good a right as the alien Danish to be taught in the schools, especially where the people wanted it. Hence the provision for local option. But they must have known very well that the effect of the laws, for a while at least, would be to produce a dire confusion in the schools. The teaching of the mother-tung, in its approved literary form, gives difficulty enough to-day in all civilized countries. Think, then, of a situation which compels the youngsters to learn two mother-tungs, or rather three; for all parties agree that the local dialect, in its pure, unstandardized form, must be preserved and cultivated. To precipitate such a school-chaos would have been almost insane, unless it were regarded as an inevitable stage in the transition from one language to another.

In November, 1899, the opponents of the new legislation called a great mass-meeting at Christiania to petition parliament for a repeal or modification of the language-laws. The call was signed by a large number of prominent authors, scholars and professional men, including Bjørnson, who thus

found himself, strangely enough, fighting shoulder to shoulder with conservatives. The call for the mass-meeting contained the following passage :

“It is not an affair of the school to form language. Language must be formed by life, and tested and accepted there, before it comes into the school. The school should unite, not disrupt. All strife should be kept out of it, as far as possible. But these school-laws declare that every school-board in the land may decide which language shall be used for instruction. One board may presently reverse another’s decision, or two boards in the same region may reach different conclusions. It is further decreed that the pupils of the intermediate and secondary schools, who for the most part are city-born, or the children of parents who read and write literary Norse, shall be thoroly instructed in a language which they regard as of inferior cultural value, and as not worth the time required for learning it.”

At the mass-meeting vigorous addresses were made by several of the most eminent men in Norway, Bjørnson speaking twice ; and for a long time thereafter the press teemed with articles on the all-absorbing *Landsmaal* question. It was urged by the conservatives that the school-laws were a menace to Norway ; that the existing literary language was the medium whereby Norsemen had become heirs and partakers of the modern world’s intellectual life ; that the *Landsmaal* could only express a narrow range of back-country thoughts and feelings, had no words for abstract ideas, and could not deal with science, philosophy, or art ; that to adopt it would be to set back by several centuries the clock of Norse civilization. To all of which the other side had ready a reply, the substance of which was : For better or worse *Landsmaal* is our language, and Danish is not. In times past it has abundantly shown its literary capability ; therefore let us use it and develop it.

The great effort of the conservatives ten years ago turned out like the bugler's blast in the folksong :

Er blies in sein Horn,
Und alles, was er blies, das war verlorn.

In other words, the school-laws were not repealed or modified, and the public agitation presently fell away somewhat before the still greater excitement of the rupture with Sweden. Since the beginning of the new political era in 1905 the language question has again come to the front, but no party is now agitating for a general repeal or a radical change of the school laws. It would be useless. Speaking generally, the laws are supported by an overwhelming majority, which is more likely to advance than to retreat. The latest modification of the law (1907) will have the effect of compelling the city high schools to give thoro instruction in the writing of *Landsmaal*. This is a very different thing from teaching students to read it. Specially trained teachers will be required, and these are not yet to be had in sufficient numbers. But a vigorous effort is being made to meet this difficulty, and no doubt it will be met. The friends of *Landsmaal* are active and energetic, working by means of the press, of societies, and latterly of the theater. Against them is a highly respectable association for the defense of the existing literary language.

IV.

How is the battle going to turn out in the next half-century? This is of course a question for a guesser or a prophet. Norsemen themselves answer the question differently, according to their more or less passionate prepossessions. Meanwhile, there are certain facts which should clearly be taken into consideration in any attempt to

cast the horoscope. In the first place, while the present policy of the government is summed up in the demand for equality before the law, the little kingdom will not rest permanently in a bilingual condition. Second, anything like an outright triumph for either party is not in sight and is hardly to be expected. Third, the *Landsmaal* is making substantial progress. To the present writer, an impartial outside observer whose sympathies are very equally divided between the two parties, the project of a new national language for Norway seems far less chimerical than it seemed a few years ago. The most of the arguments which were urged against it are losing somewhat of their force. The problem of a practicable orthographic convention will be solved—is now in a fair way toward solution. Fourth, the general conditions of to-day are very different from those which prevailed in the era of Romanticism. The old farming-class no longer exists. The railway and telephone, the cheap newspapers, the mail service, and the modern public school have largely put an end to the old separation of country life from town life. There is an ever diminishing difference between the literary language and the speech of the country folk.

Putting these facts together, it seems reasonable to expect that something like this will happen. Literary Norse will go on deviating more and more from standard Danish, by taking up into itself words, phrases and idioms which are distinctively Norse and belong to the speech of the people. On the other hand, the *Landsmaal* writers, who are becoming fairly numerous, will insist less and less on unimportant local peculiarities and will reach a practicable and generally accepted literary norm. At the same time they will enlarge their intellectual outlook, and therewith their vocabulary, by taking over more and more from the old literary idiom. For a while the two currents will flow side by side in more

or less hostile rivalry, but with an ever-increasing approximation. At last they will merge into a new national literary language, which will be very different from Danish, but also quite different from any form of *Landsmaal* which is now being written.

If this prediction should not be fulfilled there will be one more illustration, dating from the year of grace 1910, of the difficulties which beset the vocation of the modern prophet.

CALVIN THOMAS.

NOTE.—If any reader is curious to know how great the difference is between *Landsmaal* and literary Norse, he may get a little dim light from a comparison of the following versions of a part of Macbeth's letter to his wife (*Macbeth*, Act I, scene 5) :

They met me in the day of success ; and I have learned by the perfectest report, they have more in them than mortal knowledge. When I burned in desire to question them further, they made themselves air, into which they vanished. Whiles I stood rapt in the wonder of it, came missives from the king, who all-hailed me "Thane of Cawdor" ; by which title, before, these weird sisters saluted me, and referred me to the coming-on of time, with "Hail, king that shalt be !"

(*Landsmaal*, from a recent school reader). Dei møtte meg paa sigerdagen ; og fullgod visse hev eg for at dei veit meir enn menneskje. Daa eg brann av hug etter aa spyrja deim meir, gjorde dei seg til luft, og i lufti kvarv dei. Med' eg stod klumsa og undrast paa dette, kom de bodberarar fraa kongen ; dei helsa meg "Thegn av Cawdor." Med den tignardomen hadde volvesystrane alt helsa meg, og tala um framtidi med dei ordi, "Heil deg, som heretter skal verte konung !"

(Literary Norse). De mødte mig paa seirens dag ; og jeg har fuld vished for, at de ved mere end dødelige mennesker. Da jeg brændte af begjærlighed efter at spørge dem videre ud, skabte de sig til luft og forsvandt i luften. Medens jeg stod fortabt og undrede mig over dette, kom der udsendinger fraa kongen, som hilste mig som "Thegn af Cawdor" ; samme titel som hexesøstrene tidligere hilste mig med, og hentydede til hvad fremtiden vilde bringe mig, i de ord, "Hil dig, du som skal blive konge !"

XVI.—THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF A STANDARD IN A GENETIC THEORY OF LITERARY DEVELOPMENT.

In *Modern Philology* for April and July, 1909, I attempted to construct a theory of literary development on the basis of genetic psychology.¹ Literature was there defined to be a function of consciousness, a psychological and social product devised for the purpose of revealing the ethical and æsthetic values of human life. So far as the propagation and variation of literary forms are concerned emphasis was laid upon the fact that these processes take place in every case through the medium of a conscious personality. This human consciousness is endowed with certain powers or aptitudes by virtue of which it assimilates to itself the traditions, conventions, artistic forms, religious beliefs, ethical convictions, scientific ideas, etc., of the society in which it is born, and hands them down to the generation that follows. The physical and mental endowment which enables the individual thus to learn and to transmit his acquirements to others constitutes his physical or biological heredity. The process of learning imitatively from the models, patterns, or examples, of one's predecessors is called by the psychologists "imitative selection"; and the great body of traditions, conventions, forms, from which the individual must learn, and to which he must adjust himself, is termed his "social heredity." Variation in literature may therefore be defined as the attempt more or less constant to adjust literature to the writer's social heredity—or, as

¹ Biological Analogy in Literary Criticism: I. Variation and Personality. II. The Struggle for Existence and the Survival of the Fittest; *Modern Philology*, April and July, 1909.

Prof. Manly¹ has shown in the case of the mediæval drama, it is the combination of elements or unit characters hitherto kept separate. The cardinal factor to be emphasized in any study of variation in literature is therefore the individual consciousness, its power of imitative selection, its dependence on social heredity for the materials with which it works, and its power of constructive imagination by which new combinations are produced. For example, I showed that Hauptmann's *naturalistic* drama is to be explained as the combination of the traditional dramatic form with the evolutionary idea that man's destiny is controlled by heredity and environment and not by free will. Both these elements, the traditional dramatic form and the evolutionary idea, Hauptmann assimilated from his social heredity, and then by his power of æsthetic invention he united them in a new variation, the *naturalistic* drama.

Turning to a consideration of the survival or death of literary forms, I pointed out that a great drama or great novel may be said to live or survive in two senses. In its active or productive sense a given variation demonstrates its fitness for reproductive imitation on the part of others, and so long as such a variation is imitated the species may be said to survive. The life of a literary species depends, then, upon the fitness of a variation to serve as the prototype after which other works of the same kind shall be fashioned. On the other hand, individual specimens of a given variation may cease to inspire the production of other works of the same type, but still live on as part of the literary heritage of the race, to be studied and enjoyed by succeeding generations. This is the passive or assimilative aspect of the life of literature. For example, the Homeric Epic has long ceased

¹ *Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species. Modern Philology*, April, 1907.

to be a productive species ; but the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are still studied as the masterpieces of their type. Indeed we may go still farther and assert that some of the most monumental poetic achievements are utterly unfit for imitation. Poems like Dante's *Divine Comedy* or Goethe's *Faust* do not form the beginnings of new species. The conjunction of constructive power and favorable circumstance to which they owe their origin probably never occurs more than once in the history of any people. In spite of their unfitness for reproductive imitation, these "hybrids" do form a large factor in the civilization of the nation by which they are produced. They epitomize the culture and thought of a whole epoch, mark turning points in the history of the race. Their influence not only permeates the nation from which they sprang but becomes in time a part of the social heritage of all civilized nations.

Finally, I tried to show that there was no struggle for existence between rival species in literature, but that the life which a literary work may be said to enjoy depended on its utility to society. By the utility of a literary variation to society is meant the possibility of such variation being verified as true and real, and consequently assimilated by the consciousness of the *ego's* composing society. In other words, a new literary form must be such as society will find good mentally to assimilate, and to add to its store of experiences. What society at a given time will find good to assimilate, depends not merely on literary tradition but largely on certain forces outside of the realm of literature proper, which tend to modify the traditional views of human life and its significance. Thus the idea of free will and individual moral responsibility, which forms the distinctive characteristic of Shakespeare's heroic tragedy of character, came into English life as the result of a fierce theological and political conflict at the time of the Reformation ;

whereas the interpretation of human destiny in terms of heredity and environment, the transforming element in Hauptmann's *naturalistic* drama, is the outcome of scientific research fortified by the influence of intense social conflicts. Society's preference for one form in Shakespeare's day and for the other at the end of the nineteenth century is determined by the prevalence of the individualistic, or of the scientific conception of man and his place in the universe. In each case forces not evolved in the course of literary development itself have been at work transforming traditional values.

Now, the view that survival of species in literature, and, consequently, literary development depend upon the assimilation of literary products by society, also justifies the assumption of a standard in literature as something real. In his last lecture on *l'Evolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature française*, Brunetière frankly admitted that there was a hierarchy in literature, a higher and a lower; but he saw no place in his evolutionary theory of development for the standard by which such a hierarchy was to be determined. This was but natural; for Brunetière was trying to apply a biological theory to what is essentially a psychological and social phenomenon. The mutual relations which exist between individuals in human society, their intelligent coöperation which results in the establishment of political, religious, and artistic institutions, and which forms the complicated tissue of social life, are elements not found in the biological world pure and simple. Biological evolution takes no account of them. But literature as well as its development is a social phenomenon. A biological theory of evolution, therefore, when applied to literature, has no analogues into which these social factors can be translated. The terms *struggle for existence*, and *survival of the fittest*, as we have elsewhere tried to show, do not adequately represent

the real process involved. What really takes place must be explained in psychological terms, whether these terms be amenable to evolution or no. It is therefore in this psychological process that the basis for a standard must be sought, and it must be derived naturally by the inductive method from an observation of the facts.

In these days of poetic decay and literary formlessness, critics have often raised the question whether there is any standard of literary taste. Public neglect of the great poets of the past, the rapid change of literary fashion, the swift rise and decline of some popular literary idol, would all seem to lend color to the opinion that nothing is more fluctuating and evanescent than a standard of literary form. Yet a word of caution is necessary here, lest a hasty generalization be made upon a somewhat meagre basis of observation. The fact should not be overlooked that the present is an age when traditions of all kinds, political, religious, and literary, are disintegrating. The spirit of modern science is peacefully accomplishing a transformation of thought which, in its results, will certainly be comparable to the changes wrought by such events as the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the French Revolution. Such a period is always negative in character. The disintegration of traditional beliefs and convictions is unfavorable to high literary achievement, because these beliefs and convictions are the very elements out of which literature must be constructed. But this does not mean that the really valuable elements in former beliefs, standards, and norms are to be lost forever. Traditions are dissolved into their elements, in order that these elements may be combined again with fresh elements and thus give rise to new principles, new beliefs, and new standards. The sum of influences known as the Renaissance, combined with certain elements of disintegrating feudalism, produced in England

the greatest age of English poetry. The inventive power of a Shakespeare was able upon the picturesque background of English feudalism to objectify the victorious principle of political and religious individualism emanating from the Protestant Reformation. The valuable elements in feudalism were not lost, although that system had disintegrated, had, since the days of Chaucer, ceased to furnish materials fit for high literary achievement. From the literary masterpieces of Greece and Rome men were again able to assimilate elements of form, although those masterpieces had been practically forgotten for centuries. So in our day, society may not care to assimilate the poetry of Milton or of Wordsworth, because its content no longer arouses our interest. But this does not mean that the artistic excellencies which their poetry achieved have been lost forever. After the lapse of generations some poet may return to learn from them, to perpetuate their formal achievements, though the poetic content that he embodies be very different. In so far, then, those poets have contributed toward the establishment of a literary standard.

This fact leads naturally to the observation that any standard of taste has to do chiefly with form. In reality, of course, form and content are one; there is a genetic relation between the two and, as we tried to show in the case of the *naturalistic* drama, a change of content may bring about a mutation of form. But the truth and reality of the views of life represented, considered in the abstract, depend upon factors, such as religious beliefs, moral convictions and scientific ideas, which lie outside of literature proper. Their acceptance by society is in no sense dependent upon the literary or non-literary form in which they are embodied. Their truth and reality rest upon proofs with which literature proper has nothing to do. The truth and reality of literary form, on the other hand, consists in its

fitness adequately to embody the content in such a way as will best produce the emotional effects desired. The peculiarity of the æsthetic consciousness is the fact that the emotions involved in its content determine the form which the content will assume. They are the transforming element which leads to the transformation and combination of the other elements; they idealize these elements, they are the factor for which and through which form comes into being. In other words, form idealizes the content; for the human consciousness is constantly reaching out, so to speak, for a deeper, fuller, truer experience of reality than is furnished by the fragments which come to it through the senses, or are obtained by some logical process of abstract reasoning. This constant reaching out, this yearning, this idealizing tendency of consciousness it is which makes society want experience of a certain kind, and recognize as true that which furnishes such experience. It is through artistic form that such experience is best afforded, through literary form that a deeper, fuller, and truer expression of reality is attained, because literature must do justice not only to truth considered in the abstract but also to the emotional element which is bound up with the concrete presentation of that truth.

To put this point in somewhat different language: Josiah Royce has somewhere divided the knowable into the *world of description* and the *world of appreciation*. The world of description embraces that aspect of phenomena which is socially verifiable; that is to say, which is capable of being formulated into categories of space and time, and which all men must accept. This world is preëminently the sphere of science. On the other hand, there is an aspect of phenomena which is just as real, but which is not socially verifiable in the sense just explained; and in this aspect, phenomena belong to the world of appreciation. This world of appre-

ciation embraces the pleasurable or painful emotions which accompany the cognition of phenomena. The result is the same whether this presentation come by a direct perception of real life, or whether it be accepted at second hand in the form of artistic reproduction. In both cases, an appreciative element—the emotional effect—is involved. This appreciative element or unit is just as real and may be just as true as any scientific formulation of the relation of the elements involved; but its essential characteristic is the very fact that it is incapable of being thus formulated. In other words, men cannot be forced to accept it in the same sense that they must accept the formulations of science. They can verify it only in so far as their own experience has rendered them capable of appreciating it. One may sympathize altruistically with another who is suffering intense pain, say from the gout, but one can really appreciate the sufferings of that other only in so far as one has actually endured similar suffering one's self. This is a very homely example, but it clearly brings out the distinction.

The difference between the world of description and the world of appreciation is only the old distinction between the world of the "is" and the world of the "ought," put in another way. The goal of science is to transform the world of appreciation into that of description. So far as phases of human life are concerned they may be looked at from both points of view. But it is the business of literature to present these phases from the point of view of appreciation. In fact, literature, to impress society as true and real, must embody in concrete, not abstract form, the ideas, convictions and beliefs which society accepts as true. It strives to give an expression to the elements making up the phase of life portrayed that is, emotionally speaking, more true and more real than the impression derived from direct observation of the elements observed. This, literature accomplishes by

means of form; and those forms have proved enduring which society has verified, in the course of its experience, as furnishing the truest and most real appreciation of human life, as human life was conceived by society at the period in question. Thus, the belief that human destiny was controlled by forces lodged in the human will led logically to an action which had a beginning, a middle, and an end, which represented a conflict, and attained finality, because society conceived this as the true representation of reality. While such actions might not be found in the phenomenal world exactly as presented in poetry, nevertheless the idealizing tendency to represent human life as it ought to be, in order to meet the emotional demand of appreciation, led to the strict observation of the law which demanded unity of action. The belief in the authority of this law was so implicit that dramatists like Lessing and Schiller not infrequently sacrifice truth of characterization to the exigencies which a strictly unified action causes to arise. Unity of action was simply the formal element which represented idealized reality; *i. e.*, human action transformed by the emotional element or appreciation involved. This appreciation in turn rested upon the ethical conviction of society, and continued to be the dominant moral idea in the Protestant world until it was modified by the doctrine of evolution.

Let the fact be emphasized that this idealizing tendency or appreciative element is present in all literature. It always gives rise to form of one kind or another. The *naturalist* may theoretically claim to look at life as the scientist or ordinary man; but as a matter of fact he does not. Hauptmann does indeed neglect all those sensuous elements, such as metre and rhythm, which go to make up poetry in the traditional sense. He even goes so far as to reject in his dramas that abstract formal element known as

unity of action. But the idealizing tendency is none the less present. The episodes he chooses to depict, whether consciously or unconsciously, are Hauptmann's and nobody's else. The impressions he produces are his own, charged with his own emotions, and not another's. Though he write in prose, that prose grips and expands our emotions, and does it quite as effectually as much that passes for poetry. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the stage-setting of these plays goes far toward producing the effect of form in the traditional sense. Modern stage devices with their marvellous results in color, figure and shadow, appeal to us through the vivid sense of sight quite as effectively as poetic description through the ear. From this point of view the *naturalistic* drama is not so formless as is sometimes supposed. It aims to produce its emotional effects through facts and not through fictions of form. It has discovered that effects other than the traditional ones are attainable through other means than those employed in the past. In this sense, the scope of the drama has been widened. Both the *naturalist* and the idealist in literature, as a matter of fact, idealize, both lay emphasis upon form. The difference between them lies in the different degree and in the different means of idealization. In the sense that form is to be regarded as the means of producing emotional effects, they both have form, each adapted to the peculiar effects desired, and the one just as legitimate as the other.

Keeping in mind, then, the conception of form as the arrangement of elements or unit characters in such a way as to produce emotional effects which shall impress society as true and real, we shall find that several generally accepted observations in regard to standards of form have their justification in the theory elaborated in this paper. The theory that there is any standard of form absolutely fixed for different species of literature has long been discarded by

both critics and public. The most that can be asserted is that the productions of some individual producer interpret society's views of life better than others. Shakespeare's drama of psychological individualization gives better expression to the individualistic interpretation of human conduct than any drama of the same species before or since. In this sense it may be considered standard for this particular species. But this does not mean that all dramas must be modelled after this type, nor that the possibility of variation and improvement is excluded; although, when assimilated by society, the Shakespearean drama does become, consciously or unconsciously, the norm with which other dramas are compared. Moreover, that different nations have different standards of literary form must be freely admitted. These diverging standards may be considered as the outcome of the varying biological heredity and of the diverse experience which these nations undergo in the course of their development. Lastly, it seems clear that the standard of literary form differs at different periods in the history of the same people.

The variable character of any standard of form follows logically from the nature of literary variation and perpetuation. As has been elsewhere shown, there is no reason to assume that the amount of constructive imagination, either to invent new forms or to improve upon accepted ones, is a constant quantity in any given society. It varies not only in different nations but at different times in the same nation. The Greek people probably possessed a more highly developed sense of form considered as the harmonious working together of several parts to produce a unified effect, than any other nation. To the varying quantity of æsthetic inventive talent must be added the more significant fact that the results of formal achievement are in no sense cumulative. Form, as we have defined it, is determined by the

emotional element in consciousness. The striking characteristic of this emotional element, or appreciation, is the fact that it cannot be formulated into categories of space and time like the world of description. Other men cannot be forced to accept it as true, and it cannot therefore become cumulative in its development, as the sciences do. A generation of scientists may not only master and hand down all the formulations of scientific investigation, but they may add other formulations as the result of their own researches. But this is not true of artistic or literary form. To formulate artistic effects in categories which all men recognize is impossible. Within the same species a succeeding generation may fall far short of what the preceding achieved in regard to perfection of form. None of Shakespeare's imitators have achieved a like excellence in the heroic drama of character. Klopstock's *Messias* is inferior in all its formal aspects except euphony to Milton's masterpiece. This failure to attain the excellence of preceding generations may be the result of biological or of social heredity, or perhaps of both. But in any case it effectually prevents the results of formal achievements from ever becoming cumulative.

Still a third factor contributes toward the variability of literary standards. This is the fact long ago observed by Lessing that the relation between language—the material used in literature—and the thing signified is purely conventional. In painting and plastic art the materials employed bear a natural relation to the object represented. They, like the objects reproduced, occupy space and are therefore subject to all the conditions affecting objective reality and the sensuous perception of the same. Form in painting and plastic art is therefore confined to much narrower limits and is far more definitely fixed than form in literature. In poetry, on the other hand, only the elements of lesser importance, such as rhythm, rhyme, and euphony are

sensuous. All those emotional elements which are conditioned by the choice of a poetic vocabulary or of poetic constructions, by the peculiar aptness of simile and metaphor, by a harmonious development of the action, by truth of characterization, and the like, are, strictly speaking, subjective. They have no existence outside of the consciousness which feels them. The appreciation of them depends likewise not only on the individual's biological heredity, but also upon the peculiar religious beliefs, ethical convictions and scientific ideas, which form the content of the individual consciousness. Literature is thus much more subject to changes that take place in other realms of thought than the formative arts are. In other words, literature must not only appeal to the emotions, it must also make sense. It must convey a philosophy of human life of some sort. How close the relation between this philosophy and the abstract elements of form is, has been pointed out in the case of the *naturalistic* drama in which the changed location of the forces determining human destiny was sufficient to cause a complete mutation of form.

It follows from the foregoing that there is no necessary development of formal standards in literature from a lower to a higher. The achievements of one generation do not form the basis upon which the next necessarily improves. There is more truth than error in Matthew Arnold's assertion that the Greeks invented pretty nearly all the kinds of poetry that there are. In fact, it would be more accurate to speak of *change* rather than *development* of literary forms, if we mean by development a more or less constant transition from a lower to a higher. If literary form is so variable, the question naturally arises, where is the basis for a standard of literary judgment or taste to be found? As we stated at the outset, this basis must be sought in the process of assimilation by society, which assimilation provides the only

life that may be attributed to literature. The literary standard in a given society at a given time is measured by the literary forms which that society finds good to assimilate. This is an obvious inference ; but a sharp distinction must be drawn between those forms, handed down from the past, which society still assimilates, and the contemporary works which enjoy popular favor for a time but in the end may constitute no accessions to literary heredity.

In the case of works out of the past, it is form which insures their existence in the assimilative, as opposed to the productive sense. In the case of contemporary literature, the truth of the content, *i. e.*, its agreement with the contemporary view of life, is likely to play quite as large a part as form in determining its popularity and influence. The fact that the social judgment is likely to be better in regard to the literary works of the past follows for two reasons. In the first place, society is able to view these works in their historical perspective. The works that precede as well as those that succeed the particular products in question can be taken into account. The forces giving rise to the form under consideration, as well as the influences flowing from it, can be more accurately defined. In this wise, a judgment relatively speaking more just and more correct can be reached. In the second place, society's attitude toward the philosophy or interpretation of life contained in some literary product of the past is much more impartial than it can be toward those embodied in contemporary works. For the individual is likely to find his own interests, his own feelings, his own peculiar beliefs and convictions at stake in contemporary literature to a far greater degree than is the case with works of a past age. This is sure to bias the judgment ; and this observation is the basis of the old saying that contemporaries will not understand each other. The objection that has been made

to the whole *naturalistic* movement in literature rests not half so much upon its supposed formlessness as upon the fact that phases of life repugnant to aristocratical literary tradition have been portrayed, and a code of ethics preached which stands in violent contrast to conventional standards.

Now, the very fact that society recognizes certain productions in the literary species of the past as masterpieces shows that there is at least a higher and a lower, relatively a better and a worse, so far as literary taste is concerned. Whether society came by this judgment as the result of each individual's experience, or whether, as is more likely to be the case, it accept such judgment on the authority of those specially qualified to judge, makes no difference. The result is the same. By virtue of their formal excellencies, certain masterpieces stand out as the best interpretations of life, as society at that time felt and believed life to be. The formal elements which these masterpieces embody are recapitulated either directly or indirectly by society in each succeeding generation. To the producer, these unattainable models become the prototypes for assimilation and imitation ; for the general public they form a series of checks and balances according to which standards of taste are regulated. It is now almost a truism that Shakespeare's judgments, sentiments, forms, and very language have become the property of the English-speaking race. Even the uneducated man has fallen heir to this literary fortune. Society to-day cares little for Milton's poetry ; but those who read Tennyson, whether they are aware of it or not, enjoy many beauties which the nineteenth-century poet learned by direct study of his Puritan predecessor. Few can boast of a first-hand acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon poetry ; yet the most striking formal characteristic of Browning's verse, the condensed word-metaphor, produced its emotional effect on our barbarian ancestors a dozen centuries and more ago.

Even a *naturalist* like Hauptmann returns to all the conventions of metrical form in a poem like *Hannele*. Whether the great masterpieces are studied directly or not, their stylistic qualities are repeated over and over again by writers of the second and third class, and are thus kept alive in the consciousness of the *ego's* composing society. While this life in the consciousness of society is not sufficient at any time to set up a fixed standard of excellence for any one species of literature, it nevertheless does so exercise and develop the power of appreciation that society at any time will recognize a lower and a higher. There is at least a limit—a dead line of literary form—below which productions fail to be recognized as literature. Not all the plays put upon our stage register a success. Hundreds of productions are rejected weekly by the editors of our magazines. While the phases of life depicted, or the philosophy of life advocated, unquestionably play a part in this, these works do not nevertheless all fail because of objectionable content. In this sense, then, there is a standard of literary taste however indefinite it may be and hard to define, owing to the fact that it exists only in the consciousness of the *ego's* composing society. While this standard alone can never serve as the basis for the production of great masterpieces, it does form a part of the social heritage to which gifted men may be born heirs, and it helps to keep the average of literary excellence up to a certain level. It furnishes no means by which two different literary species may be compared, and one judged greater than the other; but the power of literary appreciation and emotional enjoyment, which it measures, serves to keep the formal excellence of a product in any species above a lower limit. And when the element of historical perspective is added to this social æsthetic consciousness, it will always determine accurately which are the greatest masterpieces in a given poetic species.

Moreover, if the race is advancing toward a higher intelligence and a higher culture, then it may be hoped that the lower limit—the dead line of literary form—may be lifted with the development of culture. So far as producers are concerned, it will make little difference except in regard to the mere imitative talents; but so far as the public is concerned, every elevation of the standard of taste will mark an advance in the development of culture.

The conception that the only life literature enjoys depends upon its assimilation by society has another important consequence. If, to insure the survival of a literary species, the particularization of to-day must become the generalization of to-morrow, then those theories of literary development which rest upon the assumption of a conflict or struggle between the elemental individualistic and collectivistic tendencies in man¹ can hardly represent the true state of the case. So far as each individual is concerned, he may be said to be either individualistically or collectivistically inclined, as the result of his biological heredity, or of his social heredity, or perhaps of both. Any conflict in his own bosom between these opposing forces would be of no significance for literary development, except as the outcome of such conflict might incline him to assimilate variations favoring one tendency or the other. But that

¹ Kuno Francke, *History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces*, New York, 1905: "It seems to me that all literary development is determined by the incessant conflict of two elemental human tendencies, the tendency toward personal freedom and the tendency toward collective organization" (p. vi). "The fundamental conception which underlies the following account of the development of German literature is that of a continual struggle between individualistic and collectivistic tendencies, between man and society, between personality and tradition, between liberty and unity, between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, a struggle which may be said to be the prime motive power of all human progress" (p. 3).

such a conflict is waged in the bosom of every individual is a rather violent assumption. If the individual in question be a literary producer, then such a struggle might well leave its traces on his productions; but the survival of any variation caused by such a conflict of opposing tendencies would depend upon its utility to society. From the very fact that his work is a variation, a certain contrast or opposition to traditional types follows. But let the point be emphasized that it is not by virtue of this contrast or opposition that the variation in question survives and literature in consequence develops. It is by virtue of society's verification and assimilation of this variation. It has already been shown that this process of assimilation is governed by conditions which exclude a struggle in the biological sense. If society finds no utility in a variation, then that variation does not exert an influence, does not survive, is practically dead-born. That many variations do occur which are not assimilated by society, which neither become the prototypes for imitators, nor live on in the passive sense, will be admitted by every one who is deeply read in the literature of any past age. The present is producing many dramas and novels which represent useless variations. Such production does little more than furnish corpses fit for interment in the catacombs of libraries. The fact of opposition or contrast to traditional types is not the factor which determines the survival or death of an innovation. The essential factor is that society finds some utility in it, *i. e.*, society must find a truer and more real representation of life in such a work than is contained in traditional types. What society will regard as truer and more real will depend, as we have already explained, on other social and intellectual forces extrinsic to literature proper, which have been at work transforming traditional values.

Of course, this view does not imply that an individual

cannot stand in conscious and open opposition to society. He can. Richard Wagner set at defiance the whole musical world. But it was not by virtue of this defiance that his works became a transforming force in the development of music. To bring the *naturalistic* drama before the public it was necessary to establish the "Berlin Free Stage"; for the German state-theatres refused admission to this startling innovation. But this opposition was not the cause of its success as a new variation. In both Wagner's music and Hauptmann's dramas society found some utility, the public assimilated both, and incorporated them in their musical and dramatic heredity. Both Wagner and Hauptmann found imitators also who have either continued the types set up by them, or utilized their innovations as the basis for new variations. The Berlin Free Stage was nothing but a material means to an end; the opposition was merely a condition, not the determining cause. Many individuals stand in conscious opposition to society without having their peculiar views accepted and assimilated. The theorists and the cranks are not all dead. Men with great schemes of social and educational reform exist everywhere. But society finds no utility in the changes proposed. Society does not adopt the theories or the reforms; for in its view the theory or the reform does not represent anything truer and better than it already possesses,—will not, in the language of Josiah Royce, guide it to more experience of the kind that it wants.

To avoid confusion here it will be necessary to discriminate a little in regard to the use of the words *individualistic* and *collectivistic*. We have used them already in two different senses. In speaking of an *individualistic variation*, we implied the meaning that the variation had its source in the inventive power of some individual person. As soon as such a variation has become accepted and generalized by

society, of course it ceases to be individualistic in this sense. In their origin, then, all variations or mutations are individualistic. To survive they must become collectivistic. On the other hand the term *psychological individualization*, as applied to Shakespeare's dramas, implied that greater emphasis was laid upon the volitional force implanted in the individual than upon his social environment in the interpretation of human life. Man is represented here as master of his own fate, as architect of his own fortune. In this sense the whole English drama from Marlowe to Bernard Shaw has been individualistic. In contrast to this, the *naturalistic* drama represents a collectivistic variation, although of course it was first introduced by some individual person. The destiny of man in this dramatic species is made to depend upon what his ancestors were and upon the environment in which he is born. It is this second meaning which Francke apparently has in mind when he speaks of the struggle between the individualistic and collectivistic tendencies being the prime motive power of all human progress. Granting the correctness of the distinction in this sense of the words, we do not yet see just where the struggle comes in, which will determine the development of literature. If our conception be the true one, then it makes no difference whether a variation is individualistic or collectivistic in this sense. In either case to survive it must be generalized by society. Whether society will generalize it or not will depend upon the other intellectual and social forces which have been at work to make such a variation seem truer to the reality.

If the small fraction of history which is actually recorded permits an inference of any value, the only legitimate conclusion to be drawn would seem to be the alternation of the individualistic and the collectivistic tendencies in a sort of rhythmic ebb and flow. Greece brought individualism,

socially, politically, religiously, and artistically to a very high state of development. Her achievements were followed by the rise of Rome embodying the collectivistic tendency with the chief emphasis laid upon organization and centralization. Rome's mission was chiefly a political one. During the middle-ages the collectivistic tendency was carried one step farther by the attempt to unite a centralized world-religion with a centralized world-empire. Politically, this was a failure; but the ideal of centralization, both political and religious, exerted a no less potent sway over men's minds. In mediæval literature we find little but unindividualized types, whether in religious or in profane poetry. As Brunetière has somewhere observed, no two things are so much alike as two *chansons de geste* or two mediæval German epics. This collectivistic tendency begins to ebb with the rise of the cities and the European monarchies. The curve of historical development swings in the direction of its individualistic amplitude. The achievement of intellectual individualism was marked by the movement known as the Renaissance. Religiously, it was carried farther by the Reformation and the establishment of national churches, to reach its point of greatest amplitude in the rise of the American Republic, with political sovereignty located in the people themselves, and with complete divorce of church and state. Economically, this same individualistic tendency may be said to have reached its culmination in the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, or the doctrine that competition is the life of trade. Of course, this tendency manifests itself in different degrees not only in the different countries but also in the different institutions forming the complicated web of society in each nation. In some instances there may have been a temporary eddy in the opposite direction; but it proved in no case sufficient to check the forward movement.

From the cursory survey of a tendency of this kind

manifesting itself in different social institutions, the inference would seem to be justified that the changes in art, literature and education usually follow economic, political and religious transformations. The development of literature is the result, not the cause, of the changes which other institutions undergo. From the days of the Reformation until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, literature, in the nations that have made modern history, has borne consistently the stamp of individualism in the second sense defined above. To-day the curve of development seems to be swinging in the opposite direction. The predominance of economic interests, with their highly centralized organizations both of capital and of labor, has given rise to a socialistic movement which decidedly discounts the individual. The purpose of this movement, in England at least, seems on the eve of becoming realized in the form of legislation. And this whole movement, as we have seen, has placed its stamp upon contemporary religion, art and literature.

So far as literature is concerned we cannot see, therefore, that its development has been determined by a constant conflict between the two forces under consideration. One force or the other is the determinant. Individualists may arise at a period when the prevailing tendency is in the opposite direction. But the distinction between such individuals, as conscious personalities, and the part which their literary productions play in literary development must be kept clearly in mind. Their works may embody individualistic variations and show that individualism is not dead. But unless society approves of their efforts, accepts their teachings and acts accordingly, such variations exert no influence on the course of literary development. For example, Francke treats Logau, the epigrammatist, as an example of an individualist who stood in conscious opposi-

tion to the prevailing tendencies of seventeenth-century life and literature in Germany. This may be admitted to be the correct view. But the question at issue is how much influence his three thousand epigrams exercised on German literary development. To all intents and purposes they seem to have been dead-born. For Logau found no followers to perpetuate his views, his forms were not taken up by imitators, and society went on assimilating the foreign fashions whose influx characterizes the period. From a modern point of view Logau's attitude may be commended as better than that of the society around him; but his interpretation of life was unable to make headway against the foreign influences which were determining the course of literary as well as of political history. Moreover, the impotence of Logau's epigrams lies in the very fact that they are not pointed enough, nor aimed straight enough, to do execution. He strikes too much with the flat of his sword. This very defect is only another evidence that individualism in letters at this time was not bold enough to make a struggle. The social environment would not have tolerated such a thing.

An example of an individualist of another kind is Hamann. He, too, declaimed in epigrammatic style against current views concerning the relation of poetry to life. But Hamann's views, as well as his style, were both assimilated and imitated. It was Herder, who developed the variations of Hamann and ushered in that orgy of individualism known as the *Storm and Stress* movement. The innovations introduced at this time did become the determining forces in German literature. Not only did Goethe really find himself when he came under the influence of Herder, but the *bourgeois* tragedy and the historical drama emerged as the dominant forms out of this chaos of emotional fermentation. Most of the ideas, too, which the Romantic school developed

trace their origin back to this movement. In the case of Logau, society did not find utility in the individualistic variation; in the case of Hamann it did. The works of the former exerted no influence on the course literature was taking, the works of the latter became determining. In neither case was the opposition or conflict the cause of literary development; but society's failure to assimilate the new forms in the one case, and its readiness to adopt them in the other, determined the course of literary history. In both cases the attitude of society was determined by influences emanating in large part from sources other than literature itself.

JOHN PRESTON HOSKINS.

XVII.—THE PASTORAL ELEGY AND MILTON'S *LYCIDAS*.

I.

To most modern readers the pastoral setting of Milton's *Lycidas* is far from being an element of beauty. It is doubtful whether anyone, approaching *Lycidas* for the first time, fails to experience a feeling of strangeness, which must be overcome before the poem can be fully appreciated; and not infrequently the pastoral imagery continues to be felt as a defect, attracting attention to its own absurdities and thereby seriously interfering with the reader's enjoyment of the piece itself. The reason for this attitude lies in the fact that we have to-day all but forgotten the pastoral tradition and quite lost sympathy with the pastoral mood. The mass of writing to which this artificial yet strangely persistent literary fashion gave rise seems unendurably barren and insipid; to return and traverse the waste, with its dreary repetitions of conventional sentiments and tawdry imagery, is a veritable penance. Yet this, if we are to judge fairly of *Lycidas*, or if we are to remove the hindrances to our full enjoyment of it as poetry, is what in a measure we must do. For in Milton's eyes the pastoral element in *Lycidas* was neither alien nor artificial. Familiar as he was with poetry of this kind in English, Latin, Italian, and Greek, Milton recognized the pastoral as one of the natural modes of literary expression, sanctioned by classic practice, and recommended by not inconsiderable advantages of its own. The setting of *Lycidas* was to him not merely an ornament, but an essential element in the ✓

artistic composition of the poem. It tended to idealize and dignify the expression of his sorrow, and to exalt this tribute to the memory of his friend, by ranging it with a long and not inglorious line of elegiac utterances, from Theocritus and Virgil to Edmund Spenser.

To consider this tradition with reference to *Lycidas* is the object of the present essay. I do not propose to write a history of the pastoral elegy, but simply to indicate the origin of those elements of the elegiac tradition which appear in *Lycidas*, and to show in detail Milton's indebtedness to each of the greater examples of the type. Many of the borrowings are noted in the various editions of Milton's works;¹ some of the identifications are new. The material has never, so far as I know, been collected and used for the present purpose.

II.

The trifling and artificial spirit of the pastoral would seem at first thought to render the form utterly inappropriate for serious laments; according to the accepted view the pastoral was in its very origin a sort of toy, a literature of make-believe. The poetry which grew up in the happy school of Greek bards who masqueraded as countrymen on the "pleasant sward" of Cos, and whiled away the hours learning to be poets by imitating the song contests of the Sicilian shepherds, could hardly have been

¹ See especially the annotations to *Lycidas* in David Masson's *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, London, 1894, Vol. III; and in the Pitt Press edition of Milton's Minor Poems, ed. A. W. Verity, Cambridge, 1891. Cf. also W. P. Mustard's article in Vol. XXX of the *American Journal of Philology*: "Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets," to which I have made frequent reference in the earlier part of this essay.

anything but pretty and artificial.¹ We might have supposed that it would be as transitory as the conditions which gave it birth. That this *jeu d'esprit* became a permanent literary form and a mode of expression for serious as well as lighter themes, was due to the superior genius of Theocritus, whose dramatic imagination, aided by his knowledge of the sober realities of Sicilian shepherd life, carried him beyond the imitation of mere externals and led him really to identify himself with the characters which he portrayed. All the charm of rustic manners, all the fresh beauties of Sicilian scenery were preserved in the idyls of Theocritus; but these served only as a setting for human passions.

That the change in point of view, the shift of attention from the machinery of the pastoral to its essence, did not come to Theocritus all at once, may be inferred from the idyls themselves.² In the Polyphemus idyls, for example, where the monster Cyclops is represented in the grotesque rôle of a sentimental lover, we seem to see the poet barely touching the serious note. The sixth idyl gets little farther than burlesque; in the eleventh,³ on

¹ For an account of the origin of the Alexandrian pastoral see the extensive work of Ph. E. Legrand, *Étude sur Théocrite*, Paris, 1898; R. J. Cholmondeley, *The Idyls of Theocritus*, Intro.; A. Lang, *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus*, London, 1906, Intro. The seventh idyl of Theocritus gives a light-hearted account of an incident in the daily life of these poets and incidentally illustrates the beginning of the personal and artificial pastoral.

² The chronology of Theocritus is carefully worked out by Ph. E. Le Grand, *op. cit.*; his results are summarized by Cholmondeley, *op. cit.*, Intro. I am much indebted in the following criticism and throughout this essay to Professor E. K. Rand of Harvard University.

³ *Bucolici Græci*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Oxford, 1905, p. 22. The quotations from Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus are taken from Andrew Lang's excellent translation.

the other hand, the author makes us feel not only the absurdity of Polyphemus in love, but also, by flashes, the pathos of it:

"Come forth, Galatea," he cries, "and forget as thou comest, even as I that sit here have forgotten, the homeward way. . . . There is no one that wrongs me but that mother of mine, and her do I blame. Never, nay, never once has she spoken a kind word for me to thee, and that though day by day she sees me wasting. I will tell her that my head and both my feet are throbbing, that she may also suffer somewhat, since I too am suffering. O Cyclops, Cyclops, whither are thy wits wandering? Ah that thou wouldst go, and weave thy wicker-work and gather broken boughs to carry to thy lambs; in faith, if thou didst this, far wiser wouldst thou be."¹

The author is still trifling, but his imagination has carried him into the situation; he seems to be holding two points of view, that of the Cyclops, and that of the unsympathetic world which is laughing at him. In another lover's lament² extravagant sentimentality takes the place of incongruity as an element of humor. The song is addressed to cruel Amaryllis by her disappointed lover, who, when he finds himself rejected in spite of presents, prayers, and harmless threats, gives way to despair. "My head aches, but thou carest not. I will sing no more, but dead will I lie where I fall, and here may the wolves devour me."³ In this passage the contemplation of death as the result of the thwarting of the shepherd's passion brings us a step nearer to the elegy. The spirit of the piece is, to be sure, not too serious; this lover's "complaint" is the very stuff of which the later sentimental or burlesque pastoral was made. Still there are serious and even tragic possibilities in the theme; charac-

¹ Vv. 63 ff. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

² Idyl III.

³ Vv. 53 ff. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

ters and passions originally designed as burlesques may spring into life under the creative touch of genius, and refuse to remain within the narrow bounds of parody.

It is in the first and second idyls that Theocritus becomes fully possessed by his theme. Here the spirit of banter and make-believe is cast aside for a serious artistic purpose. The subject of the poems is still disappointed love, but the laments are no longer mere lovers' rhetoric. They claim and receive our sympathy. The second idyl is not pastoral and does not concern us here, except as it serves to show the trend of Theocritus's poetic and dramatic genius. It is the monologue of a ruined and deserted girl, who is trying the forlorn hope of magic to bring back her faithless lover. She tells the story of her passion with poignant pathos, murmuring an incantation to the moon the while, and directing a servant in the magic rites. In Virgil's imitation of this poem¹ the incantations prove successful; in Theocritus no lover comes, and the ending is consistent with the hopeless tone of the whole piece. "But do thou farewell, and turn thy steeds to Ocean, Lady, and my pain I will bear, even as till now I have endured it."² Virgil is primarily interested in the magic machinery and in the sonorous poetry; Theocritus, in the truth of the character and the tragic pathos of the situation.

The greatest of the idyls and by far the most important for the present discussion is the first. For not only is it in many respects the archetype of the pastoral elegy, but it bears a direct and particularly significant relation to *Lycidas*. The poem opens with a pretty scene in which Thyrsis, the sweet singer of the vale, is urged by a goat-

¹ Eclogue VIII.

² Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

herd to make pleasant the noontide hour by singing the "Affliction of Daphnis." A wondrous ivy bowl, and the privilege of thrice milking a goat that is mother of twins, shall be his reward. Thyrsis consents and begins the beautiful lament. The theme is how Daphnis, the ideal hero of pastoral song, was subdued by a new love, after his marriage to the fairest of the nymphs, and chose rather to die than to yield. The singer first rebukes the nymphs for failing to save their Daphnis, and tells of the universal lament of nature for his loss; he then describes the visits of Hermes, Priapus, and Cypris to the afflicted shepherd, the first two with words of consolation, the last with a cruel taunt. To her alone does Daphnis reply, reproaching her and bidding her begone to boast of her success; he bids farewell to his native woods and rivers; bequeaths his pipe to his successor, and dies lamenting his own sad fate. The shepherd-singer concludes and claims the gifts, which the goatherd gladly grants, with praise for his companion's song.

The extent to which this poem moulded the tradition of the pastoral elegy will be clear from our discussion of the later examples of the form. That Milton was familiar with it at first hand and consciously adopted it as one of the classical models for *Lycidas* seems practically certain, notwithstanding the wide divergence of the two poems in setting, spirit, and subject matter. For the general plan of making various beings come one after another to add their part to the lament, Milton had a precedent also in the tenth eclogue of Virgil.¹ It is impossible to say that he was influenced more by the one poet than by the other. It is noteworthy, however, that in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, where Milton uses the same

¹ See below, p. 420.

motive, he is clearly following Theocritus 1. The poem is twice explicitly referred to,¹ and the name of the mourner in both laments is Thyrsis. In the *Epitaphium* the shepherds and nymphs come, not to mourn for the dead as in *Lycidas*, but, in their mistaken way, to bring comfort to the mourner;² the contrast between the affliction of the shepherd and the shallow consolations of his friends serves, as with Theocritus and Virgil, to heighten the effect.

A more detailed borrowing is to be found in the passage in *Lycidas* beginning "Where were ye, Nymphs." The lament of Thyrsis opens thus:

"Begin, ye Muses dear, begin the pastoral song.
Thyrsis of Etna am I, and this is the voice of Thyrsis. Where, ah!
where were ye when Daphnis was languishing; ye nymphs where
were ye? By Peneus beautiful or by the dells of Pindus? for surely
ye dwelt not by the great stream of the river Anapus, nor on the
watchtower of Etna, nor by the sacred water of Acis.

Begin, ye muses dear, begin the pastoral song."³

The familiar lines from *Lycidas* are substantially the same, but they bear the touch of a mightier hand:

"Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?
For neither were ye playing on the steep
Where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie,
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where Deva spreads her wisard stream."⁴

¹ See below, p. 416.

² Tityrus, Alpheusibæus, Ægon, and Amyntas bid Thyrsis enjoy the delights of nature; Mopsus asks what flirt is plaguing him; the nymphs reproach his cloudy brow and bid him not reject the joys of youth and love. There are detailed resemblances to Theocritus 1.

³ Lang, p. 6.

⁴ *Lycidas*, ll. 50 ff.

For the use of this motive too Milton had the double precedent of Theocritus and Virgil;¹ that the lines are directly reminiscent of the Greek rather than the Latin poet is clear from the fact, pointed out long ago by Keightley,² that whereas Milton, like Theocritus, mentions places near the region where his shepherd met his fate, Virgil declares that the nymphs were absent, not from Arcady where the scene of his eclogue is laid, but from their accustomed haunts in Sicily.

At the close of the lament in Theocritus I there is a passage which bears a still more essential relation to *Lycidas* and has, so far as I know, never been pointed out:

"Nay, spun was all the thread that the fates assigned," the shepherd sings, "and Daphnis went down the stream. The whirling wave closed over (literally 'the eddy washed away')³ the man whom the muses loved, the man not hated of the nymphs."⁴

In view of the circumstances of the death of Edward King, these lines are particularly interesting. That Milton noticed their special applicability to his own subject is clear from the passage already quoted:

"Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?"

¹ Eclogue x, vv. 9 ff. The lines are as follows:

"Quæ nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellæ
Naides, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat?
Nam neque Parnasi vobis iuga, nam neque Pindi
Ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe."

The motive appears again and again in the pastoral elegy of the Renaissance; see Mustard, *op. cit.*, for references.

² *The Poems of John Milton, with Notes*, London, 1859. Annotations to *Lycidas*, Vol. II.

³ "Εκλυσε δῖρα etc. vv. 140 ff.

⁴ Lang, p. 10.

May it not be that these lines from Theocritus first suggested to Milton the idea of giving his elegy on the death of his friend a pastoral form? It is quite possible that this passage occurred to Milton when he first learned that King was drowned, thus drawing his attention to Theocritus 1 and to the pastoral elegy in general as an instrument for the expression of idealized grief. The external circumstances of Daphnis's death would at least lead Milton in a manner to identify his own dead shepherd with this legendary hero of pastoral song, and to regard Theocritus's exquisite lament as the prototype of his own elegy.¹

The influence of Theocritus on *Lycidas* is by no means limited to the Daphnis idyl. The elegiac pastoral tradition is only a part of the pastoral tradition in general, and the whole body of the poetry of Theocritus, as the ultimate source of this general tradition, must be regarded as contributory to the pastoral elegy. Theocritus was the great store-house of pastoral material; he was plundered again and again, and his plunderers were plundered in their turn, until the incidents, expressions, and motives used by him became common property among pastoral writers. Of this material a due proportion appears in *Lycidas*, whether borrowed directly from Theocritus or descended from him through many hands.²

Of the later bucolic writers of the Alexandrine age, but

¹ I shall have occasion to note a probable connection between *Lycidas* and two other elegies, the subjects of which met their death by drowning. See below, pp. 433 and 439 ff.

² The passages in Milton which are directly and certainly traceable to other idyls of Theocritus are very few. Cf., however, Id. VII, 35 (Ξυρά γὰρ ὀδός, ξυρά δὲ καὶ δῶς) with *Lyc.*, 25-7. (The reference is from Mustard, *op. cit.*, p. 235.) Verses 16-7 of Id. I (not a part of the lament) are repeated in *Ep. Dam.*, 51-2; and the description of the cup in Id. I is echoed in *Ep. Dam.*, 181 ff.

two are known to us by name: Moschus and the somewhat younger Bion,¹ both of whom flourished in the latter half of the third century B. C. Bion's most famous idyl, the *Lament for Adonis*, ('Αδώνιδος ἐπιτάφιος),² is, strictly speaking, not a pastoral at all; Adonis was a hunter, not a shepherd.³ The poem is associated with the pastoral, however, because of its form and because it is the work of a pastoral poet. Its erotic tone serves also to ally it with pastoral poetry. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find the poem influencing the pastoral elegy. The sober and classic genius of Milton seems to have rejected this decadent elegy; for neither *Lycidas* nor the *Epitaphium Damonis* shows any direct trace of its influence. Other pastoral writers, however, have made liberal use of the poem, and it must rank as one of the great classical models of the pastoral elegy.⁴ The poem, moreover, derives a special importance in the development of the tradition from its connection with the *Lament for Bion* (Βίωνος ἐπιτάφιος).

The latter piece,⁵ which is commonly attributed to Moschus but probably belongs to a somewhat younger Italian contemporary, is of the greatest significance in the history of the pastoral elegy. It marks, as we shall see, the full development of the pastoral lament as an independent type, and, notwithstanding its sentimentality and absurd exaggeration of the pathetic fallacy, it was

¹ *Bucolici Græci*, App.; Lang, *op. cit.*

² *Bucolici Græci*, pp. 122 ff.

³ Virgil, presumably because of this poem, assumes that he tended sheep: "Et formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis" (Ec. x, v. 18).

⁴ Cf. Mustard, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff., for an extensive account of the influence of this poem in the Renaissance and later. Shelley's *Adonais* is formally modelled on the *Lament for Adonis*.

⁵ *Bucolici Græci*, pp. 91 ff.

adopted as a model by numerous later writers.¹ The originals of the *Lament for Bion* were clearly Bion's own *Lament for Adonis* and Theocritus's first idyl; but the poem differs conspicuously from its predecessors in being a lament for the death of an actual person conceived as a shepherd. Adopting the lyric form of the *Lament for Adonis* and the pastoral setting, and many of the motives of Theocritus I, the writer has substituted for the legendary character, whether shepherd or hunter, the person of his own friend. Bion was a writer of pastorals; therefore for poetical purposes Bion was a shepherd. By thus applying the imagery of the pastoral to a real person, the author of the *Lament* had transformed what was previously a *genre* of erotic verse into the more serviceable type of the personal elegy in pastoral form.²

The pastoral fiction, once employed in lamenting a pastoral poet, was easily extended to poets who did not touch on pastoral themes, and then to men who were not poets at all. The time was soon to come when as unpastoral a figure as Julius Cæsar could be dubbed Daphnis and made the subject of a shepherd's lament. Poor poet as he was, the author of the *Lament for Bion* has the credit of having established a permanent literary form.

The influence of the *Lament for Bion* extended farther than merely to establish the use of pastoral imagery in elegies on the death of real persons; many of the particular motives and ideas which characterize the later

¹ Mustard, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff.

² The love motive is not wholly abandoned; we are told, for example, that the art of kissing has died with Bion. The psychological process of transferring to Bion the poet the attributes of a shepherd hero, may be observed in the following lines: "Not of wars, not of tears, but of Pan would he sing, and with herdsmen would he chant, and so singing he tended the herds."

tradition may be traced to this first example of the form. The favorite application of the pastoral treatment continued to be to poets. Thus in later times Sir Philip Sidney, John Keats, Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold,¹ have been mourned in pastoral song. Even when the person lamented is not primarily a poet, the writer is prone to adopt the old convention and refer to him as one of the sweet singers of the vale. Edward King was not a poet; but Milton did not forget that he wrote verse:

"Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew
Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme."

This character of the shepherd as a poet gives rise to another common motive: namely, the fiction that the writer of the elegy is himself the poetical successor of the dead shepherd. In the first idyl of Theocritus Thyrsis, who sings the lament, was, as Daphnis had been before him, the most famous of the rustic poets. The writer of the *Lament for Bion* professes to be heir to his master's song.² This sense of personal relation as a poet to the subject of his song justifies the writer in allowing himself digressions concerning his own poetic achievements and aspirations. In *Lycidas* this tendency appears in the passage about fame, beginning:

"Alas! what boots it with incessant care
To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?"³

In the *Epitaphium Damonis*⁴ the digression is still more personal and explicit.

¹ *Corydon, An Elegy, In Memory of Matthew Arnold and Oxford*, by Reginald Fanshawe, London, 1906.

² "To others didst thou leave thy wealth, to me thy minstrelsy" (l. 97); Lang, p. 201.

³ Ll. 64 ff.

⁴ Ll. 161 ff.

Closely connected with the supposed superiority of the shepherd as a rustic poet, is the fiction that he is the particular darling of all the creatures of the vale, and that they all lament his death. The first suggestion of this motive was undoubtedly found in Theocritus. Not only were the boys and maidens stricken with grief at the loss of Daphnis, but jackals, lions, bulls, and calves bewailed his death. In the *Lament for Bion* everything worth mentioning in nature adds after its fashion to the universal moan. Indeed, the first third of the poem is wholly given over to the agonies of created things. In *Lycidas* we have the motive employed in a passage which may be a direct echo of the *Lament for Bion*:¹

"Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
And all their echoes mourn.
The willows, and the hazel copses green,
Shall now no more be seen
Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays." ²

From this conventional use of the "pathetic fallacy" Milton, it will be observed, gets a very different effect from that of his Greek originals. For he does not dwell on the fiction that the natural objects express grief; he is taken up with the beauty of the things themselves. It is the description that we remember, not the conceit.

That Milton regarded the *Lament for Bion*, together with the first idyl of Theocritus, as a great classical original of the pastoral elegy is clear from the invocation in the *Epitaphium Damonis*:

¹ Cf. Bion, vv. 1 ff. and vv. 27-32. "Thy sudden doom, O Bion, Apollo himself lamented, . . . and Echo in the rocks laments that thou art silent."

² Ll. 39 ff.

"Himeride, Nymphæ (nam vos et Daphnin et Hylan,
Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis)
Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen."¹

Traces of direct imitation, on the other hand, are very slight. In addition to the lines quoted above, the flower passage in *Lycidas* has been cited as echoing the opening lines in the *Lament*.² The resemblance is a shade closer than to the similar passages in Virgil.³

With the *Lament for Bion*, the pastoral elegiac tradition in Greek, at least so far as we can trace it, comes to an end. The pastoral form was on its way toward complete decadence; it seemed on the point of total dissolution when it was revived in a new spirit by Virgil.

¹ The second allusion is to Theocritus XIII, an epyllion on the story of Hylas and Heracles. Strictly speaking the poem is neither a pastoral nor an elegy.

² Mustard, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-2.

³ Mr. Moody in the Cambridge edition of Milton's poems (p. 321) remarks that the *Epitaphium Damonis* is formally an imitation of the *Lament for Bion*. Doubtless Milton had the Greek poem in mind when he wrote his Latin elegy; the similarity of name, as well as the lines quoted above, indicate this. But there is not a single passage in Milton's poem which shows unmistakably the influence of the *Lament for Bion*, while there are many which may be directly traced to Theocritus and Virgil. The two poems are also unlike in form; for Milton has the customary narrative setting as in Theocritus I, whereas the *Lament* does not purport to be sung by a shepherd at all.

III.

The ampler strain in which Virgil bids the Muses sing his prophecy of the approaching millenium¹ is the keynote of a change in the style and spirit of the pastoral which is of the greatest importance in the history of the pastoral elegy. The tone of the Virgilian eclogue is determined not by the lightness and delicate urbanity of Theocritus, nor by the decadent beauty of his successors, but by the essentially dignified and noble genius of Virgil himself. With all his literary indebtedness to the Alexandrians, Virgil was thoroughly Roman; he was by nature an epic poet, and even in the bucolics he strikes the epic note. Corresponding to this change in expression, and intimately related to it, there came with Virgil a change in the nature of the tradition. The Roman poet, unlike his master, had never known a shepherd life like that which Theocritus describes; the peculiar conditions of simplicity and happiness which had existed in Sicily two centuries before could hardly have been found among the peasants of northern Italy at the close of the civil wars. Hence if Virgil was to write pastorals at all, he must either change the setting so as to bring it into accord with the rural life he knew, or he must accept the pastoral setting of his master as a literary convention. But the fiction of a shepherd contest was the very essence of the pastoral as a literary form. Accordingly, Virgil took the latter course, thereby completing the process of which we have seen the beginning in the *Lament for Bion*. From Virgil's time forth, conventionality in setting, ad-

¹ Ec. iv, vv. 1 ff. "Sicilides Musæ, paulo maiora canamus!" etc.

herence to an established literary tradition, is a marked characteristic of the pastoral.

That Virgil should have been willing to accept his pastoral setting ready made is partly explained by the fact that he was not particularly interested in this setting for its own sake. His purpose was first of all stylistic. There is in Virgil no such insight into character and dramatic situation as in the first and second idyls of Theocritus; there is no such variety of pastoral ideas and images. In compensation, the Roman poet has taken infinite pains to secure artistic finish. Each eclogue is a carefully constructed whole, usually beginning with something corresponding to an invocation and progressing to a definite artistic close. The verse is polished almost to a point of over-refinement. But style and form are not by any means Virgil's only interest in the eclogues. The methods of personal reference suggested by the practice of Theocritus and the author of the *Lament for Bion* are extensively employed by Virgil and turned to panegyric purposes. The pastoral was, with Virgil, to a large degree personal and allegorical; in fact, if we take the realistic idyls of Theocritus as the type, the eclogues can hardly be considered as pastorals at all.

This change in the spirit and intention of the pastoral in Virgil's hands was, as I have already remarked, of the greatest importance in the history of the pastoral form. It is not only that Virgil reinstated the pastoral and exemplified it in a language which was to be the literary medium for centuries; he also transformed it into an easy and serviceable instrument for a variety of literary purposes. It was no longer necessary to know anything about country life in order to write good pastorals; it was only necessary to know the pastoral

formulas,—to be able to manipulate the pastoral machinery. Moreover, the pastoral was henceforth to be a garment that would fit all figures. It was a thin and graceful disguise for personal allusion, and especially for panegyric.

What, then, was Virgil's influence on the pastoral elegy? The form already had, as we have seen, a certain grace and pathos to recommend it; it suffered, at least in its later examples, from pettiness, from exaggeration, from erotic sentimentality. In Virgil's hands it was ennobled and made an instrument really worthy of the highest themes. True it is that there were few who could follow Virgil in raising the pastoral by exalted expression; but for those who could, Virgil had shown the way. Of all his successors in the higher pastoral vein, none had more clearly the spirit of the master than John Milton. He echoes the Roman's very lines in bidding his muse rise to the dignity of a loftier theme:

"Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well,
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring;
Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string."¹

If Virgil had never written his eclogues, Milton might yet have sung of the death of King in an epic strain; for such expression was as native to Milton's genius as to Virgil's own; but it is not so likely that he would have chosen the pastoral as the form in which to cast his lament. With this elevation of the tone of the pastoral elegy there comes also an enlargement of its scope. The character of the subjects treated by Virgil, which are in marriage cases serious and far beyond the narrow range of

The id

¹ Milton's 15 ff.; cf. above, p. 417, n. 1.

strictly pastoral interests, brought the pastoral nearer to the elegy proper, in which we naturally expect an element of contemplation and didacticism. It also established a precedent for the introduction into the pastoral elegy of a great variety of miscellaneous material, a practice of which the invective against the clergy in *Lycidas* is a striking example.

Two of the eclogues of Virgil, the fifth and tenth, are deserving of especial consideration. Eclogue x is a love lament in imitation of Theocritus 1; but here the shepherd is no mythical Daphnis but the flesh and blood poet, Cornelius Gallus, whose disappointment in love is presumably an actual fact. The poem is conventional in imagery, but sincere in feeling and elevated in tone. It begins with an invocation of Arethusa.¹ There follows a passage lamenting the absence of the nymphs from their accustomed haunts; then comes the inevitable lament for nature, "Illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricæ."² The shepherds, Apollo and Pan, come to offer their consolation. At length, as in Theocritus 1, Gallus himself bewails his misfortune, struggles for a time against fate, then yields. The poem concludes with eight lines in the regular style of the Virgilian close.

In general outline this poem resembles *Lycidas* much more closely than any other of the poems of Virgil or Theocritus. In both we have an invocation at the beginning but no mention of the shepherd singer until the end; in both the motive of a procession of mourners is employed; both poems close with eight lines, very similar in spirit, referring to the end of day and the departure

¹ Cf. *Lycidas*, l. 85.

² I have used the Clarendon Press text of Virgil, rec. F. A. J. Arzels, Oxford, 1900.

of the shepherd.¹ In addition to these general resemblances there are a few detailed borrowings.²

"Pauca meo Gallo

Carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo" (vv. 2-3).

"Who would not sing for Lycidas?" (l. 81).

"Venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore" (v. 24).

"Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge" (ll. 103-4).

"Sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos,
Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam" (vv. 4-5).

"So may some gentle muse" etc. (ll. 19 ff.).

Virgil's fifth eclogue marks a step in advance in the development of pastoral elegy; for here we have for the first time a lament for a great man who was not a poet and who appears, not in his own person, but disguised under a pastoral name. The Daphnis of the fifth eclogue is in all likelihood Julius Cæsar.³ Reference is apparently made to his reputed descent from Venus, to his introduction into Rome of the Bacchic rites, and lastly to his apotheosis. The setting is the familiar dialogue of Theocritus I. Two shepherds, Menalcas and Mopsus, meet and sing together the death of Daphnis. Mopsus tells of the sorrows of nature for the shepherd's fate: the nymphs wept; lions, mountains, and forests are said to

¹The general resemblance between these two concluding passages, and several of the parallels quoted below, were first suggested to me by Professor Rand.

²There are several echoes of Eclogue x in the *Epitaphium Damonis*; cf. Ec. x, vv. 55-68 with *Ep. Dam.* vv. 35-43; also v. 42 with v. 71, v. 8 with v. 73, v. 63 with v. 160.

³The identification goes back to the time of Servius. See Conington's edition of Virgil, I, pp. 59 ff.

have uttered groans. Pales and Apollo have left the fields; darnel and oats grow instead of barley, thistles instead of violets. Scatter flowers over Daphnis's grave and build his tomb. Then Menalcas concludes, addressing Daphnis as a god:

"Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis."

The note of joy, thus introduced by Virgil with reference to the deification of the first Cæsar, is henceforth seldom or never absent from the pastoral elegy. In general, the resemblance between this passage and the end of *Lycidas* is not specific. Christianity has lent a new coloring to the consolation in the later poem. With the last three lines, however, where *Lycidas* is invoked as the "genius of the shore," the case is different. The conception contained in them is more pagan than Christian, and it is hard to believe that they would have appeared in *Lycidas* had not the idea held an important place in this eclogue of Virgil. The uncommon usage of the word "good" as the equivalent of "propitious" seems to rest on the word "bonus" in the Virgilian passage under discussion.¹

The influence of the bucolics on *Lycidas* is by no means confined to the fifth and tenth eclogues. No edition of *Lycidas* has ever given anything like an exhaustive list of the passages in Virgil which Milton either borrowed or imitated. One can never feel sure that one has got

¹ "Sis bonus O felixque tuis!" (v. 65). Cf. also v. 61; "amat bonus otia Daphnis." I owe this point also to Professor Rand. The passages in *Lycidas* and Eclogue v should be compared with the similar one in the *Epitaphium Damonis*. See below, p. 446. The line "Æthera purus habet, pluvium pede reppulit arcum" and the expressions "Dexter ades, placidusque fave" serve to connect the latter with the Virgilian original.

them all; for they extend to the merest minutiae, such as the borrowing of a single word. The beautiful passage in *Lycidas* beginning "Bring the rathe primrose" bears only a general resemblance to the similar flower groupings in the bucolics;¹ Milton is far more imaginative in his description than Virgil. The Roman poet speaks of "pallid violets," "waxen prunes," and "quinces with their tender bloom"; the English, of "cowslips wan that hang the pensive head." The reference to myrtles and laurels at the beginning of *Lycidas*, however, is clearly reminiscent of a line in Eclogue II.² In Eclogue III there is a touch of satire which reminds us of *Lycidas*.³ The moving of natural objects to the song of a shepherd is twice mentioned in Virgil;⁴ so, too, Milton's "smooth sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds"⁵ is an echo of Virgil's "hic viridis tenera prætexit harundine ripas Mincius."⁶ The phrase "Plucked my trembling ear," used of the admonition of Phœbus, is borrowed from Eclogue VI. The beginning of the passage on fame, "Were it not better done as others use, To sport with Amarillis in the shade," is evidently modelled on Virgil II. 14-5: "Nonne fuit satius tristis Amaryllidis iras Atque superba pati fastidia."⁷

¹ Cf. Ec. IV, 19 ff.; Ec. V, 35-40; *Æneid* VI, 883-4; cf. also above, p. 416.

² "Et vos, O lauri, carpam, et te, proxima myrte" (v. 54). "Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more, Ye myrtles brown" (l. 1 ff.).

³ "Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas

Stidenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?" (vv. 26-7).

"Grate on your scrannel pipes of wretched straw" (l. 124).

⁴ Ec. VI, vv. 27-28 (directly imitated in *Lycidas*, ll. 33-35); and Ec. VIII, v. 4.

⁵ *Lycidas*, l. 86, quoted below, p. 424.

⁶ Ec. VII, vv. 12-13.

⁷ Two further parallels might be given: Ec. I, 2, "musam meditaris;" cf. *Lycidas*, l. 66, "strictly meditate the thankless muse." Ec. I, 84, "Maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ;" cf. *Lycidas*, l. 190, "And now the sun had stretched out all the hills."

In trying to appraise the relative influence of Theocritus (including the *Lament for Bion*) and Virgil on Milton's pastoral style, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the Greek muse, as the first inspirer of pastoral verse, was naturally regarded as the more original and the more authentic. In *Lycidas* both the Greek and Roman pastoralists are invoked together:

"O fountain Arethuse and thou honored flood,
Smooth sliding Mincius crowned with vocal reeds."

But *Lycidas* is called a "Doric lay," and after the church digression, Milton bids the "Sicilian Muse" return. So, too, in the *Epitaphium* it is the "Himerides Nymphæ" who are invoked. On the other hand, as we have seen, the direct reminiscences of Theocritus in *Lycidas* are few, while those of Virgil are many. The latter passages, too, have been more completely assimilated; the Virgilian phrases are part and parcel of the style. It seems probable, therefore, that though Milton honored the Sicilian as his original and consciously incorporated some of his motives, he turned to Virgil with greater familiarity. It was the Virgilian rather than the Theocritean phrase which sprang first to his mind when he would express himself in pastoral terms. We may, perhaps, refer the gentler and sweeter passages in *Lycidas* to the flexible and sunny Greek of the author of *Daphnis*; we must certainly attribute the "higher strain," which is most characteristic of the poem, to the influence of him who could sing in pastoral verse—

"uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent
Et liquidi simul ignis."

It is perhaps significant that Milton, in changing from

the harsh tones of invective to strains of pathos and beauty, invokes the presence of the Greek pastoral alone:

"Return, Alpheus; the dread voice is past
That shrunk thy streams; return, Sicilian Muse."

IV.

The paramount importance of the classical examples of the pastoral elegy, not only as establishing the type for future ages, but also as furnishing Milton with his most important models, has led me to dwell on the subject at considerable length. But these poems are not alone sufficient to account for the form of *Lycidas*, nor are they the only elegies to which Milton is indebted for motives, phrases, and minute turns of style. The pastoral elegy was greatly enlarged in scope by the freer treatment of the Middle Ages and Renaissance; it was to a certain degree changed in essence by its contact with Christianity. It remains, therefore, to examine the chief later modifications of the elegiac tradition, and to consider in particular those poems with which Milton seems to show familiarity.

The later Roman pastoral writers, Calpurnius and Nemesian,¹ had but little influence on the pastoral tradition. Their eclogues reveal the tendency inherent in the pastoral as interpreted by Virgil, to become more and more personal and allegorical. The pastoral writers are no longer content to suggest a personal application of the eclogue as a whole; but, following what they believe to have been the practice of their master, they attempt to

¹ *The Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus, and M. Aurelius Nemesianus*, C. H. Keene, London, 1887.

give a meaning to each detail, to make each character in the dialogue represent a definite person. The pastorals of Calpurnius contain no elegy; Nemesian 1, entitled "Epiphunus Melibœi," is a lament after the style of Virgil v, but containing possible reminiscences of Theocritus. The aged Melibœus is probably a real person, but there is no evidence for his identification. It is interesting to observe that the pastoral consolation does not appear in this elegy. Melibœus is said to be worthy of the councils of the gods, but not to have been made one of their number. In the ordinary pagan eclogue such a passage could find no place. Its occurrence in the fifth eclogue of Virgil was due to a special fact connected with the subject of the lament. With the introduction of Christianity into the elegy, the consolation became essential.

The slender stream of pastoral writing which connects the classical eclogues with the bucolic poetry of the Renaissance need detain us but a moment. The renewed tradition owes little if anything to the Middle Ages, but derives its source directly from the classical originals as interpreted by the allegorical method which had been applied to the works of Virgil almost from the start. The pastoral poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance has, however, an interest of its own, and one elegy belonging to this period deserves consideration here as illustrating the trend of the form in Christian hands, and as anticipating, if it did not suggest, certain important later developments. The poem is a lament for Adalhard, Abbot of old and new Corbeil, and was written by Paschasius Radbertus.¹ Two maidens, Galatea and Fillis, who prove

¹ *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica: Poetæ Latini*, Vol. III, rec. Traube, pp. 45 ff. I owe my acquaintance with this poem to Professor Rand.

to be personifications of the two monasteries, mourn for their abbot in alternate strains; as usual in the Carolingian eclogue, the writer is interested rather in the content than in the form. The pastoral idea had in it little to attract the writers of the circle of Charles, but fortified as they were with the allegorical interpretation of Virgil, they saw in the eclogue a convenient form for the expression of a wide variety of non-pastoral ideas. The pastoral setting tends constantly to fall away from the skeleton of the dialogue. Radbertus, in the poem under discussion, has not gone so far as to desert entirely the Virgilian model, but he has dealt freely with the form, and by introducing into his poem several new features has taken a further step in the progressive widening of the scope of the pastoral elegy. Chief among these features are the following: (1) extended praise of the subject of the lament; (2) abundant references to his life and work; (3) an invective against death (vv. 60 ff.); (4) a description of the joys of Paradise. The allusions in the poem to the immortality of the deceased were pretty clearly suggested by Virgil v, but they contain a note of joy and rapture which is new to the pastoral elegy and reminds us forcibly of *Lycidas*. Of particular importance in the history of the pastoral elegy is the confusion, or rather the direct combination of the classical pastoral imagery with the Christian figure of the pastor and his flock, which inevitably took place when the pastoral came to be treated by religious writers. In a Latin eclogue of the fourth century by Severus Sanctus, Christ is introduced as averting a plague from the cattle of a shepherd who worshipped him. In the poem just discussed, the identification of the two kinds of "pastor" and the two kinds of "flock" is clearly

made. The connection thus established between the classical pastoral and the Christian religion served greatly to extend the utility and scope of the pastoral form. It opened the way, in the eclogue, for the treatment of matters ecclesiastical, and rendered the pastoral elegy as appropriate to the death of a member of the clergy as it was to that of a poet. The significance of these remarks will be clear when we recall the ecclesiastical satire in *Lycidas* and remember that Edward King had intended to enter the church.

It is not to an obscure elegy of the Carolingian Renaissance, however, that we must trace the direct impulse toward the introduction into the pastoral of ecclesiastical material, which was so strong in later times, but to the first users of the form in modern times, Boccaccio¹ and Petrarch.² Adopting the allegorical practices of the Middle Ages and following closely in the supposed footsteps of Virgil, these poets used the pastoral solely as a means of expressing their political, religious, and moral ideas. In Eclogues vi and vii of Petrarch an elaborate allegorical satire against the corruptions of the church is introduced. In Eclogue vi Pamphilus, Saint Peter in pastoral guise, rebukes Mitio, Clement V, who was leading a corrupt life at Avignon, for the ill-keeping of his flocks; in Eclogue vii Epy or France conspires with Mitio, whom she has corrupted. In the introduction of ecclesiastical satire into the pastoral, Petrarch led the way for Mantuan and Marot, who were followed in turn by Spenser. It is the latter poet to whom we naturally look as the predecessor in this respect of Milton. Yet the

¹ *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italarum*, Florence, 1719, Vol. II, pp. 257 ff.

² *Francisci Petrarchæ Poemata Minora*, Milan, 1829. Vol. I.

presence of Saint Peter in the satires of both Milton and Petrarch suggests a connection between the two works,¹ and it is quite possible that Milton had read the Latin Eclogues.

The freedom with which Petrarch and Boccaccio treated the pastoral form in general is observable in their handling of the pastoral elegy, in so far as they entered that field at all. In the two or three poems of Petrarch's which can be called elegies,² the formal lament is subordinate to an elaborate allegorical setting. The classical motives appear, but not in great abundance. Boccaccio's interesting fourteenth eclogue, though it is rather a vision than a lament, is allied to the pastoral elegy by the elaborate description which Olympia, the spirit of Boccaccio's dead daughter, gives of Paradise and her happiness there. I am unable to find traces in any of these poems of direct influence on Milton's *Lycidas*.

¹The temper of the invective is much the same: Pamphilus in Petrarch's poem addresses Mitio thus:

"Furcifer, hic, Mitio? nec te durissima sontem
Sorbet adhuc tellus? Iam iam mirabile nullum est,
Si nemus et messes atque omnia versa retrorsum
Spem lusere meam. Cui proh! Custodia culti
Credita ruris erat? Cui grex pascendus in herba?
Intempestivis perierunt mortibus agni." etc.

²Eclogues II, X, XI. The first of these, an allegory on the death of Robert of Naples (Argus), is generally suggestive of Virgil v. The consolation at the close is untouched by Christian coloring. Eclogue x is not strictly speaking a pastoral elegy, since it contains no formal lament; it is rather the story of the shepherd's loss with incidental expression of his sorrow. The subject of the poet's grief is a cherished laurel (i. e., Petrarch's Laura). His friend bids him solace himself, since the tree has been transplanted to the Elysian Fields! Eclogue xi is a kind of debate between heavenly and earthly consolation. It concludes with two contrasting laments for the dead Galatea.

The practice of making the eclogue a vehicle for didacticism and personal allegory, thus inaugurated by Petrarch and Boccaccio characterizes in a varying degree the work of their successors in the pastoral literature of the Renaissance. The typical representative of this didactic tradition is Giovanni Battista, called Mantuan, whose ten eclogues, connected in a kind of series, and entitled *Adulescentia*,¹ were in the sixteenth century regarded not only as an ideal example of pastoral composition, but as a goodly moral work, more worthy of being put into the hands of boys than the eclogues of Virgil. They furnished the models for a host of later didactic dialogues, including the crude English pastorals of Barclay, and, in a degree, the *Shepherds Calender* of Spenser. The influence of this conception of the eclogue on the pastoral elegy was to open the way still further for the introduction of alien materials, personal, philosophic, and didactic. The long personal digressions in the *Epitaphium Damonis* and *Lycidas*, while they are hardly to be paralleled in any preceding elegy, are easily explicable when we consider that the pastoral eclogue had been used again and again since Petrarch as a means of expressing in a modest disguise the personal aspirations of its author.²

¹ *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italarum*, VI, pp. 184 ff.

² Numerous examples of the Latin elegy may be found in the *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italarum*. I have examined the following: Ludovici Alamanni *Melampus*, I, 450; Petri Angeli Bargæi *Varchius*, I, 211; Balthasaris Castilionii *Alcon*, III, 259; Maphæi Barberini *Julus*, II, 60; Petri Bembi *Leucippi et Alconis Tumulus*, II, 123; Nicolai Parthenii *Thyrsis*, v, 309, *Dorylas*, v, 321 (both of these poems are marine elegies, modelled on Sannazaro's *Phyllis*); M. Hieronymi Vidæ *Daphnis*, XI, 4; Actii Synceri Sannazarii *Phyllis*, VIII, 365. Other elegies may be found in the collection of Latin

But while poets like Mantuan were handling the classical eclogue in what may be called the Mediæval spirit, the Renaissance had seized upon the pastoral for purposes of its own. Elaborating the original pastoral motive of simplicity into the fully developed conception of the golden age, the pastoral writers of the Renaissance soon found a wider field for their activity. The new wine of Arcadianism could by no means be contained in the old bottles of the classical eclogue form; and the pastoral idea invaded the realms of the drama and the prose romance. These developments were, to be sure, reserved for the vernacular; but the renewed interest in the pastoral setting for its own sake had its influence, too, on the more conservative Latin eclogue, bringing about a more consistent employment of the pastoral machinery and a closer adherence to the original form. Especially important was the effect of the rediscovery of Theocritus, whose idyls, unlike the bucolics of Virgil, furnished models in which the interest was purely pastoral. It was no longer felt as essential, though it was still common, to conceal an elaborate idea beneath the "cortex" of the eclogue.¹

From this renewed tendency to seek classical models, the pastoral elegy was not entirely exempt; the laments of the later humanistic writers are generally characterized by excessive conventionality and the absence of real grief. The *Lament for Bion* furnished an abundance of new motives, which were repeated *ad nauseam*. The

bucolic verse entitled, "En habes Lector Bucolicorum Autores xxxviii," etc., Basel, Johannes Oporinus, 1546. I have not had access to this work.

¹ For a general account of the pastoral literature of the Renaissance, especially Italian and English, see W. W. Greg's extensive work, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, Oxford, 1906.

interest of the pastoral poet was apt to be fully as much in the spectacle of the woeful shepherd and in the propriety of his pastoral language as in the substance of his lament. Nevertheless, the form remained of necessity personal, and might at any time in the hands of an individual poet be expanded to include new elements growing out of special circumstances connected with the subject of the elegy or his personal relation to the writer.

Among the few Latin elegies which are, like the *Epitaphium Damonis* and *Lycidas*, the expression of personal feeling, restrained through artistic combination with the conventional elements of the form, is Castiglione's *Alcon*.¹ The poem is especially interesting for the present discussion because of its emphasis in pastoral terms of the friendship existing between the dead shepherd and the singer of the lament. "We lived together from tender years," the shepherd sings; "we bore together heat and cold, nights and days; we fed our kine together. These flocks of mine were thine also." The resemblance between these lines and the passage in *Lycidas* beginning, "For we were nursed upon the self-same hill," is less striking when we consider how narrow the range of pastoral equivalents for friendship must necessarily be. The possibility of a connection between the poems is strengthened, however, by still another resemblance. Castiglione's shepherd regrets the fact that he was absent when *Alcon* died; and says he will build an empty tomb, "nostri solatia luctus." So the singer in *Lycidas*, "to interpose a little ease," fancies that he is decking the tomb of *Lycidas*. There follows in *Alcon* a flower passage like that in *Lycidas*.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

The only other Latin elegy of the Renaissance which has, so far as I know, been suggested as having furnished material for *Lycidas*, is Sannazaro's first piscatory eclogue,¹ a lament for the drowned shepherdess Phyllis, put into the mouth of a shepherd named Lycidas. Unlike the majority of the Renaissance elegies this poem is, apparently, pure fiction. It was characteristic of Sannazaro, who wrote the most famous of all the pastoral romances, and made his Latin eclogues an interesting innovation on the old tradition by shifting the scene from the plains of Arcady to the shores of the Bay of Naples, to be interested even when writing an elegy in the pastoral fiction for its own sake. We must look, then, in the poem, not so much for personal feeling as for a beautiful and appropriate handling of the old material. What must have attracted Milton to this poem, if he did indeed know it, is its felicity of style, and the circumstance that the lament is for one who had met death by drowning. The closest parallel to *Lycidas* is to be found in the passage in the Latin work in which the shepherd hails the departed spirit wherever it may be and bids it look towards its former home:

"At tu, sive altum felix colis æthera, seu iam
Elysios inter manes cœtusque verendos
Lethæos, sequeris per stagna liquentia pisces;
Seu legis æternos formosa pollice flores,
.
Aspice nos, mitisque veni. Tu numen aquarum
Semper eris; semper lætum piscantibus omen."²

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Vv. 91 ff. The passage is imitated in the close of the pastoral lament by Nicholas Parthenius, *loc. cit.* After declaring that Thyrsis is following the happy fishes in Elysium, "felicior ipse," Mopsus addresses him as a god:

"O Corydon, Deus ille, altarum et numen aquarum;
Sis felix faustusque tuis."

In *Lycidas*, it will be remembered, the shepherd after speculating where the body of his friend may be,

“Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,” etc.,

bids his spirit “look homeward.” Later he invokes Lycidas not merely as a protecting spirit, as in Virgil’s fifth eclogue, but specifically as the “genius of the shore,” and that in words almost identical with those used by Sannazaro:

“Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
To all that wander in that perilous flood.”

The lines in *Lycidas* following that quoted above,

“Where thou perhaps, under the whelming tide,
Visit’st the bottom of the monstrous world,”

may perhaps have been suggested by an earlier passage in Sannazaro’s poem, in which the shepherd declares that he will wander through and over the sea, amidst its monsters.¹ It is interesting to note, too, that Sannazaro as well as Milton mentions the name of the not very familiar nymph, Panope.² These resemblances are too striking to be the result of accident.³ Sannazaro’s eclogues were among the best known of the Latin pastorals

¹ Vv. 72-75.

² She is mentioned twice by Virgil: *Æneid* v, 240 and 825.

³ Nevertheless Milton’s debt to Sannazaro is comparatively slight. Such a sweeping statement as the following from the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Sub King, Edward) wholly disregards the existence of a conventional elegiac type: “Milton probably modelled his poem after an Italian (*sic*) eclogue entitled, ‘Phyllis,’ in which Phyllis’ death is bemoaned by a shepherd named Lycidas.”

of the Renaissance, and it is natural that Milton should have read them.¹

From the new vernacular developments of the pastoral, the pastoral elegy in the stricter sense remained apart. Lovers' laments exist in the Arcadian literature of the Renaissance in abundance; laments for the death of imaginary shepherds may occasionally be found; but the renewed interest in the pastoral idea for its own sake, which is predominant in the romances of Sannazaro, Montemajor, and Sidney, excluded the lament for a real person. Such belong to the didactic and classical tradition of the eclogue, and when serious elegies came to be written in the vernacular they adhered more closely to the original forms. Even in the case of the fictitious elegy, the influence of the classical conventions remained strong. Eclogue xi, in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, for example, is an almost slavish imitation of the *Lament for Bion*, with the addition of the inevitable consolation. Eclogue v² in the same work is, to be sure, composed in an elaborate lyric stanza rather than in the *terza rima*, which was the common measure for the didactic eclogue in Italian; but even in this poem there is hardly a motive which is not derived from the *Lament for Bion* or from the fifth eclogue of Virgil.

Of the vernacular elegies which preceded *Lycidas*, other than those in English, very little need be said. In general they conform to the type established by the Latin

¹ The influence of Sannazaro may be traced in England in Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eglogues*, which were published only four years before *Lycidas*.

² "Ergasto sovra la sepultura;" cf. also Ronsard, Ec. vi, "Sur la mort de Marguerite de France," *Œuvres complètes* . . . par M. Prosper Blanchemain, Paris, 1860, t. iv, p. 22; and Spenser's November eclogue in the *Shepherds Calender*.

works and depend in large measure on the classics for their pastoral and elegiac motives. The process of transplanting and naturalizing the elegy was not, however, entirely without its effect. Conformably to the spirit and genius of the Renaissance, and to its freer conception of the pastoral, the elegies of the vernacular are somewhat richer in coloring, somewhat more prone to the use of fanciful ornament, than are the classical representatives of the form. The adoption of rhyme and in some cases of a less regular measure made possible a more effective handling of the music of the dirge with its changing keys. The tendency of the didactic Latin pastoral to make the rustic setting merely perfunctory, as in the case of Mantuan, was somewhat checked; the vernacular elegies have rather more of the pastoral atmosphere and of the original grace of the pastoral imagery. On the other hand, the vernacular elegy was even freer than the Latin in its admission of personal references and digression. Ronsard's elegy on the death of Henry II,¹ though sung by a fictitious shepherd in the course of an elaborate pastoral contest, contains references to Henry's deeds under the slightest veil of pastoral imagery:

"La sera ton Janot, qui chantera tes faits,
 Tes guerres, tes combats, tes ennemis desfaits,
 Et tout ce que ta main d'invincible puissance
 Osa pour redresser la houlette de France."

Deserving of particular mention among the French elegies, as the original of Spenser's November eclogue, is Marot's lament for Louise de Savoy.² The poem re-

¹ Ronsard, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² *Œuvres Complètes de Clément Marot*, par B. Saint-Marc. Paris, 1879, I, pp. 485 ff.

semples *Lycidas* in having no one of the great classical elegies as its particular model, but employing motives from them all and handling these motives with unusual freedom. Notwithstanding the fact that Marot takes care in general to preserve the genuine pastoral mood, the poem is filled with personal allusions. We are told, for example, how "Bergère Loyse" used to lecture her shepherdesses (the maids of honor?) on the sin of indolence; and how they would straightway betake themselves, one to her needle, another to planting her garden, another to feeding doves. After a description of the happy state of the blessed spirit, which may have influenced Milton through Spenser, we have a flower passage, interesting as showing how this classical motive was inevitably elaborated and colored in the vernacular. One stanza may be quoted.

"Passeveloux de pourpre colorez,
Lavande franche, œilletz de couleur vive,
Aubepins blanc, aubepins azurez,
Et toutes fleurs de grand beauté nayfve."

The influence of the Renaissance pastoral in Italian and French may in a general way be traced in *Lycidas*; but it is improbable that Milton owes a special debt to any one of the Continental writers. He must of course have read the great dramas of Tasso and Guarini and the romance of Sannazaro;¹ he probably knew many of the

¹ Eclogue v in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* contains a passage which Milton may have had in mind when he wrote the concluding lines of *Lycidas*:

"Altri monti, altri piani,
Altri boschi e rivi
Vedi nel cielo, e piu novelli fiori."

Cf. *Lycidas*, ll. 174-5:

elegies. It is not surprising, however, if few of the latter impressed themselves upon his memory. Samuel Johnson, in his criticism of *Lycidas*, remarks that Milton owed the peculiar metrical structure of his poem to the Italians. This seems entirely probable. The irregular introduction of short lines and the use of an irregular rhyme scheme are characteristic of the choruses of the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*, and they occur but rarely, if at all, in English poetry before *Lycidas*. But what Milton owes to the specifically Renaissance developments of the pastoral he derived not so much from the Italian and French direct as through the pastoral tradition of his native land.¹

V.

First among the English pastorals in importance, and practically first in time, stands the *Shepherds Calender* of Spenser, published anonymously in 1579. The earlier attempts of Barclay and Googe were by that time forgotten, and Spenser regarded himself as a pioneer, setting out deliberately, as "E. K." tells us, "to furnish our tongue with this kind wherein it faulteth." From the publication of this work the stream of pastoral writing in English flows on without interruption until the date of

"Where other groves and other streams along,
In nectar pure his oozy locks he laves."

A similar passage occurs in the eclogue of Ronsard, already mentioned:

"Tu vois autres forests, tu vois autres rivages,
Autres plus hauts rochers, autres plus verds bocages,
Autres prez plus herbues," etc.

¹ The vernacular works of Luigi Alemanni, Antonio Ferreira, Jean-Antoine Balf contain pastoral elegies. Others may be found in the pastoral collection of G. Ferrario, *Poesie Pastorali e Rusticali*, Milan, 1808.

the publication of *Lycidas*. Spenser's poem exhibited a striking divergence from the familiar pastoral tradition, and improvement on it. First of all, it combined in an unusual way the two main tendencies of the Renaissance pastoral, that represented by the Latin eclogue and that represented by the various classes of pastoral writing in the vernacular. Spenser drew without discrimination from the works of Mantuan, Sannazaro (both in his Latin eclogues and in his Italian romance), from the French eclogues of Marot, and from the classics.¹ He added, moreover, to the didactic elements of the eclogue and to the pretty sentiment of the Arcadian pastoral, a freshness of interest in rustic life and a lyric quality which are peculiarly Elizabethan and English. The eclogues of Spenser have little of the epic sweep of Virgil; they have rather the qualities of gentleness, grace, and rustic charm which are characteristic of Theocritus and are more congenial to the true pastoral.

The most important of Spenser's innovations in the pastoral was his introduction of artistic unity into a series of eclogues. Three of the eclogues² deal with progressive stages in Colin's love, and the moods of the poems change with the changing year. Now the story thus narrated is melancholy, even tragic, and the prevailing tone of the series, notwithstanding the fact that single eclogues are light-hearted or even humorous, is one of gloom. The poems in which Colin gives expression to his grief and despair are particularly mournful; they produce essentially the same effect as the first and second idyls of Theocritus, and are thus closely allied with the

¹ See O. Reissert, *Spenser und die frühere Bukolik*, *Anglia* ix, p. 205.

² January, June, December; Colin's hard case is also discussed by Hobbinol in the April eclogue.

pastoral elegy. The series contains, moreover, one formal elegy, a lament "for some maiden of great blood, whom he, the author, calleth Dido." The poem, which is modelled closely on Marot's lament for Louise de Savoy, forms a striking contrast in spirit and style with *Lycidas*. The dominant characteristics of the earlier poet's pastoral style were such as tended to emphasize the very qualities which pastoralism lends to the elegy, a grace and charm which relieve the sad theme and make grief more tolerable by surrounding it with images of beauty. The elaborate lyric stanza in which the poem is written gives an effect far different from the irregular versification of *Lycidas*, which is hardly lyric at all. The fact that Spenser adopts the form of his eclogue with little modification from Marot minimizes the personal element in the elegy.

Less conventional and richer in personal allusion but equally in contrast with *Lycidas* in tone, is Spenser's *Astrophel*, one of the numerous pastoral elegies on the death of Sir Philip Sidney. The prevailing note of gentleness is struck in the opening stanza of lament:—

"A gentle shepherd borne in Arcady,
Of gentlest race that ever shepherd bore,
About the grassie bancks of Hæmony
Did keep his sheep, his little stock and store.
Full carefully he kept them day and night,
In fairest fields; and Astrophel he hight."

The spirit of the closing lines of *Lycidas* has, to be sure, much in common with the above-quoted passage; but in general the later poem strikes a higher note than any heard in Spenser's pastorals. For a parallel in the pastoral to the loftiness of Milton's style we must go not to

the *Shepherds Calender* nor to any English poem, but to the eclogues of Virgil.

Yet Spenser too had his share in supplying the pastoral material of *Lycidas*. Three poems in the *Shepherds Calender*, the May, July, and September eclogues, contain ecclesiastical satire; and one passage in the first of these bears a marked resemblance to the invective in *Lycidas*.¹ That Milton found in Spenser the best and nearest precedent for the introduction of such material into the elegy can hardly be doubted. He may also have found there a precedent for bringing in allusions to his own poetic aspirations. The October eclogue sets forth "the perfect patern of a poet, which, finding no maintenance of his state and studies, complaineth of the contempt of poetry, and the causes thereof." Cuddie, the disheartened bard, laments thus to his friend Piers:

"The dapper ditties that I wont devise,
To feede youthes fancie, and the flocking fry,
Delighten much: what I the bett forthy?
They han the pleasure, I a sclender prise:
I beate the bush, the byrdes to them do flye:
What good thereof to Cuddie can arise?"

¹ May, ll. 38 ff.:—

"Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they, letting their sheepe runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton merriment.
.
.
.
But they been hyred for little pay
Of other, that caren as little as they
What falleth the flocke, so they han the fleece
.
.
.
I muse what account both these will make
.
.
.
When great Pan account of sheperdes shall aske."

Cf. *Lycidas*, ll. 113 ff.

And Piers replies:

"Cuddie, the prayse is better than the price,
The glory eke much greater than the gain."¹

The familiar passage in *Lycidas* about fame² is prompted by the same feeling of the uselessness of poetic endeavor, and it contains a very similar turn of thought:

"'But not the praise,'
Phœbus replied, 'and touched my trembling ears.'"

The consolation in *Lycidas* resembles the close of the November eclogue to a marked degree; the parallels are, to be sure, little closer than in some of the other Christian elegies; but it is natural to refer the passage particularly to Spenser, from whom, aside from the classics, Milton would have been most likely to derive his conception. It seems probable also that the flower passage in *Lycidas* owes something to the lines in the April Eclogue, beginning—

"Bring hether the pincke and purple cullambine,
With gelliflowers;
Bring coronations, and sops in wine,
Worne of paramoures."³

For Milton, like Spenser, adds to the conventional enumeration a considerable amount of fanciful description:—

"Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
The tufted crowe-toe, and pale jessamine,
The white pink, and the ^{ab}may freaked with jet," etc.

The above-mentioned general parallels, together with a

¹ October, ll. 13 ff.

² Ll. 64 ff.

³ Ll. 136 ff.

few detailed reminiscences,¹ are, I believe, sufficient to place Spenser among Milton's direct sources for the pastoral tradition, second only in importance to Virgil.

The vast and multifarious pastoral literature which was written in England between the publication of the *Shepherds Calender* in 1579 and that of *Lycidas* in 1638, did little or nothing to modify the types established by the classics and by the Arcadian and didactic traditions of the Renaissance. In the eclogues and lyrics, the influence of Spenser continued strong, imparting to the English pastoral a healthier and more genuinely rustic tone than that of the sentimental Italian models which were dominant in the drama and romance.² Throughout this literature there was the usual proportion of pastoral elegies on the death of real individuals. A great impulse to this kind of composition was given by the death of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586, an inevitable subject for the pastoral lament. Most important of the tributes to Sid-

¹ Cf. November, ll. 37-8:

"For dead is Dido, dead alas! and drent,
Dido, the greate shepheard his daughter sheene"

and *Lycidas*, ll. 9-10:

"For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer."

For a similar repetition see *Astrophel*, ll. 6-8. The phrase "scorn of homely shepherd's quill" (June, l. 67), seems to be echoed in Milton's "homely slighted shepherd's trade" (*Lycidas*, l. 65).

² The latest account of the formal eclogue in English from the time of Spenser to the middle of the seventeenth century is Dr. H. E. Cory's article, *The Golden Age of the Spenserian Pastoral*, *Publications of the M. L. A.*, xxv, 2. Cf. also Greg. *op. cit.*, and Oskar Sommer, *Erster Versuch über die englische Hirtendichtung*. Marburg, 1888.

ney was the series entitled *Astrophel*,¹ containing the Spenserian elegy already referred to, the *Doleful Lay of Clorinda*, written probably by the Countess of Pembroke, two poems by Lodowick Bryskett, and three non-pastoral laments. The volume contained also a long elegy by Spenser, the *Daphnaïda*, which, though pastoral in imagery and tone, has little relation to the formal elegy, being modelled on Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*. Among the later elegies, William Browne's poem on the death of Mr. Thomas Manwood, the fourth eclogue in the collection entitled *The Shepheard's Pipe*, published in 1614, is frequently referred to as the source or inspiration of *Lycidas*. It is doubtful, however, if a single undoubted borrowing on Milton's part can be established. The poem, like a dozen others, belongs to the general type of *Lycidas*; it differs from the latter elegy, however, in having the narrative introduction, and in being without digressions. The passages which have been quoted in evidence of a connection between the two poems are of little weight in view of the extreme conventionality of the form.²

¹ First published in 1595; most of the poems must have been written shortly after 1586. The series is reprinted in the Cambridge Edition of Spenser, Boston, 1908, pp. 699 ff.

² Mr. W. W. Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 117, remarks that the only resemblance between the two elegies is the fact that the subjects of both were drowned; but Browne's poem contains no allusion to the circumstances of Manwood's death. One of the upholders of a connection between the two poems is Miss Katrina Windscheid, *Die englische Hirtendichtung von 1579-1625*, Halle, 1895. The following is a fair specimen of the parallel passages cited by her in proof:

"Milton: 'But O the heavy change now thou art gone.'

Browne: 'But he is gone; then inward turn your light.

Behold him there; here never shall you more.'"

The most striking resemblance is the closing stanza; but both poets are merely following the conventional Virgilian close.

It is not likely that Milton was much impressed by any of the English elegies beside those of Spenser. Adhering in general to the established tradition, and offering little that was individual in thought or expression, they would, while carrying on the didactic and elegiac tradition to the very date of *Lycidas* and making the eclogue a contemporary type of literature,¹ simply range themselves in his mind with the three or four great examples of the form. Pastoral poetry had a remarkable faculty of holding to the commonplace. It was easy to write pleasingly in the pastoral style; to write in that style a poem that was really great, demanded a genius which could triumph over the restrictions imposed upon it by the fact that it must accept much of its poetry ready made. In all the long history of the pastoral before *Lycidas* there are three or four great names. For later writers their works sum up the pastoral tradition. It is to them that the poet will look for direct inspiration. Theocritus, Virgil, and his own Spenser,—with these Milton felt a kinship of genius; from them, when he chose to write at all in the most conventional of literary forms, he drew both the conventions themselves and the secret of finding his way beyond them into the realms of lofty and original poetry.

Yet *Lycidas* is to a remarkable degree the result of growth; "it gathers within its compass," says Mr. Greg, "as it were, whole centuries of pastoral tradition." The vast assimilative power of Milton had here its greatest opportunity; for the merit of a pastoral consisted not so much in its originality as in its faithful reproduction of

¹ *The Shepherd's Oracle* by Francis Quarles, written a few years before *Lycidas* but not published till 1646, contains an abundance of religious satire.

the type. In one important respect Milton does indeed depart from, or rather greatly extend, the traditional practice: in no previous poem of the kind had the author introduced so many allusions to his own poetic career. The opening passage in *Lycidas*, the digression on fame, and the concluding line, are purely personal; in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, fifteen lines are devoted to a description of Milton's Italian journey and over twenty-five to an account of his poetic projects.¹ The introduction of ecclesiastical satire is also new to the pastoral lament. The other characteristics of *Lycidas* were without exception predetermined by the literary tradition of the pastoral elegy, and even for these Milton had, as we have seen, ample precedent in the pastoral at large.

What, then, shall we say of *Lycidas* as a work of art? Is it the less a perfect whole because it is composite? Does the fact that it is conventional make it any the less original in the highest sense? If we know *Lycidas* well and read it in a fitting mood, we find ourselves forgetting that its pastoral imagery is inherently absurd. The conventions which at first seem so incongruous with the subject, gradually become a matter of course. And when once we have ceased to regard these conventions as anything more than symbols, we find them no longer de-

¹ Vv. 125 ff. and 155 ff. The account in the *Epitaphium* of the former association of the two shepherds is very similar to that in *Lycidas* (ll. 22 ff.). The consolations have some specific resemblances apparently not due to their common original. There is also in the *Epitaphium* one pretty clear reminiscence of the phrasing of *Lycidas*:

Ep. v. 28: "Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro."

Lyc. v. 12: "He must not float upon his watery bier unwept."

In both poems Milton refers to the digression on his own aspirations as being in a higher strain. *Ep.* 160; *Lyc.* 87.

tracting from the beauty of the poem, but forming an essential element of its classic charm. For the supreme beauty of *Lycidas* lies partly in the very fact of its conventionality. Its grief is not of the kind that cries aloud; it soothes and rests us like calm music. For a moment, indeed, we are aroused by an outburst of terrible indignation, but the dread voice is soon past and we sink back again into the tranquil enjoyment which comes from the contemplation of pure beauty, unmarred by any newness of idea, unclouded by overmastering emotion.

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD.

XVIII.—*DER LUTHERISCH PFAFFENNARR.*

Der gůt frum Lutherisch
pfaffen narr/ heisz ich/
Der mich kaufft der lesse mich.

[Holzschnitt.]

DEr Thůmherr vnd drei Priester fragen den narren lieber bistu ein narr vnd retst solche wort/ es dunckt aber vns nitt dz du ein narr seyst/ vnd wir wolten gern wissen wer du werest wann du nenst dich nitt/ vnd du hast vns in dem dritten bůchlin vil gesagt das vns nit gefelt/ vnnd du solt sagen wer die dáschen ráumer seyen/ ob es die Thůmherren weren oder die Priester/ darmit das man erkennen kint wer die selbigen weren domit das der Adel vnd die Reichstet nit die vnrechten angriffen/ der nar/ antwurt jn ich bin der welt narr/ vnd vnder wirff mich allem Adel geistlich vnd weltlich/ vnd ich bin ein gůtter Luther vnd fůrcht kein feůr wie wol ich meinen namen nit darff hin zů setzen/ so find ich doch nit das ich mich selv oder meinen brůder verrotten soll/ wann die garn seind gestůlt vnd die hund lauffen gantz frey/ vnd die jáger haben das horn schon geblossen/ vnd warten alle tag vff vnsz/ wann wir in dz garn schnurren/ das sie vns vmb das leben bringen/ wann wir haben nit vil weld dz wir vns verbergen kůnden/ ich hoff mein brůder der Luther/ vnd der von Hutten die haben einen garten geseigt der wirt dick vff gon von boumen/ darin werden gepflantzt vil vnd mancherley blůmen/ vnd wol geziert mit wissen gilgen vnnd die engel die werden den garten zeynen/ vnd der Luther vnd alle Lutherischen brůder die werden darin fliehen vnnd werden mit jnen nemen alle geistlichen vnnd weltlichen fůrsten die dem

Christlichen glauben vnd der worheit wellen helffen/ vnd allen frummen Thûmherren die vom Adel gestiftt seind/ vnd die in jre eltern gestiftt haben von des fridens wegen/ wie wol die selbig stiftung euch oft geschwecht sein worden/ von denen die gern vil lehen haben vnd vil pfriend die selbigen begeren nicht in disen garten/ wann Christus ward darinen/ wann sie fragten nit dornoch das alle tag zwen thûmherren stirben in des Bopsts monat vnd im die ein pfründ würd vnd dem Bopst die ander ich wolt geren wissen wo gott sant Peter hett erlaubt das er der Fürsten land sol erben noch jrem tod/ vnd was der Adel gestiftt hat/ dz hatt der Bopst wol halb geerbt/ vnd des Bopsts monet hats alsz gefressen vnd frist also schier alle pfriend hinweck vnd wen wir lang stiftten vnd zû tragen/ so kumpt des Bopsts monat vnd friszt es alles hinweg. wie kumpt es dz der adel keinen Rômischen pfaffen erbt/ vnd das der Rômisch stûl alle lehen erbt die der adel stifttet/ vnd er kan nit gnûgsam stiftten. Darumb lob ich das Reich die haben dz regiment am lengsten behalten vnd hett darob gehalten/ es ist jn ouch sur worden vnd sein ouch ein teil darob gestorben. Do der pfarrer von Nûrenberg zû Kôllen starb/ do lieff sich der Nûrnberger bot zû tod/ darmit das der bopst vnd sein gewalt nit vorkemen dz jnen die pfarr zû sant Sebolt wer worden/ vnd hetten sys ein mol erschnapet so wer sie jn alle mol bliben/ vnd dz wolt gott nit haben. Dorumb halff er dem botten dz er ee gen Nûrnberg kam dann des bopst bot/ vnd wer jn die pfründ worden so hetten die pfaffen nit boszheit gnûgsam kûnden treiben/ also regierens die vonn Nûrnberg wie vnd sie wôllen mit den priestern/ ich glaub aber dz der Bopst dem reich nichts dester hôlder sey/ vnd wenn ers in nott wûrt bringen so wôrt ers yetzund thûn von des Martin Luthers wegen. Dorumb das sie halten ob den Worten gottes/ vnd ich glaub dz gott das von nichten wegen dz reich hatt

genent dann dz sie am aller lengsten das wort gottes werden beschirmen vnd die warheit. Dorumb bit ich gott dz er verleih krafft vnd stercke dem gantzen Römischen reich vnd allen Teütschen fürsten vnd herren/ vnd der keyserlichen maiestat das dz wort gots vnd die warheit nit nidergetruckt werd vnd verbrent/ [A2] sunder das man vszreüt die grossen betler vnd jäger die die hörner führen sant Ruprechts vnd sant Valentins botschafft vnd auch sant Anthonis botschafft vnd sant Bonifacius botschafft das seind des bopsts jäger/ vnd wo einer jnen etwz einredt so verklagen sie jn vor dem bopst/ so müßz man jn denn verprennen/ wann er ist ein ketzer/ vnd glaubt nit an die rotten Seüw die sant Anthoni hatt gemacht/ dz die jähermeister zü essen haben mit jren fäiszten hüren/ vnd mit anderem vnnützem gesund. Vnd darumb müssen wir verprinnen das wir den glauben nit haben wöllen/ wann die bauren glaubens alles wz sie jn fürhalten/ aber ich kans gar nit glauben dz es göttlich sey vnd solt ich yemer verprennen/ aber ich glaub wann man die Pfaffen vnd jäger ausz dem land jaget vnd behielten vnser pfründ vnd vnser gelt/ és wer vil besser man hencket sie an die böm/ wann sie beraubend alle land/ vnnd nemen wasz dorin ist/ hatt man nit gelt so nemens kesz/ haben sie nit kesz so nemen sie flalsch/ haben sie nit flalsch so nemen sie eyer/ haben sie nit eyer so nemen sie korn/ wann jr heylig friszt alles vnd hett er also seer gefressen wil jn der bildschnitzer geschitten het vnd gemartert/ vnd der moler beschissen/ so het er jnen die spen gar gefressen/ die man von jn gehauen hatt/ bisz er ein marterer worden ist/ vnd jn der moler hipsch gemacht hatt/ vnd mich wundert dz er die farb nit auch gefressen hat/ vnd es deücht mich vil besser sein/ wan man die fressenden heyligen ausz dem land trib/ vnd dieneten gott vnnd seinen heyligen/ die in dem hymel seind die nicht essen/ das sie gott für vns bitten dz er vns auff thet

vnser gesicht/ das mir von solchem irthumb liessen/ wann es darff kein heylich keins gelts/ vnd solten Fürsten vnd herren/ sollich land bescheisser nit im land lassen/ wann sie bescheissen land vnd leüt. Wann ein sollicher streicher vsz geet/ so geet ein münich ein vnnd streicht eben als seer mit seiner mesz/ vnd mit seiner mettin vnd verkaufft sy/ er meint aber die mesz vnd die metten die er zû nacht bey einer schönen frauwen hatt gelesen/ die git er den bauren für jr kesz vnnd eyer/ haben sye gnüg doran ich sichs gern/ vnd die schatzung die würt alle tag vnder dem armen volck/ vnd sie sprechen sie sollen jn geben/ vnd sie seiens jn schuldig/ wann sie miessen tag vnnd nacht für sie betten vnd fasten/ vnd mit sollichen verlornen Worten schetzen sie vom volck alles dz/ das sie haben/ vnd mich wundert wie sie also feintlich liegen mügen/ wann sein frâind haben jn thon in das Closter/ vnnd ein Pfaffen vsz jn gemacht von faulkeyt wegen/ vnd von fressens wegen/ vnnd er spricht gott hab jn daher gesetzt/ das sie für vns betten sollen/ warumb bitten sie dann vns/ das mir am suntag gen kirchen sollen gon/ vnd sollen erfüllen dz mir die gantzen wochen versumpt haben/ wenn dann jr für vns gebetten habt die gantzen wochen vonn des almûsen wegen/ warumb soll dann ich erfüllen am suntag was ich die wochen versumpt hab/ vnnd sie lernen vns am suntag wir sollen gott lieb haben von gantzem hertzen sagt mir jr Pfaffen, so dan die gelt prediger sind schuldig/ gott lieb zû haben von gantzem hertzen/ vnnd jren nächsten als sich selber wie künden sie dann gott lieb haben für mich vnd meinen nechsten/ wer hatt dann gott lieb für sie/ ich glaub aber dz nicht sein dann dâschen raumer vnd verfieren vns. vnd ich glaub nit das einer gott lieb kûnd haben für mich/ wann sie fieren vns mit denen Worten vnd leren in die hell vnd wer selig wil werden der muß got selbert dienen wann wer eins fürsten trawant wil werden der muß selber mit im lauffen,

also miessen mir auch alle selbert got dienen/ darumb erman ich alle menschen die gott beschaffen hatt zû der sâligkeit das sie reitten [A3] disz bôsz vnkrut vsz unsern landen vnnd die gnod vmb fieren vnd verkauffen/ vnd die leerer die do predigen dz man gelt geben sol/ die sol man all veriagen/ vnd man solt nit leiden dz einer den andern erbet der kein erb wer vnd das einer bettel an ein kirchen/ so solt man nichts geben man solt vor denen kirchen geben die gott beschaffen hatt/ vnd wer etwz überigs/ wann ir kein armbs mensch mer findt/ wann der mensch ist der tempel gotes/ so môcht er darnoch dem heiligen geist gen Rom vnd den kirchen zû hilff kommen aber wil den vnser arme leüt nottürfftig seind in vnsern landen/ so solten mir nichts hinausz geben/ weder vmb gelt noch vmb genod/ es ist aber dar zû kummen/ das mir den Rômeren ire arme leüt miessen neren vnd miessen jn alle land helffen bezwingen es seien Christen oder Türcken vnd es hilfft vns kein walch in vnseren landen so geben sie vns auch kein gelt vnd solten mir hungers sterben darumb haben mir vnser land schier gar verderben lossen/ vnd fürsten vnd herren haben schier nichts vff zûheben von dem schlechten volck es kert¹ als den pfaffen zû vnd was über beleibt das fressen die münich/ vnd die gnod verkauffer erst gar vnd sie habens als macht vnnd der Bopst hats in erlaubt/ wann sie nur vil gelts bringen so seind sie gut jäger gewest so gitt man jn fünf tzen ablosz mer dann er vor gehabt hatt/ du verkaufst die gnod gottes wie kanstu dann selig werden vmb einen pfenning der Judas der verkaiuffet die genod gottes vmb dreyssig pfennig vnd er wirt verdampt/ vnd vmb vnser pfaffen ist es als wolffel² worden das sie jn geben vmb ein creützer oder vmb ein pfennig/ vnd solche böse verkauffung sollen Fürsten vnd herren nit leiden/ wann die gnod gots

¹ gehört.² wohlfeil.

ist gott selbert als dann Johannes spricht Am anfang war das wort vnd gott ist das wort/ vnd wo gott ist da ist die gnad auch/ vnd sy füren ietzund die gnad gotes im land hin vnd her/ vnd verkauffen sie/ darumb seind sy kauffleut vnd mit der kauffmanschaft bringen sy das gantz erdtrich züwegen/ vnd die kauffleüt die solt man fohen wann sie haben des Adels gütt das der adel lang gemangelt hatt vnd hats gesücht bey denen kauffleüten dies yns tag vnd nacht saur lossen werden sie habens aber nit künden finden/ darumb wer es güt dz man den selbigen ir güt wider kôret/ vnd nem der Adel alles sein land vnd leütt die er gehabt hatt/ vnd triben vsz die münich in den klöstern vnd nemen jre gütter wider an vnd setzten jre kinder doruff vnd liessen die münich einsidel sein vnd in der wüste wonen als sant Johanes gethon hatt vnd vil frumer einsidel/ vnd die closter sind schon gebauwen mit gütten hohen mauren das sich des adels kinder wol darinn behelffen mügen/ wann die dörffer vnd stet vnd buren haben vor alles züm adel gehört/ vnd mit geschafft auffrichtung eüwer eltern haben sie überredet das sie jn die clöster gebauwet haben/ vnnd den frumen adel verderbt haben/ vnnd sie dise gütter überkomen haben mit vngerechtigkeit/ wann es ist nit recht geleret wenn einer ein leret das er seine freünd enterben sol vnd seine kinder/ vnd wenn einer da ligt in seiner letsten nott vnnd sie solten jn weyssen wie er selig soll werden/ so lernen sie jn wie er münch vnd pfaffen schaffen soll das sie züfressen habent/ got geb seine erben betlen oder weinen/ vnnd far die sel hin wo sie wöl wenn nur sie das gütt haben/ vnd sie sprechen vmb ein unreiten heller sie einer verloren/ darumb bit ich den frummen adell dz sie der münich vnd der pfaffen güt widerumb annemen dz sie jren elteren abgenommen habent vnd dem armen volck wann sie werden sunst all verloren als sie selbs sagen/ wann als ich erken so haben sie nit vil dz sie mit recht mügen haben/ darumb gedeüchte es mich

güt sein das sich der adel nit saumet/ vnd nem wider an
 sein gütt vnd machet widerumb das land ein wenig frey so
 künd das volck handeln/ vnnd verbütt das man keinen
 kauffman mer fing vnd keinen krämer der seinen handel
 rechtlich treib/ dann wenn man die gütter gleich auszteilet
 die die münch vnd pfaffen vnrechtlich in haben so hetten
 sie all gnüg vnd liessen der bössen jäger keinen ins land die
 vns jagen noch lieb noch gütt/ vnnd vns wöllen gar ver-
 derben.

¶ Dem strengen vnd Vesten
 Adel zü lieb hatt ge-
 * macht ein narr *
 der gütt Lu-
 therisch ist.

[Bundschuh.]



Der *lutherisch Pfaffennarr* steht im engsten Zusammen-
 hang mit Huttens *Vadiscus*, Luthers *Sendschreiben an den
 Christlichen Adel* und den dadurch hervorgerufenen Gegen-
 schriften von Hieronymus Emser (*Wider das vnchristenliche
 buch Martin Luther Augustiners/ an den Teutschen Adel
 ausgangen*) und Thomas Murner (*An den Groszmechtigsten
 vnd Durchlüchtigsten adel tütscher nation/ das sye den christ-
 lichen glauben beschirmen/ wyder den zerstörer des glau-
 bens christi/ Martinum luther einen verfierer der einfeltigen
 christen*). Huttens *Vadiscus* erschien im April des Jahres
 1520 im Druck. Ein Einfluss dieser Schrift auf Luthers
Sendschreiben an den Adel ist nicht zu leugnen. Luthers
 Schrift kam im August des Jahres 1520 heraus. Thomas
 Murner antwortete ihm darauf noch vor Ende desselben
 Jahres, während Emsers Streitschrift erst im Jahre 1521
 erschien. Der *Pfaffennarr* stammt ebenfalls aus dem Jahre

1521. Der Verfasser nennt sich absichtlich nicht. Der Grund, den er dafür angibt, ist nur wegen des dabei gebrauchten Bildes von der Jagd bemerkenswert. Dies und manches andere würde auf einen Mann von ritterlichem Stande oder auf einen reichen Patrizier als den Verfasser hinweisen. Dass er aber Luther seinen Bruder nennt in der Schrift, lässt mich vermuten, dass die Flugschrift einen Mann von geistlichem Stande zum Verfasser hat.

Dr. lic. Otto Clemen, der Herausgeber der wertvollen Sammlung *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, der mir in der liebenswürdigsten Weise seine Zeit und sein reiches Wissen zur Verfügung stellte, um Drucker resp. Verfasser des *Pfaffennarren* festzustellen, vermutet, dass der *Pfaffennarr* von demselben Verfasser herstamme wie die auf der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek befindliche Flugschrift XVI. xi. 8, 12 woraus er mir die folgende Stelle mitteilt: "Das büchlin hat gemacht der welt n a r r vnd ist gut lutherisch." (So nennt sich auch der Verfasser unserer Schrift auf Blatt A.) "Ich bitte alle, die von Adel geboren sind, dasz sie gut lutherisch seien und der Wahrheit Christi nachfolgen. Freue dich, Hutten, der Schreiner hobelt den Spiess, damit ich dir zu Hilfe kommen will. Und ich will mich nicht säumen, denn ich weiss viele Studenten, die zu Erfurt gewohnt haben, und die ganze Hohe Schule wird dir zu Hilfe kommen und die Christenmenschen werden nicht von uns weichen."

Hieraus gehe hervor, meint Clemen, dass der Verfasser dieser Schrift in Erfurt studiert habe und Hutten und Franz von Sickingen sehr nahe gestanden.

Vielleicht gelingt es Dr. Goetze, Freiburg, der schon manchem ungenannten Verfasser oder Drucker von Flugschriften aus dieser sturmbelegten Zeit durch stilistische oder typographische Untersuchungen auf die Spur gekom-

men ist,¹ auch den Verfasser und Drucker des *Pfaffennarren* festzulegen. Fern von den deutschen Bibliotheken ist es mir natürlich nicht möglich, dergleichen Untersuchungen anzustellen, da das zur Vergleichung notwendige Material uns ja nicht hinreichend zur Verfügung steht. Unsere deutschen Kollegen dürfen aber überzeugt sein, dass wir ihnen für jedes Entgegenkommen und jede Unterstützung auf diesem sprachlich wie kulturgeschichtlich so wichtigen Gebiete der Forschung von Herzen dankbar sind und ihre uneigennützigen Dienste in vollem Masse zu würdigen wissen. Wir bedauern mit Clemen, dass die von ihm mit so grossem Geschicke herausgegebenen *Flugschriften*, von denen uns bereits drei stattliche Bände vorliegen, mit dem vierten Bande bereits zum Abschluss kommen sollen, weil es dem Verleger bei der geringen Auflage auf die Dauer zu schwer wird, pekuniäre Opfer im Dienste der wissenschaftlichen Forschung zu bringen. Hier wäre eine schöne Gelegenheit für unsere Krösusse, der Wissenschaft zu Hilfe zu kommen durch Stiftung eines Fonds zur Herausgabe von Neudrucken oder Facsimiledrucken in grossem Stile aus der Frühzeit des Buchdruckes oder der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Sache ist auf unseren neuphilologischen Versammlungen schon berührt worden, es sollte aber einmal energisch hierfür Propaganda gemacht werden.

Der güt frum lutherisch Pfaffennarr muss reiche Verbreitung gefunden haben. Die Schrift ist auf den meisten grösseren Bibliotheken Deutschlands, die für die Reformationgeschichte in Frage kommen, zu finden.

Panzer beschreibt sie in den *Annalen* II, 46, wo er zwei Drucke 1228 und 1229 aufführt. Graesse erwähnt die

¹ Vgl. Goetze, *P. B. B.* 28, 228–236 ; 236–42. *Z. f. d. Ph.* 36, 145–154 ; 37, 66–113 ; 37, 193–206. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* IV, 1 ; V, 1. Clemens *Flugschriften* I, 5, 6. *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1905, 201–215.

Schrift in Band v, 247. Weller in seinem Repertorium führt sogar 4 Nummern des *Pfaffennarren* (1924–1927) auf, die inhaltlich ohne Frage mit einander verwandt sind. Maltzahn bespricht die Schrift in seinem *Bücherschatz* unter No. 423, Kuczynski im *Thesaurus* unter No. 2145.

Panzer, der die Schrift, wie er bemerkt, in seiner Bibliothek hatte, macht merkwürdiger Weise die Anmerkung, dass sie gegen den Adel gerichtet sei wegen Einziehung der geistlichen Güter. Wie er auf den Gedanken gekommen, ist unverständlich, da der ungenannte Verfasser den deutschen Adel auffordert, sich der Kirchen und Klostergüter, die ihren Vorfahren auf dem Totenbette von habsüchtigen und geldgierigen Pfaffen abgeschwätzt worden seien, wieder zu bemächtigen und auf diese Weise der Not und Armut unter dem Adel auf immer ein Ende zu machen, denn es sei wahrscheinlich genug da für alle. Auf der anderen Seite tritt die Schrift aber energisch für die von den Rittern oft hart bedrängte Kaufmannschaft ein, die es sich sauer werden lasse, auf ehrliche Weise ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen. Die, meint der Verfasser, solle man in Zukunft in Ruhe lassen, aber der zu Kaufleuten gewordenen Geistlichkeit, welche mit dem Seelenheil in der schnödesten Weise Wucher treibe, solle man kräftig zu Leibe gehen, denn diese elende Sorte feilschender Pfaffen verdiene wahrlich keine Schonung.

Die Schrift atmet von Anfang bis zu Ende Huttenschen Geist. Das ist auch wohl der Grund, warum Böcking in seiner Ausgabe der Werke Huttens ein Blatt dieser Schrift zum Abdruck bringt in Band III, p. 549–550, Addenda ad Vol. II, ccxxxv. Böcking hat der bei Panzer unter No. 1228 erwähnte Druck vorgelegen, der sprachlich nach Ostmitteldeutschland hinweist, während unser Druck, dem wir folgen, süddeutsches Gepräge trägt. Wenn Böcking richtig abdruckt, so fehlt am Ende von Zeile 20 das Wort *nemen*, das unser Druck richtig hat.

Goedeke hat bereits in seinem *Grundriss* II, 279, 12, 1, Panzers verkehrte Inhaltsangabe des Pfaffennarren richtig gestellt, worauf mich Professor Howard aufmerksam macht. Es heisst dort: " Weitere Ausführung eines 'dritten büechlin,' wer die däschen rawmer seyen, die Geldprediger, deren dem Adel abgenommenes Gut dieser zurücknehmen soll."

Das nationale Empfinden des Verfassers, sein mutiges Eintreten für die Rechte des deutschen Adels sowohl als auch des Bürgerstandes heben ihn hoch empor über die Verfasser zahlreicher anderer Schriften aus dieser Zeit, und dieses dürfte die beste Entschuldigung dafür sein, dass die kleine kampfes- und siegesfrohe Schrift hier aufs neue zum Abdruck gebracht wird. Ich folge dem auf der Herzoglichen Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel befindlichen Exemplar, das sich in dem Sammelbände 131, 2. Th. qt., befindet und das identisch sein dürfte mit dem bei Panzer unter No. 1229 beschriebenen. In demselben Bande befindet sich noch das Titelblatt eines zweiten Druckes, der sich mit Panzers No. 1228 zu decken scheint. Den Beamten der Herzogl. Bibliothek verfehle ich nicht bei dieser Gelegenheit von ganzem Herzen zu danken für ihr allezeit bereitwilliges und freundliches Entgegenkommen während der vielen Monate, die ich im letzten Jahre und auch schon früher an dieser durch unsern grossen Lessing geweihten Stätte der Forschung zubringen durfte.

ERNST VOSS.

XIX.—SOME EARLY ITALIAN PARALLELS TO THE LOCUTION *THE SICK MAN OF THE EAST*.

The wide diffusion through Europe of our modern locution *the sick man of the East*¹ is due to circumstances largely factitious. At no time has the epithet been conspicuously just, as those meddling too intimately in Turkish affairs have found to their sorrow. And we shall see herewith that at the beginning of its vogue, a half century ago, it was by no means novel. As a matter of fact, the locution gained its foothold in journalism from a striking diplomatic incident; and it has derived its vitality from that vague hostility, partly religious, partly humanitarian, and largely ill-informed, with which the commercial interests of the Christian Occident have watched Turkish affairs in Armenia and the Asiatic colonies. The expression began to have wide currency in 1854. It seems that early in the previous year the British *chargé d'affaires* in St. Petersburg had a conversation with the Emperor Nicholas regarding Turkish conditions. This talk was ostensibly *en gentleman*, as the phrase went, and should not properly have been reported: in diplomacy, every conversation with a sovereign is in confidence. It is quite possible, however, that the Emperor actually intended thus informally to publish his attitude toward the Porte, without entering into binding declarations or agreements. At any rate, from the correspondence of Sir George Seymour with his home office the matter crept into the public press, much in the following tenor:² Nicholas,

¹ Occasional also in the form of *Europe*. Strictly speaking it means the Ottoman Empire; but a natural popular confusion, arising partly from the influence of cartoonists, applies it to the Sultan.

² See the textual report of Seymour in *Blackwood's*, 1854, p. 494; also Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question*, London, 1897, pp. 290-301. *The*

referring to the bad condition of Turkey, said : "Tenez, nous avons sur les bras un homme malade, un homme gravement malade ; ce sera, je vous le dis franchement, un grand malheur, si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper, surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises." Seymour replied : "Votre Majesté est si gracieuse qu'elle me permettra de lui faire encore une observation. Votre Majesté daignera m'excuser si je lui fais observer que c'est à l'homme généreux et fort de ménager l'homme malade et faible." The Emperor was so pleased with this metaphor that in another conversation some days later he returned to the subject in similar terms : "I am less anxious to know what shall be done with the sick man, than to arrange with England what shall not be done." To Seymour's objection that there was "no reason to think he was dying," Nicholas insisted : "The sick man is dying." This sinister revelation of Russia's attitude, coming at a crisis of public interest in the East, and combined with the undiplomatic language in which it was expressed—partly too with the unconventional manner in which Seymour failed to respect the Emperor's confidence,—assured the incident and the locution wide publicity. The expression, with various modifications of form and connotation, has since been revived at every important moment in Ottoman history.

It was during the wars culminating in the Peace of Carlowitz in 1699 that the Turks first began to show signs of political illness. We know now that their distempers

Reader's Handbook, of Brewer, Philadelphia, 1893, has the date misprinted 1844 (*s. v. Sick*). As an example of the play on the expression in journalism, we may recall *Blackwood's*, 1854, p. 496 : "*L'homme gravement malade* was exhibiting every symptom of convalescence and the only danger to be apprehended was from the Muscovite doctor, who, without being summoned, was preparing to administer his pills." So recently as 1910, a course of lectures in the New York City public schools bore the title : *The Sick Man of Europe*.

were far from being as deeply rooted as their antagonists at that time were disposed to believe. But it is none the less true that the West seized upon the repulses at Vienna and the Venetian conquests to the South as symptoms of Turkey's early demise. So that when, during the negotiations for the Peace of Carlowitz, the Marquis of Ferriol wrote to his master, Louis XIV, in comment on the illness of the Ottoman Empire, he was but reproducing a figure of speech, which already enjoyed considerable popularity.¹ In Venice, particularly, where a glorious fight was being waged for the supremacy of the seas, the progress of the great Inferma's troubles was watched with nervous glee; and the works of many anonymous Venetian scribblers of this period have all the features of a physician's bulletin. A typical satire of this class, and one which gained a certain diffusion, was the *Visita de Spisoli Califa, medico della Turchia moribonda*.² This poem, possibly by Pier Anzolo Zen,³ consists

¹ I am unable to quote the text of Ferriol's letter, to which Professor E. A. Grosvenor, of Amherst College, kindly drew my attention.

² Among the Cicogna manuscripts, Venice, Museo Civico, cod. Correr, 1229, pp. 173-6; cod. Correr, 1086, pp. 878-82. Cod. 1229 attributes the poem to Gian Francesco Busenello, but erroneously, for Busenello died in 1659. A Gian Francesco Busenello was living in Venice at the time this poem was composed; and he likewise wrote verses; but it is with works certainly by the elder poet that the ms. groups our satire. The attribution must therefore apply to him. The assignment to Pier Anzolo Zen is in Cod. 1086.

³ The literary work of this Zeno, which has been entirely forgotten, extended over the second half of the XVIIth century. He celebrated Venetian victories in the *Glorie delle armi venete*, Pinelli, Venezia, 1651, in collaboration with numerous contemporary academicians. In 1693 he contributed similarly to the *Funerali accademici* of Lazaro Ferro, and in 1698 wrote the biography of Marco Contarini, a Venetian *avogador*. His principal work, which places him among the forerunners of that efficient school of empirical critics of literature, Quadrio, Crescimbeni, Mazzuchelli, and Gimma, which flourished in the Settecento, is his *Memoria de Scrittori Veneti patrizii ecclesiastici et secolari*, Venezia, 1662. This book, important to the students of Venetian literature and incidentally of the Seicento, was

of forty-four stanzas in the consecrated quatrain of the Seicento Venetian satirists: hendecasyllabic verses with interior couplet:

1-3.

“ Assalta la Turchia all'improvvisa
 Da una frevassa acuta e incancherla,
 Criava ' Ajuto, aimè, che son spedia!
 Bassà! Regini! Muème de camisa!
 Passava per de là Spisol Califa,
 Miedigo schietto e disinteressao,
 Ch'intrando in casa, messe drento el cao,
 E osservò ben sto muso da melifa.
 Fu pregà da Amurat de visitar
 La povera ammalada, che smanjava
 Per un certo accidente, che alla Drava
 L'altro zorno la fece gomitar.”¹

Expelling everyone from the Seraglio, the doctor insists on a confession of the Inferma's past life, “acciò con dose certa—Purga l'umor che a morte *la* condanna” (St. 4). She admits a very irregular career,—substance in fact for a thousand volumes: to an inordinate desire for power and a greater love of war, she has added an ambition to become “el boggia del cattolichismo.” She has used her generals to amass great plunder, and then cut off their heads to feast at ease on the profits (Sts. 5-11). But her present sufferings are due to her gluttonous wanderings through the East:

given a second and corrected edition in 1774. Cicogna reviews it briefly in the *Bibliografia*, p. 357, and draws from it *passim* in the *Iscrizioni veneziane*. Gian Francesco Busenello was on intimate terms with Zeno, and carried on a poetical correspondence, of which some fragments remain. One deals with a loan of books, giving occasion for jocose reflections; another was prompted by the *succari* sent out on the wedding day of Zeno. Other encomiastic verses, all relating to the Turkish wars of 1680-90, are attributed to Zeno in Cod. 1086, cc. 862-892.

¹ *Frevassa*, 'fever'; for *muème* the MSS. have *mueve*; but the copyists apparently misunderstood even the first words in the line: 'pashas' and 'viceroys' are vocative. *Melifa*, 'strega'; *Amurat* is probably but a generic Turkish name without specific reference. For the allusion to the Drava, see below.

12-13.

“ I desordini po' ch' ho praticao
 No se registrerà secoli intregghi—
 Piena de bon moscatto e vini gregghi,
 De sorbetti, tabacco e de stilao.
 La panza sgionfa come xe un tamburo
 Dal gran magnar frutti de Palestina ;
 E se dormiva i cuchi della China.
 Volevi mo' sentir un bel susurro.”¹

From Chinese and Persian feasts, “el stomego se storse e se resente”; she is burned by Cyprus wine, “bevuo a creppa panza”—by the indigestible mixture of Candia, Canea and Idumea (Sts. 14-17). Spisoli at this point puts on a long face and is sure it is a case “da lasarghe el pelo”; and for her confession is substituted a running diagnosis :

19-21.

“ Qua ghè malinconia — mostrè sto fronte—
 Radicada insei ossi e le meole,
 Quando, a forza de schioppi e de pistole,
 El regno avè chiappao de Negroponte.
 Sta panza sgionfa, per quel che mi penso,
 Ve xe vegnua, quando, con sforzo rio,
 Avè magnao Morea al fio de Dio,
 Robando a Christo un cavedal immenso.
 La castradina della Schiavonia
 Ve mantien el ventricolo roverso ;
 Perchè co prepotenze da perverso,
 La libertà avè cazzà in Galia.”²

Spisoli now inspects the wounds she has received in recent campaigns ; but in his ardor forgets, amusingly, that he is a

¹ *Intregghi* is lacking in the MSS., but the restitution seems obvious. *Stilao*, sc. *vin*: ‘brandy’; *sgionfa*, intransitive: ‘swells’; MSS. *volevimo*. The last two verses mean: “If I couldn’t cause trouble any other way, I would go to China and waken the cuckoos.”

² *Insei*, < Lat. *intus*—*illi*; Ital. *nei*; the correction *intei* suggests itself; but I find *insei* in other MSS. of this period. *Sgionfa*, here the *tronco* participle; possibly likewise in the preceding citation, if we restore è after *panza*. *Castradina*: ‘fattened mutton.’

Turk and becomes the mouthpiece of the Venetian author, gloating over "Coron, Napoli e Sign—Vogando *verso nu tuti a regata*." In the *violina*, he finds remnants of "regni strozzai, imperii guasti e popolazzi spenti." For remedies he prescribes "Lion purgative" and Austrian bleeding; as to diet, strict abstinence from griffin and eagle eggs; and in general, no more toying with lions and "lovi." But there is one remedy more certain than all the rest: simple decapitation. At the very least the climate of Europe is quite impossible; she needs a change of air:

40.

"Per sanarve ghe vuol l'aria nativa,
Dême qua el polso!!! Prima d'andar via—
Ut-re-mi-fa, o povera Turchia,
Vu sè spedia prima d'andar a riva."

In conclusion he instructs the nurse: "Co gha cagao custia ghe trarrà un schioppo":

42-44.

"Andè a chiamar el Bustangì Bassi
Che ve daga dell'erba de siropi;
E se'l cervel ghe va sora dei copi,
Dêghelo in gola, e lassêla cusì.
L'ha mali universali la meschina;
Chi ghe dia su la testa, chi in le gambe;
E se i colpi xe grossi e botte strambe,
La fa assae arrivar a domatina.
Vago via, Sabalcher; Seffà, bon dì!
El mal xe troppo, e no ghè più speranza:
L'è immarcia dalla gran desorbitanza:
Si l'è schiopada!—L'ha volù cusì."¹

¹ The text of the MSS. is corrupt: v. 3: *va* is lacking in the MSS.; in v. 6, they offer *da*, but *dia* alone makes sense: he is prescribing a treatment that will take her "a domatina," the date vaguely set for his next visit; he is not describing the cause of her condition, which has already been exposed thoroughly in the body of the poem. For the meaning of *popolazzi*, some lines above, it is to be noted that *-azzo* is in Venetian most frequently a mere augmentative, without pejorative force.

We may date this poem with considerable definiteness. It is posterior to the battle of the Drava, August 12, 1687, referred to in the first citation (St. 3). This is the latest date among the numerous events of the years 1683–1687 mentioned in the satire.¹ On the other hand, for the *terminus ad quem*, it must be anterior to the death in 1690 of the Duke of Lorraine :

33.

“Prima che cressa e se fassa mortal
El vostro morbo, fève avrir la vena
Da quel bravo cerusico el Lorena,
Che ha per insegna l’aquila imperial.”

It is scarcely credible that Zeno should have omitted reference to two of the most brilliant successes of Venice in this war: the capture of Valona (1688) and of Malvasia (1689–90). We saw also that the battle of the Drava happened “l’altro zorno.” Spisoli’s visit took place therefore certainly between 1687 and 1690; and probably in September or October of 1687.

Most of the themes exploited in the *Visita de Spisoli*, reappear, but more tersely, in another poem, of twenty-three lines, written for a victory of the allies, posterior to the defeat of the Turkish army before Vienna.² This squib lacks the personification of the Empire, but its spirit and thought are of the same inspiration as the satire of Zeno above discussed :

“Turchi si mi no fallo—Vu ghavè una piagheta
Che no la pol sanar Maumet profeta ;
Gnanca el spicier del Gallo—Col so famoso unguento,
Pol varirve dal mal, a quel che sento.

¹ Here they are . Prevesa and Santa Maura, in Morosini’s campaign of 1684 (st. 25); Modon, Coron and Cabamata, 1685 (st. 26); Navarini, 1686 (st. 25); Napoli di Romania, 1686; Lepanto, May, 1687; Corinto, May, 1687; Patras, August 11, 1687 (sts. 25–26).

² Cod. Correr, 1229, p. 199a; also attributed falsely to Busenello.

Cosa donca farèu—Per sanarve del mal,
 Che ve va condusendo all'ospeal?
 La cassia ch'avè tiolto
 No la v'ha fatto ben puoco nè molto.
 So che ghavevi cura—De far in Viena stua
 Ma in fin no l'havè bua!—Nè i salassi ha podesto
 Darve la sanità per vostro resto.
 Zà che niente ve giova—Tolè sto mio consegio :
 Che per vu sarà el meggio
 Andar via dall' Europa assai lontan ;
 Che el proverbio no inganna,
 Che lontananza ogni gran piaga sana." ¹

That these metaphors, in relation to Turkey, had become commonplaces is proved by another madrigal,² of thirteen lines, which shows in part almost textual identity with the preceding :

Contro i Turchi, Madrigale.

"Turchi, per quel che vedo—Vu sè pieni de guai,
 Da una febre continua tormentai ;
 Nè val le medesine :
 Non sa inventar el vostro gran profeta
 Al vostro mal antidoto o ricetta.
 Avè sorbì sciroppi-Cassia avè tiolta a squelle,
 Che v'ha fatto cagar fin le buelle.
 Ma perchè'l Moresini
 Vol dar qualche sollievo al vostro affanno,
 L'ha stimà alfin che bona cosa sia,
 Darve l'ultima soppa in Romania." ³

¹ The *famoso unguento* is doubtless the *unguentum gallicum*, identical with that *unguentum napolitanum*, for which see below ; it was a regular adjunct to the treatment of the *stufa* (*stua*). The reference is to the *entente* between France and the Porte during this period. For parallels to the idea that the allies of France were afflicted with *mal francese*, see also below. *Bua*, Ital. 'avuta.'

² This term is here used in the sense of a short poem, with irregular metre, alternating rhymes with *sciolti*, *tronchi*, and *piani*, and hendecasyllables with *settenari*, etc. Recent studies show that the name *madrigale* was given already in the sixteenth century to *canzoni* of a single strophe, whether meant for music or not. Those here cited may however actually have been used in the humorous parts of melodramas. Those sung on the Venetian stage in the Seicento are full of political references.

³ Cod. Correr, 1193, c. 13a ; anonymous. Also in cod. 1083, c. 565.

From a passage in Cod. Correr, 1086, (pp. 849–853), it would seem that these verses were sufficiently popular to cause a quasi-polemic as to their authorship. There this madrigal is followed by a *Madrigal in risposta del madrigal che prencipia "Turchi per quel che vedo,"* (p. 853a), in which the author, too modest to name himself, yet has his say about those "poeti minchioni" who go about claiming the poem as theirs. To his violent asseveration "Ma digo ben, el madrigal xe mio," another anonymous poet replies: "What difference does it make? The madrigal may be yours, but Romania is ours!" (p. 853b).

The last verse of the stanza printed above is paralleled in a satire addressed

Alla monarchia ottomana, gravemente inferma.

"La monarchia ottomana inferma giace,
 Di mal pericoloso e disperato :
 Quattro son gl'assistenti al grave stato :
 L'imperatore il sangue più vivace
 Dal braccio e da la testa gli ha cavato ;
 Con pillole e bocconi anco ha provato
 Di smorzargli nel cor l'ardente face.
 Gli prepara siropi il muscovita ;
 Corre il polacco entro la spiceria :
 Per meglio proveder a la sua vita
 Il Morosini alfin con cortesia,
 Vedendola di forze sì smarrita,
 Una suppa gl'ha dato in Romania." ¹

Just previous, apparently, to the fall of Malvasia in 1690 were written two sonnets, in which *S'allude a quel proverbio: Bisogna morir co no ghè più ogio in la luse.*² In vv. 12–14 of the first we find: "Xe morta la Turchia: no

¹ Cod. Correr, 1086, p. 831b. The ms. has *cavao* and *provaio*; in v. 9 *contro* for *entro*; *gh'* in the last verse, a Venetianism for *le* in hiatus, i. e., *gl'*, but also generally for *gli*. Cf. vv. 5, 7, 8. For the picture of the watchers at the bedside, compare the German prototypes, mentioned below.

² Cod. Correr, 1086, p. 830.

la vuol scuse la morte. . . El leon v'ha sorbito l'ogio in la luse." In the second, the Inferma is compared to a sick bird, with drooping wings. But the remedy is at hand: "Déghe al miedego la manza," because, "col cazarve un bon siropetto in panza," he has recovered Romania, and from a second dose has every reason to expect an immediate appearance of Malvasia.

As compared with the acceptation of the locution current to-day, these citations present one or two peculiar features. To the Europe of 1854, Turkey was a tottering invalid, awaiting only interment from the powers. Dr. Nicholas was administering his pills, but with a heavy investment at the undertaker's. To the Venetians of Morosini, she was a dyspeptic glutton, obliged after centuries of unchecked voracity to disgorge. The physicians are those, who, by relieving her in succession of her undigested, unassimilated provinces, send her off to Asia on the road to recovery. Further, with the word *royaume* or *empire* or even *Sultan* in mind, the Russian emperor in 1854 made Turkey a sick man; whereas the Italians, thinking of *monarchia* or *Turchia* (for *impero* was associated with Austria, and carried no connotation of tyrannical absolutism), naturally made the epithet feminine. The feature common to both points of view is the element of personification—implied, of course, only, in the verses addressed to the *Turchi*. And it is this characteristic that indicates the real nature of our locution; for it is merely an extension, an improvement, of those personifications of nations and parties which date from great antiquity. In this sense, again, the metaphor of Nicholas was nothing new.

When Cicero, in the first oration against Catiline, likens the Republic to a fever-stricken man, to be relieved not by pampering delicacies but by rigorous severity, he is availing

himself of a very elementary and intelligible figure of speech.¹ And as we advance in the middle ages, such conceptions are facilitated by oriental, Neo-Platonic and Christian influences in literature, which make all sorts of personifications a matter of course. Scarcely any vigor of imagination or novelty is noticeable therefore in tropes such as "Heu me dolores patriæ," with which a monk of the ninth century mourns the destruction of his monastery; or in the "Ploret hunc Europa iam decapitata," of a poet writing in eulogy of Henry II.² But that exceptional power of imagery which made the Lady Philosophy of Boëthius so inspiring to the middle ages, begins to recur in those invocations to Italy as the oppressed and tortured queen or matron, with which Petrarch and Fazio degli Uberti appealed to their country-

¹ *In Catilinam*, I, 12: ". . . periculum autem residebit et erit inclusus penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afficiantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in republica, relevatus istius pœna, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescebit." Machiavelli, steeped as he was in Ciceronianism, doubtless had this passage in mind, when he wrote in *Il Principe*, III: "I Romani feciono in questi casi quello che tutti i principi savi debbon fare; li quali non solamente hanno aver riguardo alli scandoli presenti, ma alli futuri, ed a quelli con ogni industria riparare; perchè prevedendosi discosto, facilmente vi si può rimediare: ma aspettando che ti s'appressino, la medicina non è più a tempo, perchè la malattia è divenuta incurabile; ed interviene di questa come dicono i medici dell'etica, che nel principio suo è facile a curare e difficile a conoscere; ma nel corso del tempo, non l'avendo nel principio conosciuta nè medicata, diventa facile a conoscere e difficile a curare. Così interviene nelle cose dello Stato: perchè conoscendo discosto . . . i mali che nascono in quello, si guariscon presto; ma quando per non gli aver conosciuti, si lascino crescere in modo che ognuno li conosce, non vi è più rimedio." We may here observe that the double use of *male*, for 'evil' and 'sickness' in the Romance vocabulary, makes the transition from the literal to the figurative less abrupt than in English; such tropes and metaphors are in consequence much more frequent and less noteworthy.

² Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, Brockhaus, 1843, pp. 259 and 286.

men. In Saviozzo, Cecchin da Venezia, and Caterina Cornaro, to mention only a few of the numberless examples, the device is already apparent as a rhetorical commonplace, —part of the traditional fund of concept in an imitative literature. But the development of the figure is nurtured not only from literary channels. Mr. Medin has justly explained the special frequency of personification of nations in the Renaissance as a reflex of allegorical painting, where the human, especially the female figure, offered richer possibilities to the artist than the animal symbols of medieval shields. However, for the particular satirical extension with which we are concerned, the animal was quite as suitable as the queen or matron: we have already seen examples of the bedraggled bird in need of the doctor. There was finally another source of constant suggestion in the direction of our figure: the tendency to represent nations in the person of their most conspicuous leader. This is actually present in our modern locution, where, most naturally, we think of the sick Sultan. But there is an early example. In 1440, the Venetian general and humanist Francesco Barbaro, writing from the besieged Brescia, and urging vigorous prosecution of the war against the Visconti, says that "The enemy is in such confusion, that if the head (General Piccinino) should now also fail the sick body, a glorious end could be brought to the war."¹ Here the metaphor is naturally suggested by the fact that the enemy is in reality a single man, Visconti. When we read, finally, in the *Epistole* of Antonio Galateo, a dignified portrayal of "Infelix Italia, levis, inconstans, in sui perniciem ingeniosa,

¹ See Fenigstein, *Leonardo Giustiniani*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, p. 17: "Der Feind sei in solcher Verzweiflung, dass, wenn dem kranken Körper noch das Haupt fehlen würde, ein ruhmvolles Kriegsende erzwungen werden könnte," in paraphrase of Barbaro's letter. Cf. for this passage, the sonnets on Napoleon, cited below.

exterorum amica, et quæ quondam alumna, immo mater pia omnium gentium fuerat, nunc prostituta jacet, discissis vestibus, laniata membris;" or again, in Chapter XXVI of Machiavelli's *Prince*, a picture of Italy, "senza capo, senz'ordine, battuta, spogliata, lacera . . . rimasa come senza vita, aspettante qual possa esser quello che sani le sue ferite . . . e la guarisca da quelle sue piaghe già per il lungo tempo infistolite," we lack only the element of jocose satire, to complete the identity in feeling with our modern locution.¹

Precisely this development was to be introduced, and with great literary excellence, by some of Machiavelli's contemporaries. We have already recalled that in the religious field there was a remarkably well established tradition of personification, especially in didactic literature. It usually appeared in abstractions of virtues or vices, but very early the satiric element manifested itself. So with Nigellus Wireker, the eventful life of the ass Burnellus symbolized

¹ For the reference in this paragraph to Medin, see his *Storia della repubblica di Venezia nella poesia*, Milano, 1904, pp. 19-20. For Saviozzo, cf. Segarizzi, *La poesia di Venezia*, Venice, 1909, p. 19. For other numerous examples, see D'Ancona, *Il concetto dell' unità politica nei poeti italiani*, in his *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1880. On p. 66 is the citation from Galateo's letters, cited after an article by De Sinone. For another casual specimen of Italy with "le membra straiate e morse," see the *Canzone all' Italia*, of Geronimo di Verità, anno 1526, published in *Miscellanea per le nozze Biadego-Bernardelli*, 1896, Verona, p. 187. For satire on animals in the War of the Roses, see Tucker, *Verse satire in England before the Renaissance*, New York, 1908, pp. 44 and 127, and in general the chapter on political satire. Mr. Tucker also provides a discussion of medieval personification. On p. 31 is found the following: "Scarcely existent in the literature of Rome, hardly more so in that of Italy and Spain . . . the political satire is characteristically English."—It is extremely difficult to avoid these harmless and inaccurate generalizations. Certainly if there is one tradition in Italian literature where the thread of originality and spontaneity is unbroken it is precisely in political satire. If the pasquinades are not serious enough, why forget Aretino, or Buratti, or Giusti?

the corruption of twelfth-century monasteries. It is this didactic and ecclesiastical precedent, rather than any particular national aptitude for such satire—as Mr. Herford implies—that explains the prolific career of our figure in the German polemics of the Reformation.¹ In fact, in the development of Thomas Murner's writings, the stages are clear, by which he passes from the medieval didactic personification to his masterly satiric conception *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren*. Goedeke² has indicated the antiquity of the theme which Murner treats in his *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt zu Strassburg, in dem Bad erdicht*. And the *Mühle von Schwindelsheim* carries on the idea in its depiction of the whole world as afflicted with *Schwindel*. The conception of Folly, which Erasmus had exploited so effectively, thus proceeding from the simple abstractions of the *Badenfahrt*, is then ingeniously adapted to Lutheranism itself in the satire *Vom grossen Narren*. The Narr is represented as a dropsic invalid, afflicted with all the evils of the times.³ These evils are various Narren,

¹ To the German phases of the question my attention was kindly directed by Professor W. G. Howard of Harvard University.

² In his edition of the *Narrenbeschwörung*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1879, pp. 31-2.

³ See the summary in the edition of Heinrich Kurz, Zürich, 1848, pp. xxxiv-vii: "Dieser grosse Narr ist aber nichts anderes als die Personifikation der reformatorischen Bestrebungen seiner Zeit Der Narr widersetzt sich der Beschwörung aber er muss sich endlich den mächtigen Worten des Beschwörers fügen. Zuerst kommen aus seinem Haupt die gelehrten Narren, welche die Bibel nach ihrem eigenen Sinne erklären; dann aus seiner Tasche diejenigen, welche nach den Gütern der Kirche lüstern sind; aus seinem Bauch kriechen hierauf die fünfzehn Bundsgenossen hervor, die mit Geist und Gewandtheit persifliert werden. . . . in seinen Schuhen sitzt Bruder Stiefelein (Verfasser mehrerer reformatorischen Schriften); in seiner Brust ist Karsthans verborgen, der durch einen wirksamen Trank zu Tage gefördert wird . . ." For the text, further than the editions cited, see Kürschner, *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Stuttgart, vol. xvii.

who, under the influence of the physic and the incantations of Doctor Murner, are compelled to come forth. But this does not prevent the death of the Gross Narr, who, after some five thousand lines of lashing, "mit alle ehren zu der erden bestediget wird." This idea of Murner is adopted directly some thirty years later by Hans Sachs in *Das Narrenschneiden*: the physician diagnoses in the swollen body an endless series of Narren, which he proceeds to extract from a huge incision, one after the other.¹ Of less pretentious extent but of equal power and influence is Niklas Manuel's *Sendbrieff von der Messkrankheit und jrem letzten willen dem Bapst zukommen*.² Here a Cardinal reports to the Pope the serious illness of the Mass. Deserted by friends and fortune, the venerable lady "hat den handel so schwarz zu hertzen dass sie todtlich kranck ligt." The Pope in great alarm grasps wildly at a remedy, even promising to go to the expense of a *Badenfahrt*, and calls Doctor Heyoho, the *apoteker*, and the "weitberumpten artzet Doctor Johann Rundek" in consultation. The bath they recommend produces a copious perspiration, which, in spite of their hopes, is but the forerunner of death. Whereupon the Mass, sharing the despair of her attendants, proceeds to her last will and testament. Of the year 1526 is another treatment of this theme in *Neuwe Zeitungen von den absterbenden Messen* cited by Mr. Herford, after Röhricht's history of Alsace. And from one or both of these sources, the theme penetrated into England through the work of William Roy and Jerome Barlowe, who were in Germany at the time of the controversies over the Strassburg mass. In fact, their long satire, *Rede me and be not wrothe*, was printed there in 1527-8, but for circulation in England.³ The mass is represented

¹ Ott, *Über Murners Verhältnis zu Geiler*, Bonn, 1895, p. 101.

² In *Das Kloster* of J. Scheible, Stuttgart, 1848, vol. 10, pp. 362-376.

³ Printed in Arber's *English Reprints*, London, 1871, vol. II. The satire has been recently examined by Mr. Tucker in his volume on pre-Renais-

as a lusty old man, far from dying of old age “yf prestes myght have had their will—Withe the helpe of monkes and fryres”; but “sore assauted” he was slain with a two edged sword “that they say was goddis sworde”; and so the holy mass lay dead.

These documents interest us here particularly because both Manuel and Murner had travelled in Italy, and the general interchange of suggestion between Italy and Germany at this time is not slight.¹ Many of the satires of Ulrich von Hutten were actually written on Italian soil. Professor Howard has pointed out that in Hutten’s work also we have relatively frequent examples of our theme. Of these let us cite for illustration the *Epistola ad Maximilianum Cæsarem Italiciæ Ficticia*, of the year 1516,² vv. 196–197. Italy hopefully laments :

“Sic cecidi ut possim surgere lapsa tamen :
Grande quidem vulnus, sed adhuc medicabile nostrum est.”

In the *Responsio Maximiliani Augusti*, indited by Eobanus Hessus, vv. 7–10, the theme is resumed :

“Scribis ut his curis vix possis ægra levare,
Et disperata pene salute mori.
Si qua fuit quam nos velles misisse salutem,
Despice : nunc primum est illa ferenda tibi.”

Vv. 328–330 ; 333–335.

“At tu passa graves motus, iam pene coloris
Indiga, iam morbis pallida, iamque senex,

sance satire in England, already cited ; and before him by Herford in his *Studies in the literary relations of England and Germany*, Cambridge, 1886.

¹ If the *Baldus* of Folengo is inspired in part by the Folly of Erasmus, his *Chaos del Triperuno*, with its association to Lutheranism, has a relation to the other German satires of the Reformation, that we have mentioned. We may recall in this connection the study of Amalia Cesano : *Hans Sachs ed i suoi rapporti con la letteratura italiana*, Roma, 1904.

² Böcking, *Hutteni Opera*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1859, vol. 1, p. 112.

Quæ iam fracta malis poteras et mortua credi,
 Cui vitam adventus spes fovet una mei . . .
 Adde novas animo vires; priscumque resume
 Ornatum, nec te iam periisse puta:
 Nostra mane, nec cede malis."

Later in Hutten's epigrams to the Emperor, Italy is again depicted, "possessa malis, nec iam ipsa salutem — Ultra aliquam potis est sperare, peritque videndo," from the "tetrum malum," sown by Pope Julius through the world. And again (Vol. III, p. 231), we have Venice, once "superbia tumens," now "solo cubans," "languidum nullo caput — Nitore continens manu."

Gaspary has pointed out that a medieval satirist of Brescia saw in the legendary Gaul Brennus a *peste gallica*, such as Italy was frequently to endure.¹ But it was not till that mysterious disease, which Girolamo Fracastoro has treated with such Lucretian dignity, became epidemic in Italy at a time when the memory of Charles VIII's invasion was still fresh, that the *morbo gallico* came to have a specific connotation and to adapt itself so admirably to political satire. In vain did the French, also associating the disease with the Italian campaign of Charles VIII, strive to spread the locution *mal de Naples*. Not even the theory of West Indian origin from the expedition of Columbus—a theory which seems to have appealed especially to the scientists of the Renaissance—sufficed to prevent the Italians from fixing the plague upon their trans-Alpine enemies.² The second

¹ *Storia della letteratura italiana*, I, 24, after Muratori, v, 29.

² Science has of course rejected both explanations; for this and for data on the literary vogue of the *mal francese*—which may be indefinitely increased in number—see the article of Luzio-Renier in the *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, 1885, pp. 408–432; also Vittorio Rossi: *Di un motivo della poesia burlesca italiana nel sec. XVI*, in appendix to his *Le lettere di messer Andrea Calmo*, Torino, Loescher, 1888, pp. 371–397. We may add that one of the best literary reflections of the then current scientific

canto of Lalli's *Franceide* expresses with rollicking good humor the determination of Italy in this regard, when he invents a tournament with the momentous question of this name at stake, and where Fame,

“ Affin ch'haveesse ogn'un notitia intera,
Bandì, che si chiamasse un mal sì brutto,
Sotto la grave pena d'un tornese,
Non mal italian ma mal francese.”¹

belief is in the *Mondo Nuovo* of Tommaso Stigliani (Canto xiii, stt. 19-23), of 1617. He bases its beginning on the fact that in the New World at the time of the discovery “non era . . . di donne gelosia grandi o private;” hence

“ Durando ancor questo commercio caro
Fra l'uno e l'altro qui popolo amico,
Avvenne che le femine infettaro
Molti ispani del numero impudico
D'un morbo infino allora a noi non chiaro,
Benchè noto agli antipodi ed antico;
Che fu quel ch' all' Europa indi poi venne
E di francese male il nome ottenne.”

Stigliani adds that the Spaniards, through Divine Providence, introduced small-pox in exchange. This is rather severe on Providence, but the fact is nearer the truth than the rest.

¹ Lalli, out of fairness, admits that this outcome was somewhat unjust; for in vi, 65, he makes the French rightly refuse to contribute to the expedition for *legno santo* to India:

“ Nulla donò il francese assai stizzato
Che mal francese dirlo avean voluto,
Mentr'ei non v'havea colpa nè peccato,
E d'altra parte il male era venuto.”

It is interesting to inquire why, in fact, the name actually became established throughout Europe, triumphing, as a generic term, over those numerous local and invariably satirical locutions, by which the disease came to be designated in the different countries (for the list, cf. the article of Luzio and Renier). The reason is possibly to be found in the aggressive political position that France, at one time or another, occupied in relation to all her neighbors; as well as her increasing reputation as the centre of *galante* life. In this her only possible rival could have been Spain. Whether the French brought the disease to Naples or contracted it there,

So then, immediately, the *mal francese* became a symbol of that ultramontane affliction from which Italian politics chronically suffered. Luzio-Renier cite from the year 1555 a "lamento che fan li Piemontesi per essere vinti anni fa amalati del mal francese;" and a passage in Pietro Aretino, where the Marchese del Vasto, after a victory over the French, is referred to as "il legno d'India," for having freed Italy partly from the French disease. In a letter of 1581, the genial archbishop Maffio Venier, remarks with sinister humor, that after his own experiences he does not wonder "se le piaghe di Francia, nate per causa di donne anch'esse, si andassero facendo ogni giorno più incurabili."¹ The theme is developed casually in a document of the Cinquecento—forty-six octaves in parody of the rhymes of the initial stanzas in the various cantos of the *Orlando Furioso*, entitled *Ariosto in purga del mal francese*.² This poem, a peculiar mixture of scientific, jocose, and satirical elements,

the theory of its diffusion through the French army accounts for the beginning of the expression's vogue; but the seed fell on ground fertilized by anti-French sentiment. Otherwise, *mal indien* or *mal espagnol* would have held the field.

¹ Nicola Ruggieri, *Maffio Venier*, Udine, 1909, p. 23.

² In Venice, at the Marciana, Ital. ix, cod. 460, pp. 98-113; cod. 470, pp. 39-47; in Vicenza, at the Bertoliana, cod. 1, 3, 31, pp. 1-12. Here it is entitled: *Tramutazione delle prime ottave di ciaschedun canto dell' Ariosto nel Furioso contro il morbo gallico*. The poem begins: "Le gonne, l'inquietudini, i dolori." Rossi, *op. cit.* pp. 392-393, knew this document, but only in a Marciana codex, It. ix, 364. This I have not seen. Part of this ms. is in the hand of Marin Sanudo; which would make our poem probably of the sixteenth century. From its grouping in the mss. cited above I had supposed it to be of the seventeenth century; but doubtless it is to be classed with those pasquinades which were applied to several different situations, assuming in each case a new actuality. The imputation referred to below was true when applied to Francis I; but it could serve quite as well for satirical purposes against Louis XIV. Rossi's text has some variants from those I have seen: notably the correct reading for the first line: *Le gomme, etc.*

describes the inveterate nature of the French affliction; in fact Italy has become a veritable *puttaniero*, whose cure can be best effected by taking advantage of the traditional antagonism between France and Spain (cf. St. 25):

“Gran contrasti e battaglie è stato invero
Tra francesi e spagnuoli a tutte l'ore;
E se un contrario più potente e fiero
L'altro scacciasse del suo albergo fuore,
Io darei per consiglio al puttaniero
Che abbia dentro il francese abbitatore,
Che due spagnuoli in un caldar bollesse
E quel decotto per purgar bevesse.”¹

The tenth octave makes specific allegations against the French king. In the Marcian codex 470, this satire is accompanied by a substantial series of shorter ones, nearly all of which play on similar motifs. That on p. 24, for instance, represents the “toscano castrato” and the craven Peter fleeing helter-skelter from the ravenous cock (Mr. Rostand was not the first to see in Chanticleer the personification of French exuberance). But Italian patriotism asserts itself in the answer that follows:

“Il medico toscano senza fallo
Pillole appresta al gallico meschino,
E Pietro sul Tarpeo deride il gallo.”²

As for the North Italian states:

“Hanno insegnato ai medici vicini
Il servir di chiurghi ai parigini.”

The pun just cited on the word *Medici* is paralleled by

¹ This figure of the Spanish army in the rôle of a tonic is to be associated, casually, with the similar figure in the first pamphlet of the nearly contemporaneous *Satire Ménippée*.

² Here we have that play on the name of the famous Florentine house, which has a whole literature in the line of our locution.

another on *santo*, in reference to the Papacy, that occurs two verses later: here Italy is “assomata da un mal francese—Che non v’è per cacciarlo il Santo Legno.¹ In a satire of the same collection, we have the protestations of *Genova infetta [che] sospetta di mal francese*:

“Vivo a regola e lascio — La pollania da banda,
Perchè il medico mio così comanda.
Li galli son nocivi — Da cibi sì cattivi
Guardami il ciel. . . .
Orsù, il mal è palese — Poichè alcuni miei figli
Si son scoperti aver il mal francese. . . .”

But she has confidence in her independence:

“Anzi per mio maggior honor e festa
Il gallo partirà senza la cresta.”

In Codex Correr, 1081 (p. 321 ff.), we hear a similar note: *Verona, udendo l'infermità di Mantova e prevedendo il mal francese a sè vicino, implora l'aggiuto de sig'r medici purgoni*; and she exclaims: “Il mal di creste egli è vicino—Fate ogni vostro poder.”² Vienna, however, in answer to her call, reproves the Mantovan rebellion, but gives assurance that the eagle will interfere with the cock's arrogance in Italy.

But quite apart from these special aspects of the theme, we find the tradition intact throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1649, the Venetian Ambassador, Basadonna, thus characterizes the failure of Alex-

¹ Has any one pointed out the origin of this phrase? It seems to be a folk etymology for *sental*, ‘sandal-wood,’ which, moreover, is used extensively in sacred rites, as incense.

² As for *mal di creste*, it is a humorous alteration of *mal di croste*, which Mr. Polidori notes in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, III, p. 34; the immediate association of course is with the *gallo*. The rôle of the *mal de Naples* or *de Colombe* in the *Candide* of Voltaire is conspicuous. In Dodsley's translation of that work, London, 1734, p. 14, is mentioned the *unguentum napolitanum*, an expression to be added to our list of related locutions.

ander VII to live up to his denunciation of nepotism :
 “ Comparve a Roma, non un fratello, non un nipote, ma una
 inondatione formale di Chigi, e con successo tanto peggiore ;
 chè, se vi fossero andati al principio, la consuetudine haver-
 ebbe fatte le scuse e si sarebbero tollerati come un male già
 abituato ; laddove, dopo haver promessa il medico la salute,
 la nuova della morte parve tanto più strana.”¹ As though
 to summarize all that specific instances might show, we have
 a typical reflection of Seicento pessimism, where, much as
 in the *Schwindelsheim* of Murner, the whole world is going
 wrong (Lalli, for that matter, in the sixth canto of the
Franceide, had represented the whole Occident as in need of
 sandal-wood). It consists of twenty-nine verses, headed
Dell' Incognito—scarcely an illuminating attribution :²

“ Povero mondo mio—A che passo estu zonto ?
 Ti è tutto sporco et onto :
 No te lava la raffa dei calcagni
 L'acqua de tutti i mari e tutti i bagni.
 Ti è pien de dogie e affanni—Ti no gà più carne addosso ;
 Nè un consulto per ti vien fatto o mosso ;
 Te diol la testa e gambe e tutto trema ;
 I to desordinazzi, etc.
 El miedego ti chiami e ti te penti
 De no averlo obedito
 Disponi i fatti toi e fa testamento
 E so la to natura :—S'el te resanassee come prima,
 Ti saressi insolente—E de i so avertimenti
 Più che mai sprezzator impertinente.”

Even if Boccalini, in the *Pietra di Paragone*, is a little more
 hopeful, he has grave misgivings for the fate and influence

¹ Luigi Morandi, *I sonetti romaneschi di G. G. Belli*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1906, Vol. I, p. 178. For 1667 Morandi cites (p. 180) a pasquinade entitled *Il Vaticano languente dopo la morte di Clemente IX*, a form frequent with Pasquino and with eulogists.

² In cod. Correr, 1229, c. 43 ; Marciana, coll. 6473, 169a ; but also frequently elsewhere.

of Spain. She is suffering from the “umori grossi che dal Però le calavano nello stomaco;” and unless speedy bleeding be at hand to relieve her of her superfluous gorgings, she may spread the contagion “al capo d’Italia, con manifesta rovina delle membra principali rimaste libere;” in which case, she might even fall into “l’idropsia d’una monarchia universale.”¹ So Venice, at a time when it seemed as though the “pardo ottomano avrebbe ingoiato ogni sorce latin,” was to appear to one of Italy’s most competent writers, Fulvio Testi, as an invalid, limping with “incespante piede” that presages her fall—“in vita ancora—Per pena il ciel non per pietà la serba.”² And the regal Candia no longer a queen but an “ombra agonizzante” (Medin, p. 348), is found in a manuscript of the now dispersed Buoncompagni collection, hopeless and despondent, about to make her will: “Ritrovandomi io, città di Candia, gravemente inferma di corpo . . . e conoscendo dover in breve render lo spirito alla forza ottomana, per non lasciar le mie cose senza il diritto ordine . . . instituisco . . . il . . . mio . . . testamento . . . l’armate cristiane, per esser state lente a sovvenirmi nella presente mia indisposizione . . . e perchè intendo fra le confusioni della mia malattia . . . etc.”³ A sonneteer of the early eighteenth century entitled

¹ See Morsolin, *Il Seicento*, p. 67.

² Fulvio Testi, *Candia invasa dal Turco*, Modena, 1651. Cf. Medin, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–322. The verse on the “pardo ottomano” was written anonymously for the fall of Santa Maura, but our anachronism will be condoned.

³ The very form of the satirical testament, when used in broad and impersonal satire, creates, as in the *Messkrankheit* and in the “Povero mondo mio,” a parallel to our locution. Mr. Tucker has a few notes on this genre of satire, *op. cit.*, p. 202, etc. The humorous testament had special vogue in the *sub rosa* literature of the Venetian Seicento. I recall for the moment those of Contarini and especially of Zuanne Garzoni—precisely that majestic figure of the *Glorie degli Incogniti*—who left a facetious legacy to the courtesans of Venice, but who, in numberless

a series of pasquinades *L'ospital de stati d'Italia*:¹ "Italia mia, sei fatta un ospedale," where *Mantova inferma per la guerra dell'anno 1702* exclaims in agony: "Son morta, ohimè, pietà, Hè, chi cortese, etc.;" and convinced like the Narr of Murner that death is imminent—"Ohimè, cresce il mio mal e già si vede, etc.," breaks out into her death-bed confession. Rome meanwhile is excitedly consulting her physician. The master is driving his cooks—"Sudate, o cuochi, a preparar sguazzetti"—for the benefit of Modena;² while Turin, who "had been ill, but was well again," is displaying the languid indifference of the convalescent. And to complete the chain, we may pass over a century, to a time when he who was ultimately to set Italy on the road to recovery, impressed a Venetian much as Spain had Boccalini and Turkey Zen. It was on the occasion of Napoleon's exile to Elba, and Venice had not yet forgotten the disillusionment of Campo Formio. In one sonnet, England has applied an emetic and is holding the "serviziale" to receive the stolen goods. In a second, we have the diagnosis of the doctor:

"Troppo mangiasti, o sire, il vostro male
Nato è dall'ingordigia, ed è sì fiero,
Ch'a evacuar non basta un sol cristero,
Ma una purga ci vuol universale.
Il mangiar per nutrirsi è naturale,
Ma il voler divorar un mondo intero

codicils and letters of acknowledgment, was perhaps amply repaid. See Codex Querini-Stampalia, Cl. vi, xx, in Venice. The testament of Candia, cited above, is noted by Medin, pp. 355-358.

¹ At Rouen, in cod. 571, 1707, of the Collection Coquebert-Montret, p. 188b., ff.

² Obviously parodying the well known verses of Claudio Achillini, beginning "Sudate, o fuochi, a preparar metalli;" doubtless the first was meant also to suggest the famous canzone of Petrarch.

Non è cibo per voi così leggero
 Che non possa costarvi il funerale.
 Pigliate il mio consiglio e risolvete :
 Evacuar bisogna e dare uscita
 A tutto ciò ch'entro del corpo avete.
 La Francia a vomitar già vi s'invita,
 E se l'Italia ancor non renderete,
 Ho poca fede di tenervi in vita."¹

Finally, to show the locution in its permanent and self-adapting popularity, we may refer to an editorial in the *New York Sun* of January 8, 1910—an attack on Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party entitled *The Friends at the Bed-side*: “While old Dr. Bryan is tripping over the Southern seas in quest of a panacea wherewith to revive and resuscitate the Democratic Party, certain intimate friends of the invalid have gathered in the sick room to talk things over. Part of the time they spend in smoothing the pillow and in other bedside attentions, and the rest they devote to lamenting the past and planning for the future . . .”

Without adducing more examples, which would range from comment on the most solemn events of history to the fate of a pitcher in a base-ball game, we may conclude by noting one phase of semantic development which the varying history of our locution shows: this is the important rôle of definite events and individuals in determining the vogue and connotation of locutions already widely diffused. An indefinite number of times Turkey had been called an invalid. The caprice of an Emperor put this unheard joke of Zen into the mouths of all the modern world. It may be well for our books of “Anecdotes and Quotations” to ascribe to Nicholas the invention of this popular characterization of Turkey; but

¹From Vittorio Malamani, *I Francesi a Venezia e la satira*, Venezia, 1887, p. 172.

the attribution is not complete without reference to the broader historical background which we have traced.¹

A. A. LIVINGSTON.

¹ In Gustav Fock's *Antiquariats-Katalog* 373, no. 266, Professor Howard, to whose kindly interest in this theme I am greatly indebted, notes a curious German satire of 1690, which I have been able to secure. It is entitled: *Das an der Teutschen Colica danieder liegende Franckreich, vorinnen der heutige Zustand dieses Koenigreichs nebst kurtzen jedoch aber gruendlichen Entwurff der merckwuerdigsten Intrigues des Frantzoesischen Hofes aufgeloeset und vorgestellet werden mit Vermeldung der wahren Ursache warum so wenig der Koenig als Duc d'Orleans, und Monseigneur le Dauphin der Campagne in Teutschland und Niederland beywohnen wollen. Durch den Mercurius im Traum entdeckt dem Musastræo dell Montunione. Freystatt. Gedruckt im Jahr 1690.* It is a pamphlet of sixty unnumbered pages in small quarto (mm. 193 x 164). Half the last page is in small type to economize on the new sheet. The text is divided into forty-three chapters. The language is full of gallicisms and Latin quotations. The type in Chapter VIII fails to show a pasquinade in extemporized rhythm:

“ Unter der Freundlichkeit verborgene List—
 Unter dem Honig das schaedlichste Gifft—
 Unter denen theuresten *Sincerationen*,
 Die betrueglichsten Fallstricke der Frantzosen.”

The author's name is associated with Musa and Astrea; probably Mont + unione likewise has its reference. Louis XIV appears as Theodates, King of the Gauls; the other personages are mentioned by their own names. The reason why Mercury is the guide through the French Court is obvious.

Musastræo, fatigued and bewildered by the trash of political writings, retires to a sheltered spot to think his own thoughts. Though he is very drowsy, his interest is suddenly awakened, when he finds himself in the presence of gay revellers. Their radiant features suggest that this must be the Elysian fields; but the costumes are all French. Can France have conquered even the other world? Ah no, it is perhaps a *maison de plaisance*! But a stranger approaches. Musastræo is afraid of being taken for a spy; but on his learning it is Mercury, “seven of his five senses come to life again.” Mercury explains that this is the French court, and offers to guide his new friend through it. The first palace is devoted to card playing; over each table rules a queen; the rank of the queens is determined by the number and splendor of their conquests in love: then follows a series of tales relating the intrigues of the Duchess of Mecklenburg, Madame d'Olonne, Madame de Fiesque, la Mareschale de la Ferté, etc. Another palace contains the

young nobles drinking ; and Musastræo laments that even in this typically German accomplishment, his countrymen are far behind the French. Then comes a cloister where the mistresses of Louis XIV are quartered side by side. Leaving the licentious splendor of the palace, Musastræo is led into a field glowing with a strange light. In the vapor he sees devils slaughtering women and children ; Mercury explains that these devils are French generals, whom he names ; the ruins are Worms, Heidelberg, Speyer, *etc.* Mercury breaks out into a denunciation of the French, lauding Henry IV over Louis XIV. Returning to the Palace of the King, they find everything in suspense. The King is in great agony from a disease called German Colic. The immediate cause is news from abroad : the Jacobites are beaten in England ; the French are whipped in Holland ; the invaders of Germany are in full retreat. At this report the dauphin and the gentlemen of the court are also seized with the colic. The doctors apply a plaster composed of an invasion of Ireland and a bombardment of Civita Vecchia : but they do not avail after Londonderry and the destruction of the French fleet by the English. Then even stronger remedies are suggested : “eine Brandsalbe” invented by the Comte de Melac ; “ein von denen Franzoesischen Dragonnern bereiteter Purgiertranck” ; a “Goldtincktur” ; “eine in Hoffnung wohl reüssirende Tuerkisch-Frantz-Alcorans Mixtur” ; “das Wilhelminische Spionen Pflaster” ; an English “Anti-Wilhelminum” ; but it is at last decided that the disease is incurable : and that it will spread not only to the royal family entire, but to the whole of France.—Musastræo was about to come to the rescue with a valuable suggestion, when he fell off the stump where he was sleeping and awoke, firmly determined never to visit such a place as the French Court again.

XX.—GOOD TASTE AND CONSCIENCE.

Matthew Arnold's essay on the *Literary Influence of Academies* (1865) contains this characteristic passage :—¹

“ ‘In France,’ says M. Sainte-Beuve,² ‘the first consideration for us is not whether we are amused and pleased by a work of art or mind, nor is it whether we are touched by it. What we seek above all to learn is, whether *we were right in being* amused with it, and in applauding it, and in being moved by it.’ Those are very remarkable words, and they are, I believe, in the main quite true. A Frenchman has, to a considerable degree, what one may call a conscience in intellectual matters ; he has an active belief that there is a right and a wrong in them, that he is bound to honour and obey the right, that he is disgraced by cleaving to the wrong. All the world has, or professes to have, this conscience in moral matters. The word *conscience* has become almost confined, in popular use, to the moral sphere, because this lively susceptibility of feeling is, in the moral sphere, so far more common than in the intellectual sphere ; the livelier, in the moral sphere, this susceptibility is, the greater becomes a man's readiness to admit a high standard of action, an ideal authoritatively correcting his everyday moral habits ; here, such willing admission of authority is due to sensitiveness of conscience. And a like deference to a standard higher than one's own habitual standard in intellectual matters, a like respectful recognition of a superior ideal, is caused, in the intellectual sphere, by sensitiveness of intelligence. Those whose intelligence is quickest, openest, most sensitive, are readiest with this deference ; those whose intelligence is less delicate and sensitive are less disposed to it.”

Nobody will be disposed to question the sensitiveness of French intelligence in the recognition of what is intellectually good or bad, or to speak otherwise than admiringly of the nicety of French taste, which is offended by an impropriety as if it were a misdemeanor. Professor Irving Babbitt has recently reminded us³ of Rivarol's delicacy

¹ *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, London, 1893, p. 48.

² I am unable to indicate where.

³ *Impressionist versus Judicial Criticism*, in these *Publications*, vol. XXI, p. 696.

of feeling in these matters. "Je reviens au jugement," Rivarol writes,¹ "et je dis qu'il n'a point suffi aux beaux-arts: il fallait pour ces nobles enfants du génie un amant plutôt qu'un juge, et cet amant, c'est le goût, car le jugement se contente d'approuver et de condamner: mais le goût jouit et souffre. Il est au jugement ce que l'honneur est à la probité: ses loix sont délicates, mystérieuses et sacrées. *L'honneur est tendre et se blesse de peu*; tel est le goût, et, tandis que le jugement se mesure avec son objet et le pèse dans la balance, il ne faut au goût qu'un coup d'œil pour décider son suffrage ou sa répugnance, je dirais presque son amour ou sa haine, son enthousiasme ou son indignation, tant il est sensible, exquis et prompt!"

I cannot say whether Matthew Arnold knew Rivarol. Besides Sainte-Beuve there was, however, another Frenchman, whom he did know and esteem, and in whose posthumous works we find many an epigrammatic saying consonant with the definition given by Rivarol. This is Joseph Joubert.² He says: "Le bon goût est nécessaire à la moitié de la morale, car il règle les bienséances."³ "Il y a dans l'âme un goût qui aime le bien, comme il y a dans le corps un appétit qui aime le plaisir."⁴ "La vertu est la santé de l'âme. Elle fait trouver de la saveur aux moindres

¹ *Critique littéraire* in *Œuvres Choisies* de A. Rivarol, Paris, 1880, vol. 1, p. 306.

² Cf. Essay on Joubert, *Essays in Criticism*, First Series, ed. cit., pp. 265 ff. There is a quotation from Joubert in the *Essay On the Literary Influence of Academies*, p. 66.

³ *Pensées, Essais et Maximes* de J. Joubert, Paris, 1842, vol. 1, p. 243. With this maxim may be compared the following: "Le bon goût, le tact et le bon ton ont plus de rapport que n'affectent de le croire les gens de lettres. Le tact, c'est le bon goût appliqué au maintien et à la conduite; le bon ton, c'est le bon goût appliqué aux discours et à la conversation" (Sebastien Roch Nicolas Chamfort in *Œuvres de Chamfort et Rivarol*, Paris, 1884, p. 187).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

feuilles de la vie.”¹ “En poésie, en éloquence, en musique, en sculpture, en raisonnement même, rien n’est beau que ce qui sort de l’âme ou des entrailles. Les entrailles, après l’âme, c’est ce qu’il y a en nous de plus intime.”² “Le goût est la conscience littéraire de l’âme.”³

We do no violence to Matthew Arnold’s views in carrying out more at length than he did in this place Sainte-Beuve’s explicit inclusion of works of art among those products of human ingenuity which in France are subject to a code of honor. Arnold is here arguing for instinctive obedience to higher authority in intellectual matters; but his ethical tendency in treating and criticizing esthetic matters is only too prominent; and in these matters he here as elsewhere does scant justice to the habitual attitude of his own countrymen. Since Shaftesbury, the exaltation of the moral sense has been the most prominent trait in English esthetics; Sainte-Beuve had no greater “sensitiveness of intelligence” than Shaftesbury had; and, as is well known, Shaftesbury’s “moral sense”⁴ was a faculty with functions very closely allied to the functions of good taste. “A soul, indeed, may as well be without sense,” he affirms,⁵ “as without admiration in the things of which it has any knowledge. Coming therefore to a capacity of seeing and admiring in this new way, it must needs find a beauty and a deformity as well in actions, minds, and tempers, as in figures, sounds, or colours. If there be no real amiableness or deformity in moral acts, there is at least an imaginary one of full force.” “Is there then, said he, a natural beauty of figures? and is there not as natural a one of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

² Vol. II, p. 96.

³ Vol. II, p. 132. Professor Babbitt called my attention to this aphorism.

⁴ *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1900, vol. I, p. 262.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 260.

actions? No sooner the eye opens upon figures, the ear to sounds, than straight the beautiful results and grace and harmony are known and acknowledged. No sooner are actions viewed, no sooner the human affections and passions discerned (and they are most of them as soon discerned as felt) than straight an inward eye distinguishes, and sees the fair and shapely, the amiable and admirable, apart from the deformed, the foul, the odious, or the despicable.”¹ That beauty of actions and human affections and passions which is discerned by the inward eye is the morally good; a relish for such beauty of actions, affections, and passions is good taste in morals, *i. e.* “conscience, or natural sense of the odiousness of crime and injustice.”² If there be another kind of conscience, a test of conduct, for example, which we may believe is of divine institution, “even conscience, I fear, such as is owing to religious discipline, will make but a slight figure where this taste is set amiss.”³ “Thus, according to our author, the taste of beauty and the relish of what is decent, just, and amiable perfects the character of the gentleman and the philosopher. And the study of such a taste or relish will, as we suppose, be ever the great employment and concern of him who covets as well to be wise and good as agreeable and polite.”⁴ “Our author” is here Shaftesbury himself, the author of the sentences, “And thus, after all, the most natural beauty in the world is honesty and moral truth. For all beauty is truth.”⁵

In 1751 the Reverend John Brown felt it incumbent upon him to exhibit the falsity of that philosophy which thus exalted the usurper Taste, and to oppose thereto “the

¹ Vol. II, p. 137.

² Vol. I, p. 306.

³ Vol. II, p. 265.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 256.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 94.

solid wisdom of the Gospel.”¹ Eight years later, Alexander Gerard endeavored to steer a middle course between Shaftesbury and Brown. “A careful examination of the moral faculty,” he declares,² “would probably lead us to derive it from other principles than those from which taste has been explained.” Taste “may be separated from virtue, it may accidentally lead men to act viciously for its gratification; but that it is naturally more favourable to virtue than to vice may be inferred from many of the acknowledged qualities of the human mind.”³ “Vice is often promoted by taste ill formed or wrong applied: let taste be rendered correct and just, vice will be almost extinguished; for our opinions of things will be, in most cases, true and suited to their natures.”⁴ These qualifications, “often,” “almost,” “in most cases,” show that Gerard had only an approximate notion of a distinction between taste and the moral sense. He here represents taste as an ally of conscience: “Refinement of taste makes a man susceptible of delicate feelings on every occasion, and these increase the acuteness of the moral sense and render its perceptions stronger and more exquisite. On this account a man of nice taste will have a stronger abhorrence of vice and a keener relish for virtue, in any given situation, than a person of dull organs can have in the same circumstances.”⁵ But on a previous page,⁶ Gerard cannot define the moral sense otherwise than as “a taste of a superior order.” Quite in the spirit of Matthew Arnold he affirms that “Refinement of taste exists only where, to an original delicacy of imagination and natural acuteness of judgment, is superadded a long and intimate acquaintance with the best performances of every kind;”⁷

¹ *Essays on the Characteristics*, Second Edition, London, 1751, p. ii.

² *Essay on Taste*, London, 1759, p. 202.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ P. 203.

⁵ P. 205.

⁶ P. 74.

⁷ P. 126.

and he contrasts "a certain grossness and want of refinement in the English taste" with "the elegant taste of a French audience."¹

The conception of good taste as a special faculty in esthetic and moral judgments seems to have had its origin with the Spaniard Baltasar Gracián,² whose *Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia* (1653),³ translated into English in 1694, may well have been known to Shaftesbury. The first important German work on taste, J. H. König's *Untersuchung von dem guten Geschmack* (1727),⁴ leans heavily upon both Gracián and Shaftesbury, especially upon the former in respect to taste in morals. König writes:⁵ "Der gute Geschmack in sittlicher Deutung, heisst eine durch die Vernunft geübte Gemüths-Empfindung, das Wahre zu erkennen, das Gute zu verlangen, und das Edelste und Beste zu wehlen. In solchem Verstande braucht Grazian das Wort Geschmack überall in seinen Lehrsätzen. Dieser Geschmack verbessert unsre Meynungen und Begriffe, und leitet uns zur Selbst-Erkenntniss, zu der wahren Ehr-Liebe, und zu der Überwindung unsrer selbst. Ein mit solchem guten Geschmacke begabter Mensch lässt sich nicht durch seine Eigenliebe verführen, noch durch eigene Verdienste verblenden, sondern weiss auch das Gute an andern zu erkennen, und endlich, wie itztbenannter Grazian sagt, durch

¹ P. 128. Cf. Grillparzer: "Der Kunstsinne der Franzosen ist nicht immer auf der rechten Fährte, was ihm aber im Wege steht, ist doch immer nur eine falsche Ansicht, nie die Gemeinheit" (*Werke*, ed. Sauer, XIX, p. 156).

² Cf. B. Croce, *Estetica*, Bari, 1908, pp. 215 ff. and J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1908, I, pp. xci ff.

³ Cf. A. Schopenhauer's German version, ed. E. Grisebach, Leipzig (Reclam).

⁴ In *Des Freyherrn von Canitz Gedichte*. I quote from the edition printed at Berlin in 1765.

⁵ P. 428.

diesen Geschmack sein gantzes Leben mit Vergnügen zu würtzen.¹

It is evident that König's *good taste in morals* is tantamount to *conscience*. So far as I can see, however, the word *Gewissen* is brought into connection with taste only in the following passage² written to combat the proverb *De gustibus non est disputandum*: "Dann, wann das Sprichwort: Man muss nicht über den Geschmack streiten, auch in Absicht auf die Beschaffenheit der verschiedenen Dinge, als eine Grund-Regel angewendet werden dürfte; so würde man es in Glaubens-Sachen wider das Gewissen, in der Sittenlehre zum Behuff der Laster, in Wissenschaften und Künsten zum Schutz der Unwissenheit, eben so wohl gebrauchen können, und nichts so schlimm, so falsch, so hesslich seyn, was einer nicht zu erwehlen berechtiget wäre."

We have lately been stimulated to make a closer examination of the importance of Shaftesbury in the esthetics of the classical period of German literature.³ Schiller confessed⁴ that the main idea of his poem *Die Künstler* was "die Verhüllung der Wahrheit und Sittlichkeit in die Schönheit." In the poem, he represents how truth first reveals itself as beauty, and how morality is developed by means of a sense of beauty which makes man capable of a pleasure that does not destroy its object. Schiller's conception of moral culture through esthetic refinement, his ideal of the "schöne Seele,"

¹ In seinem *Oraculo Manual* zu Ende der 298. Maxime sagt er: "*Un buon gusto sazona toda la vida*. Herr D. August Friedrich Müller in Leipzig, welcher eine Übersetzung davon in drey Theilen 1715. in 8. herausgegeben, hat in seinen beigefügten Anmerckungen den Geschmack in der Sitten-Lehre sehr gründlich untersucht" (König's note). Müller's translation is not accessible to me.

² P. 469.

³ Cf. O. F. Walzel, *Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben des 18. Jahrhunderts* in *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, I, pp. 416 ff.

⁴ Letter to Körner, 9. Febr., 1789.

Herder's ideal of humanity, Goethe's principle of organic unity in nature and in the self-consistent products of art—all these are seen to be explicit or implicit in Shaftesbury's philosophy.

Shaftesbury's particular disciple among the German poets of the eighteenth century was, however, Wieland; and it is to the works of an ardent admirer of Wieland that I wish now to refer. Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben¹ came, perhaps, only indirectly under the influence of Shaftesbury; we find that besides the ancient classics and the Germans of his own generation and that immediately preceding, the French were the most constant companions of his solitude. Among these, Salvandy² is the most conspicuous: but so good a colleague of Shaftesbury's as Diderot³ is represented, and it seems likely that Feuchtersleben was not unacquainted with Joubert. In any case, he was fond, like Joubert, of putting to paper miscellaneous reflections on philosophical and literary subjects; and though his maxims cannot match those of his French predecessor for brilliancy and precision, they impress us as the best fruits of a benevolent, active mind with a bright outlook and considerable philosophical acumen.

As to the relations of ethics and esthetics Feuchtersleben has some notable passages. "Pietät," he defines,⁴ "heisst die Anerkennung eines geistig Höheren. Ihr Gefühl ist Ehrfurcht, wenn man will—Demut; aber in dieser Demut selbst ist Erhebung. Ohne Pietät ist weder dichterische Fähigkeit noch Empfänglichkeit denkbar; denn ohne das geistige Element bleibt statt des Gefühles nur Empfindung.

¹ *Sämmtliche Werke herausgegeben von Friedrich Hebbel*, Wien, 1853. Cf. *The Hygiene of the Soul, Memoir of a Physician and Philosopher*, by Gustav Pollak, New York, 1910.

² Ed. Hebbel, III, p. 329.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 46.

⁴ Vol. IV, p. 64.

‘Er kann lieben und verehren,
Darum ist sein Lied so rein.’¹

(Geschmack fürs Schöne, fürs Gute: Gewissen).” The parenthesis indicates an identification which another aphorism expresses in full as follows: “Das Gewissen ist der Geschmack im Sittlichen. Das Gemeine ekelt uns mehr an, als selbst das Verbrechen. Aber auch der Geschmack kann als ein Gewissen im Ästhetischen aufgefasst werden.”² This formula assigns to conscience the functions of good taste in morals; it defines good taste only by analogy as conscience in esthetics. Feuchtersleben feels the need of a more appropriate word than *Geschmack* for esthetic sensitiveness. “Durch Fühlen und Denken,” he says,³ “wird das Sittliche nicht gefördert, sondern durch Wollen; nicht durch Wollen und Denken das Schöne, — sondern durch Fühlen. So zeichnen die menschlichen Auffassungsweisen Prinzipien und Grenzen vor. Die Sprache hat aber kein Wort für den unmittelbaren Bezug. Einen solchen hat das Höhere im Menschen (Geist?) zum Wahren, Guten und Schönen. Es erkennt das Wahre, will das Gute, fühlt das Schöne. Demonstrieren kann er mit dem Verstande nur die logischen Verhältnisse des Wahren, das er mit der Vernunft, des Guten, das er mit dem Gewissen, des Schönen, das er mit dem Geschmacke wahrnimmt? (hier fehlt das erwähnte Wort). Also drei Vermögen? Nein! Drei Ideen des einen für sie organisierten Menschengesistes. Noch einmal: über unsere Empfänglichkeit können wir nicht hinaus. Genug, dass der Mensch allein auf Erden etwas denken kann, was er nicht zu begreifen vermag. (Da sind wir doch wieder bei Kant).”

By *das Schöne*, we hardly need observe, Feuchtersleben

¹ I cannot determine from whom these verses are quoted.

² Vol. IV, p. 147.

³ Vol. IV, p. 46.

does not mean the merely sensuously pleasing. "Halte dich ans Schöne!" he exclaims.¹ "Vom Schönen lebt das Gute im Menschen, und auch seine Gesundheit." And in full accord with the system of Shaftesbury he defines,² "Echte Tugend ist Stärke des Geistes; ihr Grund ist Weisheit, ihre Erscheinung Schönheit." Though art, therefore, aims to produce beauty, the content and significance of its forms are co-extensive with the elements of the beauty at which it aims: "Kunst ist dem Wesen nach: Darstellung des Göttlichen. Göttlich ist das Wahre, Gute, Schöne. Die Werkzeuge unterscheiden die Künste. Auszusprechen ist keine: jede spricht sich in Taten aus: ein offenbar Geheimnis. Die höchste Kunst ist die, wo die ganze Menschheit Organ wird, und ihr Leben Darstellung des Göttlichen."³

This last definition, though not quite pertinent to the present subject, is not uninteresting in itself, and is strikingly similar to a celebrated paragraph in which Feuchtersleben's friend and first editor, Friedrich Hebbel, applied the term conscience not merely to the esthetic sense of man, but to poetry itself, which he called the conscience of God:—⁴

"Wenn man sich den Weltgeist ungefähr auf dieselbe Weise in die Welt, wie den Menscheng Geist in den Leib versenkt vorstellen darf, so ist die Poesie für ihn, was das Gewissen für den Menschen: das Organ der inneren Freiheit in der äusseren Gebundenheit, und eben deshalb unzerbrechliches und sich von selbst allem ins Dasein Hervortretenden anlegendes Mass. Das Gewissen wird unstreitig nur dann aufgefasst, wie es aufgefasst werden soll, wenn man darin nicht mehr die blosse Negation des menschlichen Tuns von einem sogenannten höheren Standpunkt herab erblickt, sondern das Allerpositivste im Menschen, ja das allein wahrhaft Menschliche; der Mensch hat seine sittliche Bildung erst dann vollendet, wenn er, natürlich

¹ Vol. III, p. 376.

² Vol. v, p. 312.

³ Vol. v, p. 304.

⁴ *Tagebücher* herausgegeben von R. M. Werner
No. 3191. f.

im umgekehrten Sinn, als dem gewöhnlichen, worin dieser Höhepunkt der Sittlichkeit freilich eben so leicht zu erreichen ist, als der sokratische des Wissens unseres Nichtwissens in der Weisheit, kein Gewissen mehr hat, wenn er den Zwiespalt zwischen Sollen und Wollen in sich gelöst und sich nur noch im Gesetz als seiend fühlt. Eben so ist auch die Poesie das Positivste des Weltgeistes, und auch von ihm kann man sagen, dass er sein Ziel erst dann erreicht hat, wenn es keine Poesie mehr geben, das heisst, wenn der Widerspruch zwischen Idee und Erscheinung aufgehoben und alles poetisch sein wird. Es ist hiemit nicht etwa auf ein blosses Bild abgesehen, sondern die Tatsache der Poesie im Makrokosmos entspricht durchaus der Tatsache des Gewissens im Mikrokosmos, sie deutet auf dasselbe Bedürfnis und hat denselben Zweck."

In 1886, in an address delivered on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard University, James Russell Lowell set up this ideal of a college education: ¹ "Let it be our hope to make a gentleman of every youth who is put under our charge; not a conventional gentleman, but a man of culture, a man of intellectual resource, a man of public spirit, a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul." The final antithesis is, as we see, the culmination of a long tradition in philosophy and aphoristic lore. It would be superfluous to prove Lowell's acquaintance with Shaftesbury, Sainte-Beuve, and Matthew Arnold; it is probable that he knew Gerard, Gracián, and Rivarol, doubtful whether he knew Feuchtersleben, highly improbable that he knew Hebbel; but certain that he knew Joubert; for the library of Harvard University contains a copy of the *Pensées, Essais et Maximes* of Joubert with Lowell's autograph on the title page. Lowell probably felt that he was making use of a literary commonplace, though a good one. He may or may not have been conscious that he was giving it a more effective form than had before. But it would seem decent to accord

¹ I cannot determine from .

² Vol. iv, p. 147.

³ Vol. iv, p. 46.

Vol. vi, pp. 177 f.

him at least as good a title to originality as that which he did not begrudge to Sir Francis Bacon ;¹ for

... "We men through our old bit of song run,
Until one just improves on the rest,
And we call a thing his, in the long run,
Who utters it clearest and best."

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD.

¹*Poetical Works*, ed. cit., vol. iv, pp. 197 f.

XXI.—*LOS ALCALDES ENCONTRADOS*; 6ª PARTE.

Entremés del Licenciado Luis Quiñones de Benavente.

Figuras

Antón, vejete } *Alcaldes.*
Lorenzo }
Escribano.

(Salen Antón, *vejete*, y Lorenzo, *Alcaldes*.)

Ant. Lorenzo, la Duquesa mi señora
como acertar en el lugar desea
y la bara de alcalde en vos emplea,
si pensáis usar della de manera
quel concejo de vos se satisfaga,
ésta es la bara y buen provecho os haga.

Lor. ¿Pues ela de comer?

Ant. ¿Quién tal a hecho?

Lor. Como decís que me haga buen provecho.

Esc. Gozeisla muchos años.

Lor. Escribano,
éste es judío.

Esc. No, sino cristiano ;
¿porqué lo preguntáis?

Lor. Qué lindas flores,
por parecerse á mis antecesoras.

Esc. ¿Qué le diréis que ya no esté muy dicho?

Lor. Señor, para decir seis pesadumbres
que toquen á malicias y berdades,
nunca faltan al hombre necesidades.

Esc. Está muy apurada esa materia.

Lor. Pues esperad, le apretaré la herida ;
beréis si está apurada ó escondida.

- Ant.* Hágase el juramento que es ya tarde.
Lor. Juremos pues.
Ant. Hincad las dos rodillas.
Lor. Ya están hincadas.
Ant. Echad acá las manos.
Lor. ¿Las manos para qué?
Ant. Para ponellas en esta cruz.
Lor. En esa cruz tomadlas ;
y prega á Dios no me pongáis de espaldas.
Ant. ¿Y qué decís ?
Lor. El miedo no me dexa,
Ant. ¿Por que?
Lor. En vos es treta vieja.
Ant. Sois un binagre, viue Cristo !
Lor. Si yo fuere vinagre, alcalde honrrado,
ya con la hiel vinerades mezclado.
Ant. Lebantaos por San Pedro, que renueba
las llagas viejas : ay tan gran miseria !
Lor. Escrivano mirad, si ay más materia.
Esc. Calle y dexelo ya.
Lor. Ya yo lo dexo.
Ant. Hazed un parlamento en el concejo
como es uso y costumbre á los alcaldes
que entran de nuevo.

(*Siéntanse*)

- Lor.* Vaya un parlamento.
In Dei nomine amen.
Ant. Es testamento.
Lor. Sí, testamento es.
Ant. Aquí yo no le apruebo.
Lor. Como abéis de aprouarle si es el nuevo ?
Escrivano,
decid que no me hayan á la mano,
que no me ahorro con el más amigo.

Esc. Proseguid adelante.

Lor. Ya persigo ;
Sepan quantos.

Ant. ¿ Es escritura ?

Lor. Y crara.

Ant. No la entiendo.

Lor. Ésa es vuestra desventura,
no querer entender vien la escritura.

Esc. Decid el parlamento.

Lor. Ya le digo.

Esc. Proseguid adelante.

Lor. Yo persigo.
Sepan quantos me oyeren en concejo
que porque so tan mozo no soy viejo :
como le dixo muy cunpridamente
nuestra sebolla abrando con los nabos
que el agradecimiento es como el rábano
que ajuda á dixerir lo que halla á mano,
y él se queda en el cuerpo bueno y sano
ascuas y nos y nos pernucas vita eterna,
que Lucas se haze un ascua en la tauerna.

Esc. Lindo razonamiento.

Ant. De su ingenio,
y los latines son cosa escojida.

Lor. Mexores que los vuestros.

Ant. Yo en mi vida
e hablado latín.

Lor. Si, abéis abrado.

Ant. ¿ Yo latin ?

Lor. Vos latin.

Ant. Esto me afrixe.
Quando ?

Lor. Quando dixisteis *crucifixe*.

Ant. Sois un puerco.

- Lor.* No soy, mas lo procuro
que con ser estaré de vos seguro.
- Ant.* ¡ Que delgadez de cholla !
- Lor.* Vien delgado :
lo hilaré para vos si en eso topa.
- Ant.* Hilaréis lo que soys.
- Lor.* ¿ Lo que soy ?
- Ant.* Estopa.
- Lor.* Si soy estopa, retiraos os ruego,
que no está bien la estopa junto al fuego.
- Ant.* Con aquesas malicias y esa flema
me estáis asando.
- Lor.* Yo no os aso, amigo :
mas para quando os asen os perdigo.

(*Sale un correo*)

- Correo.* Señores alcaldisimos entiendan ;
yo soy un correysimo que vengo
caminando á las beynte y apresissima ;
traygo de la duquesa esta cartissima.
- Lor.* Y aun parecéis por dios habladosissimo :
mas antes que leáis sauer deseo
qué será la muger del ques correo ?
- Cor.* Que correa y no de las más feas.
- Lor.* Sí, que del cuero salen las correas.
- Cor.* Como vuestra merced bien saue.
- Ant.* Leed la carta.

(*Lee*)

- Escri.* Por ésta sabréis como Dios a sido servido
llevarme á mi caro hijo, pídoos ternisimamente
que os cubráis las cauezas y lloréis, dando á entender
mi gran dolor. Vuestra Señora.
- Anton.* A bos os toca, alcalde, la respuesta.

Lor. Pues si toca á mí, decí escribano,
Señora duca . . .

Ant. ¡ Que decís duquesa !
vos queréis que no os tenga por jumento ?

Lor. Calla, que sabéis vos de cumprimientos ? Señora
duca, á nuesa noticia a llegado como sea muerto el
Señor Duque, y quisiera cada uno de nosotros tener
un duquito en el cuerpo para servir á su merced ; mas
esto no puede ser ; consuélela aquella historia que
diz beati quin dole me morianto, que las beatas no
tienen unto y no somos más conpridos porque nos
queremos poner á llorar.

Anton. No a de yr esa carta que es afrenta.

Lor. Sí ira, que la duca tendra queixa.

Anton. Si tal fuere, me corten una oreja.

Lor. Mirad lo que apostáis en ese caso ;
que no ay quien no os la pegue á cada passo.

Ant. Oíd, por mal no haréis commigo vaza,
mas llevado por bien con una cuerda
me llevaréis aunque de lana sea
hasta Jerusalem.

Lor. Y no lo hierra :
eso hareislo por yr á buesa tierra
qualquier caualgadura,
que es cierto
que yendo á un lugar camina mucho.

Anton. Desenganaos que es gran pasión la vuestra
y contra un pecador.

Lor. No os dé Dios gusto ;
que mayor fué la vestra contra un justo.

Ant. Muy gran cruz tengo en vos
si yo supiera llevarla.

Lor. No llevarla es cosa nueva ;
mas sabréis ayudar á quien la lleva.

Anton. Dexad por Dios, dexad de perseguirme !
y ponedme en la cruz luego un clabo.

Lor. El clabo ponádosle vos que estaréis cierto
pues pusisteis en tres vestro maestro.

(*Sale Marisabidilla*).

Mar. A mí prenderme ay tal atreuimiento !
quejaréme al concejo á boz en grito :
la defensa, Señores, es delito :
favorézcanme leales de la villa.

Ant. ¿ Quién soys hermana ?

Mar. Marisabidilla.

Ant. ¿ Qué es el playto ?

Mar. Yo saliendo de casa
quando el galgo del cura acaso pasa ;
yo lleuaua en la mano una garrocha ;
fume á morder ; huy, fume siguiendo,
y yo por estar que no me siga
dile con la garrocha en la barriga.

Ant. Llévenla presa.

Lor. No la lleven presa,
si le quiso morder, no abía de dalle.

Anton. Con el cabo bastaua que le diera,
y no con el rejon quando eso fuera.

Lor. No Señor, no bastaua con el clabo,
yba el perro á morderle con el rabo ;
suéltela luego que la ley lo manda.

Ant. Dadme escrita esa ley.

Lor. Lengua maldita,
solo vos podéis dar la ley escrita.

Esc. Yo quiero hazer estas amistades ;
pedidle allí perdón ; llegad que es lema.

Lor. Perdonad que esto a sido cierta tema.

Finis. Laus Deo.

The present *entremés*, the sixth and final division of the series *Los Alcaldes Encontrados*, may offer but little of interest perhaps, save the fact that, although of the repertory of the most applauded of the *entremesistas* from the days of Lope ¹ down, it has remained until now unpublished.

Rosell in the first volume of the collected works of Benavente ² reproduces exactly the number and order of the pieces as they appear in the first edition of the *Jocoséria* ³; for his second volume, which appeared two years later, he had to rely upon such collection as he could make from out the various early eclectic volumes of which he had acquaintance, such as the *Tardes Apacibles de Gustoso Entretenimiento* (1663), the *Ociosidad Entretenida* (1668), and others of that nature, as well as among the manuscripts in the private libraries to which he had access. That there were several which he was not permitted to consult—among them almost certainly that of Salvá—may be inferred from a line in the *Advertencia* of the second volume. “Tenemos noticia de otras copias que hemos solicitado y no ha sido posible adquirir, porque, ó en efecto andan perdidas ó *se guardan como joyas inestimables*, aunque nos inclinamos á creer que no lo serán mucho cuando yacen tan reservadas.” Among

¹

Miró Vénus festiva
Al niño Amor, y dijo :
“ Dolor alegre de los cielos, hijo,
¿ A dónde están las gracias que ninguna
De todas tres parece ? ”
Y el niño respondió, como ya crece,
“ Madre no busque ya de tantas una ;
Porque sepa que están, y justamente
Todas juntas en Luis de Benavente.

(Laurel de Apolo).

²*Libros de Antaño*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1872.

³*Jocoséria. Burlas veras, ó reprehensión moral y festiva de los desordenes publicos, en doce entremeses representados y veinte cuatro cantados. Van insertas seis loas y seis jácaras, etc.* Mad., 1645. Cf. Barrera, *Catálogo del Teatro Antiguo Español*, 1860, p. 32.

those to which he did have access was that of Durán, and it was from the *Cartapacio de Entremeses* here—judging from a hint given by Menéndez y Pelayo—that he seems to have taken the first four parts of the *Alcaldes Encontrados*—“este bellísimo entremés” as he calls it—here definitely attributed to Benavente. Not that they were quite unknown before this, however, as the first four parts had been published as early as 1635 in the *Segunda Parte || de los || Comedias || del Maestro || Tirso de || Molina, ||* etc., where in company with twelve comedies there are twelve entremeses. This is the volume the paternity of which Tirso denied almost entirely. “La dedico,”—it is to the “Congregación de los mercaderes de libros de la corte”—“destas doze comedias *cuatro que son mías* en mi nombre, y en el de sus dueños, *las otras ocho*,”¹ etc. The entremeses are not even mentioned. Despite this denial on the part of Tellez, Barrera in 1860 had given him the *Alcaldes* series entire, and Hartzenbusch in his edition of Tirso for the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (tomo v) attributed to him the five which have recently been republished in the Ateneo Series under the title *Entremeses del Siglo XVII atribuidos al Maestro Tirso de Molina*.²

Rosell was acquainted with Tirso's *Segunda Parte* which he mentions in the note p. viii of his second volume. Here, continuing, he states that “*otras partes hay impresas tambien, pero plagadas de desatinos.*” Where they were printed—these *otras partes* which must correspond to the fifth and sixth partes as we now have them,—he does not say. At

¹ The four parts must be here counted as one entremés.

² Cotarelo in his edition of the *Comedias de Tirso* in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* asserts that of the five here mentioned, two at least, *El Gabacho*, and *La Malcontenta* are also by Benavente. Of the remaining three of the *Segunda Parte*, *La Venta* (no. 1) is probably by Quevedo (cf. Mérimée, *Essai sur la Vie et les Œuvres de Quevedo*, p. 398 ; also, to the contrary, Barrera, p. 312) ; no. 11, *Las Coches*, is certainly by Benavente, as is probably no. 8, *El Negro*, although Cotarelo offers no opinion.

the time of his writing, however, they had already gone on record in Barrera, p. 605, where they were listed as unpublished, [Cuad. de mss. Antig. 4°], and were attributed, hypothetically, to Tirso; and in 1899 Paz y Melia in the *Catálogo de Piezas del Teatro Manuscritas* mentions them as still unedited, although attributing them to Benavente.¹ Shortly after this,² however, Menéndez y Pelayo brought out, from the only copy known to exist, a reprint of the *Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes de Diferentes Autores*,³ in which, together with eight others by Benavente (the volume contains some twenty hitherto unidentified entremeses) is an entremés de *Los Alcaldes Encontrados* (p. 153) corresponding to the part v⁴ as cited by both Barrera and Paz y Melia, and confirming the conjecture of the latter as to authorship.

The manuscript of the sixth and final part is of seven pages, 4°. Some attempt at punctuation has here been made, and accents have been added.

G. L. LINCOLN.

¹ Page 18. *Alcaldes (Los Encontrados)*. *Entremés del Lic. L. Quiñone de Benavente*. 5a y 6a partes, etc. l. del S. XVII. *Inéditos, según Barrera, que le atribuye á Tirso de Molina*.

² The *Segunda Edición, corregida*, is of 1903. Fortanet, Madrid.

³ . . . "carece de portada en el único ejemplar conocido, y sólo de los preliminares se infiere que su título hubo de ser *Flor de Entremeses y Sainetes de Diferentes Autores*, y el año de la edición 1757."

⁴ El Bachiller Mantuano in his *Entremeses del Siglo XVII*, etc., errs where he states that part IV is to be found in this collection.

XXII.—CONCERNING HUCHOWN.

The Cambridge History of English Literature is the latest augments of the confusion that surrounds the mysterious mediæval poet, Huchown of the Awle Ryale. If this volume did not bid fair to become a work of authority for some years to come, there would be perhaps no need of a study concerning Huchown. Unfortunately, however, misstatements are already being made, based upon its authority, and there is therefore a real need of giving the whole matter a thorough overhauling. It is difficult to realize upon what slight grounds the confident assumptions have been made, which credit Huchown with writing so vast an amount of Middle English alliterative verse.

According to the *Cambridge History* "all authorities are now agreed" that the poem called *Morte Arthure*, which is preserved in the Thornton ms. of Lincoln Cathedral, is the work of Huchown; and that the no less important *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy* is his also. Minor works of Huchown, according to the same authority, are *The Pistill of Suede Susane* and *The Awntyrs of Arthur at the Turn Wathelyng*. The *Cambridge History* further says that this Huchown is "in all probability to be identified with the statesman, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, who was a contemporary of Barbour, who was about twenty-one in 1342 when he was knighted, and who died about the end of 1376 or the beginning of 1377." If we accept these statements of Mr. Giles, the scholar for whom the Cambridge editors stand sponsors, we must accord twenty-five thousand lines of some of the best alliterative verse in English literature to Sir Hew of Eglintoun. It is my contention that we have no reason to ascribe to him any poetry whatever in its

extant form ; and that Huchown of the Awle Ryale, whoever he may have been, can lay claim to nothing except the three hundred and sixty-four lines of *The Pistill of Sucte Susane*.

“Quoth Hutchon, ‘I am wiel content,
I think we may do waur.’ ”¹

It is necessary at the outset to quote the somewhat extended passage in the *Cronykil* of Andrew of Wyntoun,² which is the sole reference in mediæval literature to the poet Huchown. In the course of his outline of world-history, Andrew comes to Leo, Emperor of Rome. Then follows (book V, Chapter XII, lines 4258–4360):—

“And qwhen þis Leo (was) emperoure
Kynge of Brettan was Arthoure,
þat wan al Frawnsse and Lumbardy,
Gyan, Gaskoyn and Normanday,
(Burgon) Flanderis and Brabande,
Henaude, Holande and Goutlande,
Sweys, Swetheryk and Norway,
Denmark, Irland and Orknaye ;
And al þe Ilis in þe se
Subiet war til his pouste ;
And al þir landis euir ilkane
To þe crowne of Brettane
He ekyt hail, and made þaim fre,
Bot subdit til his realte,
With out serwis or homage,
Or ony payment of trewage
Mad to Rome, as befor þai
Lange tyme oyssit for to pay.
(Qwharfor) þe state of þe impyre,
Hely mowit into gret ire,
þe hawtane (message) til hym sende
þat wryttyn in þe Brute is kende ;

¹Allan Ramsay, *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, canto ii, stanza 3.

²Scottish Text Society, 1904–05, vol. iv, pp. 18–27. Two parallel texts are there given ; my quotation is from the second. Words in brackets are supplied from other mss.

And Huchon of þe Aule Reale
 In til his Gest Historyalle
 Hast tretyt þat mater cunnandly
 Mar sufficiande þan to pronowns can I.
 As in our mater we procede,
 Sum (man) may fal þis buk to rede
 Sal cal þe auttoure to rekles,
 And argw perchans his connandnes,
 Syn Huchon of þe Aule Realle
 In til his Gest Historyalle,
 Qwhen kynge of Brettan was Arthoure,
 Callyt Lucyus Hyberyus emperoure.
 Huchon baythe and þe auttour
 Gyltles ar of gret erroure.
 For þe auttouris fyrst to say,
 þe storis qwha þat wil assay
 Off Iber, Frere Martyn and Wyncens
 Wrat storis to cun diligens.
 And Orosyus, all foure,
 þat mony storis hade seyn oure,
 Callit noucht þis Lucyus emperoure
 Qwhen kynge of Bretan was Arthoure ;
 Bot of þe Brute þe story sayis
 þat Lucyus Hyberus in his dayis
 Was of þe hee state procuratoure,
 Noupir callit hym kynge, na emperoure.
 Fra blame þan was the auttour qwyte,
 As befor hym he fande to wryte ;
 And men of gud discrecion
 Sulde excusse and loyff Huchon
 þat cunnande was in littratur.
 He made a gret Gest of Arthure,
 And þe Awntyre of Gawane,
 þe Pistil ¹ als of Suet Susane.
 He was curyousse in his stille,
 Fayr of facunde and subtile,
 And ay to pleyssance hade delyte,
 Mad in metyr meit his dyte,
 Lital or noucht neuir the lesse
 Wauerande fra þe suythfastnes.
 Hade he callyt Lucyus procuratoure,

¹ This word is variously spelled *Epistill*, *epystyll*, and *pistill*.

Qwhar þat he callit hym emperoure,
 He had ma grewit þe cadence
 þan had relewit þe sentence.

Ane emperoure, in propyrte,
 A commawndour sulde callit be ;
 Lucyus swylk micht haf beyn kende
 Be þe (message) þat he sende.
 Heyr sufficiande excusacyonys
 For wilful defamacionys ;
 He mon be war in mony thyng
 þat wil hym kep fra mysdoynge.

Off Arthouris gret douchtynes,
 His worschep and his prysse prowes,
 His conquest and his ryale state,
 Huchon in his Gestis wrait,
 As in þis buk befor I wrate,
 How he helde in to his gheris
 His Tabil Rounde wiþe his Ducheperis,
 How þat he tuk syne his (wayage)
 Fra Lucyus had sende hym þe (message),
 Til Italy withe hie mychtis
 Off kyngis, lordis, and of knyghtis,
 And discomfit þe emperoure,
 And wan gret worshcpe and honoure
 Off Frawnsse nere þe bordowris set,
 In were as þai togedyr met,
 And of tresson til hym don
 Be Mordrede, his systyr son,
 Qwharfor in hast he coym agan,
 And wiþe hym faucht in to Brettan,
 Qwhar he and his Rounde Tabil qwyte
 Was wndon and discomfyte,
 Huchon has tretyt curiously
 In Gest of Brutis aulde story.
 Bot of his ded and his last ende
 I fande na wryt couythe mak it kende
 Sen I fande nane þat þar of wrate,
 I will say na mar þan I wate.
 Bot qwhen þat he had fouchten fast,
 Eftyr in til ane Ile he past,
 Sare wondit, to be lechit þar,
 And eftyr he was seyn na mare."

The interpretation of the foregoing passage being im-

portant for our purposes, I venture to point out the salient facts, however patent they may be.

1. Andrew, in compiling his history, is borrowing freely from the *Brut*, and does not hesitate to give it as his most important authority. This is corroborated by his practice elsewhere.¹

2. Andrew's list of Arthur's conquests is taken obviously from the *Brut*, though he also recommends Huchown's telling of the story, particularly the terms of the emperor's 'hawtane message.'

3. As between Huchown and the *Brut*, on a question of authority, he prefers the *Brut*.

4. Nevertheless, Huchown was a very fine writer, and quite excusable for his trifling error, due, very likely, to the necessities of (alliterative) metre.

5. Huchown's *geste* of the rest of Arthur's story is highly recommended by Andrew.

¹At least six extensive passages are taken by Andrew from the *Brut*, viz. ll. 3288-6005, 6177-6278, 9552-9893, 11194-11673, 12910-15378, 24731-24850. I quote these figures from Professor Skeat, who gives extracts from each passage in Pt. IV of his edition of *The Bruce* (Early Eng. Text Soc., 1889, pp. xxxvi-xli). It is worth while observing that a misinterpretation of some lines in Andrew has succeeded in fastening upon John Barbour a mythical *Brut*, which the good archdeacon had merely cited as authority. The lines are:

"Off Hiber thai come halyly
Tha we oys to call Yrschery, etc. . . .
Bot, be the Brwte, yit Barbare sayis,
Off Yrschry all othir-wayis,
That Gurgwnt-Badruk quhille was Kyng,
And Bretayne had in governyng." II, 767.

Here 'be,' 'by,' means "according to," as in the expression 'by the book.' This line is absolutely the only authority for the oft-repeated statement (found on p. 103 of the *Cambridge History*) that Barbour was the author of a *Brut*. Wherever Andrew refers to the *Brut*, *Lazamon's Brut* will answer perfectly well as the one intended. But it is more likely he was thinking of some one of the prose redactions.

6. Nevertheless, it does not make Andrew acquainted with the details of Arthur's death, nor does Wyntoun's other source, the *Brut*.

7. In addition to the *Great Geste of Arthur*, Huchown made an *Awntyre of Gawayn*, and *The Pistill of Sute Susane*.

The dispute over the identity of these poems has a history of more than a hundred years. It can best be understood after a brief survey of its course.

Sir Hew of Eglintoun was first connected with Huchown by John Pinkerton, who, in the Preliminaries to his edition of Old Scottish Poems in 1792, writes as follows (pp. xxxiv f.) :—

"In the edition of Barbour's *Bruce*, London, 1790, vol. i, p. xx, xxi, some extracts are given from Winton, mentioning a Hucheon of the Awle Ryall, who wrote the romances of Arthur and Gawan, and the Epistle of Susanna. As from Nisbet, i, p. 389, 11, 115, &c., it appears that Hucheon was the old Scottish mode, a suspicion arises that this poet is Sir Hew of Eglinton, mentioned by Dunbar as preceding Winton in time, for his lament is often chronological. However this be, no other Hucheon is known in the bibliography of romances."

Pinkerton did not, however, start upon the slippery road of identification of extant poems as Huchown's. This was reserved for George Chalmers, who, in his edition of Lindsay's poems in 1806, tells us¹ that the *Awntyrs of Gawayn* referred to by Andrew of Wyntoun must be *Golagros and Gawayn*. Unfortunately this poem had already been claimed by Pinkerton as the production of Clerk of Tranent, owing to the testimony of William Dunbar in his poem, *The Lament for the Makaris*.² It was this poem which Pinkerton had used in his identification of Huchown with Sir Hew.

¹ Vol. i, p. 102.

²

"Clerk of Tranent eik he hes tane
That maid the anteris of Gawane."

(*Works*, ed. Small, i, p. 50.)

David Laing, in his *Select Remains of Early Scottish Poetry*, 1822, was the first, I think, to identify the poem called *The Pistill of Suede Susane*, which we have in several MSS., as the work of Huchown. Next, Sir Frederick Madden, in 1839, claimed that the great *Gest of Arthur*, referred to by Andrew of Wyntoun, was none other than one of the finest English poems of the Middle Ages, *Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight*—a view, it should be said, instantly combated by Dr. Richard Morris with considerable vigor.

Messrs. Panton and Donaldson, in their edition of the *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, a poem of over fourteen thousand lines, pointed out that the author of this poem must be the author of the *Morte Arthure*, and that this author must be Huchown.

A more serious attempt to identify Huchown's work was that of Professor Moritz Trautmann, in the first volume of *Anglia*. By word-lists and other tests he tried to show that *Gawayn and the Grene Knight*, *The Pearl*, *Cleanness* (or are we now to call it *Purity*?) and *Patience*, are by a single author, the *Troy Gest* by another, *Golagros and Gawayn* by a third, and *The Awntyrs of Arthur at the Tarn Wathelyng*, by a fourth, while the *Morte Arthure* and *The Pistill of Suede Susane*, alone must be by Huchown, whom he accepts as Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

Ten Brink, in his *English Literature*,¹ confines Huchown's work to *The Pistill*, and admits that there is reason in the identification of Huchown with Sir Hew. It will be seen that the present writer is merely following ten Brink in his insistence upon this moderate view of the case. Ten Brink, however, thought that Huchown's poem must have been the source of the *Morte Arthure*.

At this point the question seems to have slumbered, until

¹ English edition, vol. III, p. 50.

The Awntyrs of Arthur was brought up in a volume of Scottish alliterative poems from the Scottish Text Society in 1897, where Mr. Amours contended that there was strong internal evidence for identifying the author of this poem as the author of *Morte Arthure*, and that both poems were written by Huchown. Mr. Amours, however, denied that Huchown could be Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

The time was ripe, evidently, in this welter of conflicting opinions, for some one to rise and, by that right which genius always claims of appropriating the good ideas of others, to assemble all this mass of material and give it final utterance. As usual, the kind goddess Nature provided the man in the person of Mr. George Neilson of Glasgow. One day he found in the manuscript collection of the University of Glasgow, known as the Hunterian, a manuscript bearing the mystic shelf mark of T—4—1. This volume, written about the middle of the fourteenth century by the hand of one Frampton, contained Guido's *History of the Destruction of Troy*, the *Deeds of Alexander* by Leo, the arch-presbyter, *The Itinerary of Turpin*, the *Book of Marco Polo*, the *Book of Brother Odoricus on the Turks*, and the *Itinerary of John Mandeville*, knight of St. Albans, all in Latin, altogether a delightful compilation, and just the one needed to start work upon Huchown. Briefly, Neilson's task was to show from this volume that the tremendous alliterative poem called *The Wars of Alexander*, of which the fragment that remains to us runs to 5677 lines, was directly translated by Huchown from the text of the arch-priest Leo contained in this MS., while the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* already mentioned was translated similarly from the text of this MS. When the writer, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, was employed on missions to England and France he found it impossible to take this great volume with him, and therefore in the parts of his translation which he wrote abroad he had as his source some

other and similar, let us say, pocket edition of Guido. Mr. Neilson tried to show, too, that the *Itinerary* of Sir John Mandeville, also contained in this volume, was employed by Huchown when he wrote the *Alexander*, the *Morte Arthure*, *The Pearl*, and *Cleanness and Patience*. The next step in his search for new material for his beloved Huchown was to explain that the alliterative poem entitled *Titus and Vespasian*, which tells of the fall of Jerusalem and the entertaining story of Titus and his father's wasps, must also have been by Huchown, since it borrowed directly from both the *Troy* and the *Alexander*. Having thus squeezed dry this portly folio, Mr. Neilson sought other fields.

New material was fortunately at hand. Huchown possessed a considerable knowledge of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, and this he, of course, got from a volume in the Hunterian collection, namely, that known as U—7—25. This copy of Geoffrey, and only this copy, furnished material for Huchown in *Titus*, *Morte Arthure*, *Gawayn and the Grene Knight*, *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, *Cleanness and Patience*, *The Pearl*, and three new poems with which our list of the works attributed to Huchown concludes. These are *Erkenwald*, an alliterative legend printed in Horstmann's collection; the famous *Wynner and Wastoure*, and *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, which borrowed not only from this, but also from *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Mandeville*, and, according to Neilson, every other poem in the series.

One more step in the search for sources contented him. This was a proof that the *Trental* of St. Gregory was the source in large measure of *Cleanness and Patience*, *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, and *Erkenwald*. Mr. Neilson accepted every other poem mentioned in this discussion as undoubtedly the work of Huchown. He annexed Trautmann's arguments that the *Morte Arthure* was by Huchown, but

denied all his arguments against other identifications. He accepted Amours's identification of *The Awntyrs of Arthur* as Huchown's *Awntyrs of Gawain*, but denied his arguments against the identification of Huchown with Sir Hew; and so it went with the others. He accepted Gollancz's identification of the author of the *Parlement* with *Wynner and Wastoure*, but denied his theory that they were English poems. We have here 40,000 lines of the very meat of Middle English literature identified as the work of a Scotchman. Obviously, it was time for English scholars to assert their rights.

The discussion was carried on through 1900 and 1901 in the columns of the *Athenæum*, beginning May, 1900, when the ms. T—4—1 was announced.

In December of the same year Mr. Henry Bradley denied that Huchown, whoever he was, was a Scotchman. Wyntoun, said Mr. Bradley, did not show that Huchown was a Scotchman, in fact said nothing about his nationality. Moreover, the knowledge of local topography in *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, which, be it said, Mr. Bradley admits as Huchown's, would only have been possessed by a native of Cumberland, since the region of Tarn Wathelyng, Inglewood, and Plumpton, is there described. Huchown could not possibly be Sir Hew, since the term Huchon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a separate name from Hue, although derived originally from the old French accusative *Huchon* or *Hue*. As a substitute for Huchown of the Awle Ryale, Mr. Bradley called attention to John Huchon, who appears in the patent rolls as a native of Kent in 1379. As to what Andrew meant by the Awle Ryale, Mr. Bradley was not prepared to say, but he did not see why Awle Ryale should necessarily mean "the king's hall" of Scotland. Mr. Bradley, being an Oxford man, asked why not Oriel College, Oxford, which, founded by

King Edward II, was known throughout the fourteenth century as "Aula Regis" and which may even have owed its name "Oriel" to a false etymology of this phrase? If not Oriel, said Mr. Bradley, then Brasenose College, Oxford, or as a last resort, King's Hall, Cambridge, which at that time

"was a greet collegge,
Men clepen the Solerhalle at Cantebregge."

Another Mr. Neilson, this time Mr. T. A. Neilson, next brought forward a document of the middle of the thirteenth century in which according to the Assize rolls of Northumberland of the Surtees Society, page 90, Scottish reivers burglarized the house of Hugo de Aula near Ryhull, pronounced then as spelled now, Ryal.

A week later Mr. Henry Bradley had found southern rhymes in *Morte Arthure* to prove, no longer that it was by a Cumberland man, but by a writer in the south of England. The rhymes "riche," "liche," in the *Susan*, and "gold," "bold," in the *Awntyrs of Arthur* speak for themselves; and he asks, with good reason, if the writer of *Morte Arthure* was a Scotchman why does he spend so much time in the praise of English knights in *Morte Arthure*, and in his only reference to his native country address it as "scathell Scotland," or "turbulent Scotland?"

The Glasgow scholar at once replied with a blast of documents to prove Sir Hew of Eglintoun identical with Huchown. He claimed that persons of such nobility as the lords of Lovat were called Huchown in 1416 and Hew in 1471. He further added that Hew of Eglintoun was constantly on embassies into England and therefore would naturally have an English bias. As to the dialect of the poems, since nobody knew anything of the Scottish dialect of that day, southern forms might also be northern.

Later on, Mr. Neilson pointed out that Hew of Lincoln,

the boy martyr, was sometimes called Huchown; and Mr. Bradley rejoined that Huchown was a common English name, and not merely Scotch.

A few months later, Mr. Neilson announced those discoveries with regard to *Titus* and other poems which I have already summarized, and on the 15th of June Professor Gollancz of University College, London, battered away at the Titus-Troy matter. The details in which the *Titus* agrees with *Troy*, said he, are commonplaces; and the details which the author of *Morte Arthure* may have borrowed concerning the fall of Jerusalem might have come directly from Hegesippus or Josephus without any connection with the English *Titus*. The latter poem, Mr. Gollancz thought, was from the southwest of England; and he called attention to the fact that it did not pronounce the final *e*, while *Morte Arthure* observes the *-e* regularly.

Mr. Bradley in the same number fired a shot at the same problem. Obviously, said he, *Morte Arthure* is not derived from *Titus*, but whatever plagiarism there may have been was certainly from *Morte Arthure* to *Titus*. The dragon banner and its destruction, upon which Mr. Neilson had laid much stress as common to these poems, Mr. Bradley points out as an old Arthurian tradition, a mere commonplace of romantic poetry.

It was time for Mr. Neilson, if he wished his fortress to be saved, to make a sortie into the enemy's country, and in the issue of October 26, 1901, he coolly appropriated the poem I have already mentioned, *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, in the name of Huchown, since it quoted the plot of the opening of *Troy*. Now *The Parlement of the Three Ages* as well as *The Pearl* and *Wynner and Wastour* was the peculiar property of Mr. Gollancz, who had just edited the poem. To have this work claimed for a Scotchman was too much, and the English professor on the third of November,

1901, brought his case before the Philological Society of London.

According to Mr. Gollancz, the identification of Hew of Eglintoun with Huchown of the Awle Ryale was improbable, since Wyntoun would not have been so familiar and condescending as to speak of a well-known knight, a justiciar of Scotland, without his proper title and without reference to the estate of which he was the lord. Mr. Gollancz admitted that Wyntoun referred to *Morte Arthure*, the *Susan*, and probably *The Awntyrs of Arthur*, but he denied that any knowledge of ours could derive them from a Scottish original, since phonological tests were against this. The poet, he thought, was a Cumberland man, and his identity could not be proved. He did not believe that *The Awntyrs* was by the same man as the author of *The Pearl*. Neither did he believe that *The Awntyrs* was derived in any way from the *Trental of Gregory*, as Neilson had contended. He pointed out that while Mr. Neilson believed that Huchown had carefully written the history of the destruction of Troy and of the hero Jason, the author of *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, which Neilson claimed for Huchown, thought that Jason was a Jew, and so described him. Still less did he think that *Wynner and Wastour* was to be considered as Huchown's. Determined, however, to have at least one guess of his own in the matter, Mr. Gollancz, being a Cambridge man, brought forward as a likely candidate for Huchown Hugo the Bukberere in the library at King's Hall, or Christ College, from which he himself had honorably graduated. With this parting salvo, the English forces drew off in good order, leaving Mr. Neilson in sole possession of the proceedings of the Glasgow Philosophical Society and of the public press, through which he issued in vol. 32 of the first, pages 111-150, a biographical calendar and literary estimate of Sir Hew of Eglintoun as Huchown of the Awle Ryale, and

later in 1902 published through the publishers to the University his complete story of *Huchown of the Awle Ryale, the Alliterative Poet*.

As a far-off echo of the controversy there is a paper, supposedly printed in the *Scottish Antiquary*, July, 1902, by Mr. J. T. T. Brown, which was read before the Glasgow Society in April of that year. From a summary of it which I have seen, Mr. Brown gave a sensible and helpful review of Mr. Neilson's work. While agreeing with Mr. Neilson, as became a true Scottishman, that Huchown was certainly Sir Hew of Eglintoun, Mr. Brown finally concluded that none of the recent importations into the discussion could possibly be by Huchown, and probably only three of the remaining eight in the earlier discussion were his. Unfortunately Mr. Brown's paper, which in the summary dated April, 1902 he states was printed in July, 1902, has, like the Cock Lane ghost, materialized in rappings only, since no number of the *Scottish Antiquary*, or of any other Scottish periodical so far as I know, contains the paper *in extenso*. With this paper the subject was allowed to rest in a well deserved grave until a careless word of Mr. Peter Giles, author of the aforesaid fifth chapter in the *Cambridge History of Literature*, brings the question up once more.

Let us take the simplest problem first. There is a mediæval poem called *The Pistill of Sute Susan*. It is scarcely likely that two poems with this title would have been written, and therefore there is little reason for doubting that Andrew of Wyntoun meant this poem. As it at present exists, it is in a northern dialect, and its forms seem scarcely earlier than 1400. The poem treats of Susanna and the elders in a pleasing romantic style.

Concerning the other two titles mentioned by Andrew of Wyntoun, it is to be said that no poem exists under either, and therefore the presumption is that these works are lost.

The identification of *The Great Gest of Arthur* with *Morte Arthure* is, however, so generally accepted at the present time that we must examine its claims closely.

Mr. Giles in the *Cambridge History* says, it will be remembered, "that all authorities are now agreed" that *Morte Arthure* satisfies the conditions of the *Great Gest* referred to by Andrew of Wyntoun. The agreement of all authorities is due simply to the fact that nobody seems to have investigated the methods by which Professor Moritz Trautmann arrived at this identity. Even ten Brink, while he pointed out new objections to Trautmann's theory, accepted his methods at their face value. On searching examination, Professor Trautmann's evidence vanishes.

His first proof is the familiar word-list. He cites eleven parallels of words in *Susan* and *Morte Arthure*, which he says occur in no other alliterative poems. The first of these, *frape*, meaning "troop," occurs both in Chaucer and in Manning. The second, *herbor*, occurring in the form *erberi* in *Susan*, *arborye* in *Morte Arthure*, occurs also in *Piers Plowman*, 19. 5, *herber*. The third, *maundement*, occurs in *Piers Plowman* several times. *Pomeri*, "fruit garden," I have not found in contemporary works, but the word is not rare from the French original. *Fodemed*, which Trautmann mistranslates "produced," occurs in the form *foded* in *William of Palerne*, line 57 and elsewhere. *Flayre*, Trautmann quotes as meaning "smell;" but in the *Morte Arthure* the passage he cites refers to the flare that comes out of the dragon's mouth and burns up the grass on the ground. Evidently the smell must have had something of a fiery flame about it. If it be flare the word is common enough. *Neods* is common in *Piers Plowman* (23. 55). *Sert*, an aphetic form of *desert*, meaning "for the sake of" or "by the merit of," seems to be a just parallel. *Stoteyd*, Trautmann gives as "became mad," but the word means "stut-

tered" and is common in alliterative poetry. I cite the *Destruction of Troy* 3. 8. 81. The next word, *herbergage*, is too common to attract attention. *Trayle*, the last word, is in *Piers Plowman*. We have then two, possibly three significant identities.

Trautmann then gives a list of words which occur rarely in other alliterative poems, a list which may be equally neglected as proving nothing. Some of his words are such common words as *clergy*, meaning "science," *eschew*, which he translates as "retreat," *loselle*, "wretch," *kinrede*, *rancour*, *trine*, (which appears in *Cleanness* and other alliterative poems), *middelert* and *maisterful*.

Trautmann's third proof is a set of parallel passages, twenty-seven in all. The matter is such a vital one that I must beg leave to cite these supposed parallels:—

Susanna:

he was so lele in his lawe, 3.
 thei caught the cursng of Kai, 59.

 I am with serwe biset on everiche
 syde, 145.
 bretenet and brent, 147.
 renkes reneyed, 198.
 heo wyled hir wenchas away, 213,
 219.
 for sert of hir sovereyn, 223.
 heo ne schunte for no schame, 231.

 I am sakeles of syn, 240.
 don out of dawen, 242.
 heo kevered upon hir kneos, 252.

 heef hir hondas on high, biheld heo
 to heven, 262.
 all the frape, 289.

Morte Arthure:

they were lele in theire lawe, 14.
 that ilke cursynge that Cayme
 kaghte, 1311.

 we are with Sarazenes besett appone
 sere halfes, 3795.
 bretteneðe or brynte, 3520.
 renayede renke, 3892.
 he myghte wile hyme away, 3908.

 be serte of owre lorde, 2926.
 he ne schownttes for no schame,
 3715.

 it es sakles of syne, 3992.
 done of dawes, 2056.
 couerde vp on hire kneesse, 956.
 couride on his knees, 2195. vpe he
 coueris on kneys, 4274.

 hewys hys handys on heghte, and to
 the heuene lokes, 4156.
 alle the frappe, 2163, 2804.

now wakneth heor wo, 297.	zow wakkens wandrethe, 2370.
to marke thi middel in more then in thre, 320.	he merkes thurghe the mayles the myddes in sondyre, 2206. and medilles thourghe mayles thay merkene in sondire, 4168.
this dai ar we dine, 346.	to-morne or myddaye be rounge, 1587.
thou sette uppon sevene, 264.	thus he settez on seuene, 2131.
thar us not be ferde, 120. the ne tharf wonde for no wight, 137.	him thare be ferde for no faees, 403.
ruydely rored, 341.	roris fulle ruydlye, 2795.
for fulthe of thi falshed, 344.	for fylth of thi selfene, 1071.
warp of hir wedes, 124.	warp of hys wedez, 901.
withinne the sercle of sees, of erberi and alees, of alle maner of trees, 10-12.	enhorilde with arborye and alkyns trees, 3244.
bi this welle strende, 123.	by the welle strandes, 947.
theos perilous prestes, 43.	that perilous prynce, 1258.

These are what Trautmann calls numerous and exceptional agreements between the two points. No criticism is needed to prove that these parallels are the accidents of convention in the alliterative type.

Trautmann's other proof consists of four statements about the metre in the two poems. First, on the alliterative scheme, he claims that both poems show a similar departure from the rimed scheme $aa : ab$ in *Morte Arthure*, and the scheme $aa : aa$ in *Susanna*. Upon what ground he bases this as the only normal type of line in either case, I am unaware. In the *Susan* the poet appears at full liberty to use either three or four alliterative words in a single line, and he possesses a similar liberty in the *Morte Arthure*. The proportion of lines which depart from the rimed $aa : ab$ in *Morte Arthure* may be paralleled in other poems such as *Piers Plowman*, of which the very first line is

"In a summer season when soft was the sun,"

but that such proportion exists in the ratio of 25 to 100 in *Morte Arthure*, as Trautmann asserts, I do not believe. For example, as a typical case take ll. 2501 to 2524, a paragraph picked out at random, which has one case of *aa : aa*. My personal belief is that the ratio is nearer four per cent. than twenty-five, and is thus negligible. His statement that *Susan* departs from its scheme of *aa : aa* vastly more than other stanzaic alliterative poems is equally careless. He says, as an example of this, that *The Awntyrs of Arthur* contains seven cases in its entire length. But in stanza 14, for example, lines 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9, five lines out of nine, depart from this scheme. Again stanza 47, lines 1, 2 and 6 depart from the scheme. Stanza 49, lines 1, 2, 6, 8 and 9. In stanza 50 the first four lines depart from the scheme. Mr. Trautmann's figures certainly need revising.

His second proof is that *sch* seldom alliterates with *s* in *Morte Arthure* and *Susanna*. But this is also true of *Piers Plowman*. Compare the second line of the poem,

"I schop me in a schroud a scheep as I were."

It is true also of the *Alexander*. Compare line 1299 :

"Schot sharply between schoures of dartis."

Or again, 1402-3 :

"Now a schaft. now a schild, now scheue heutis
Now a sparth. now a spere, & sped was his mihtis."

The rare riming of *wh* with *w* in the *Morte Arthure* can be paralleled in the *Alexander* and many another mediæval alliterative poem. On the other hand, Professor Trautmann does not observe that *Morte Arthure* sometimes rimes *v* with *w*.¹ *Susanna* never does, while it uses the *w* rime constantly.

¹ *E. g.* wrechyd : world : vertous 5 ; voyde : vayne : wyrchip 10 : voyde : vice : wyndowes 909.

His third metrical argument is that lines with two consonantal sounds together as an alliterative scheme are rare in both poems. Such combinations are *br*, *dr*, *pr*. They are equally rare in *Piers Plowman*. In the first hundred lines there are nine. In the *Alexander* they are even less common. Compare lines 156, 195, 201, 237, 248, 263, 276, 284, in the first three hundred lines. There are in the *Susan* six in the first three hundred and sixty lines, almost exactly the same proportion. Yet Professor Trautmann is at great pains to prove that the author of the *Susan* did not write the *Alexander*, though he wrote the *Morte Arthure*!

Finally, Trautmann contends that the same alliterative sound is often carried through several successive lines in both poems. It would almost appear from this statement, that Mr. Trautmann had never read alliterative poetry, for this is true of practically every alliterative romance. Let me recall the first few lines of the romance of *Alexander*:

“ When folk ere festid & fed fayn wald þai here
 Sum farand þing efter fode. to fayn þare hert
 Or þai ware fourmed on fold. or þai fadirs oper.
 Sum is leue to lythe. þe lesing of Sayntis,
 pat lete þer lifis be lorne. for oure lordis sake ;
 And sum has langing of lufe. lays to herken,
 How ledis for þaire lemmans. has langor endured.
 Sum couettis & has comforth. to carpe and to lestyn
 Of curtaissy of knyghthode. of craftis of armys,
 Of kyngis at has conquerid & ouercomyn landis,
 Sum of wirschip I-wis. slike as þam wyse lattis,
 And sum of wanton werkis. þa þat ere wild-hedid ;
 Bot if þai wald on many wise. a wondire ware it els ;
 For as þaire wittis ere within. so þer will folowis.”

It is solely because of such statements as these, buttressed by the similarity of the contents of *Morte Arthure* to Andrew of Wyntoun's account of Arthur, that the poem is Huchown's, “by the agreement of all authorities.” But the question is, what does Andrew of Wyntoun refer to as contained

in Huchown's book? Simply the letter of the emperor to Arthur, Arthur's conquest abroad, his return and death. Much has been made of the fact that the places given as conquered by Arthur are alike in Andrew and the *Morte Arthure*. This fact indeed is the only one advanced by the editors of the *Destruction of Troy*, Messrs. Panton and Donaldson, in justification of their belief in Huchown's authorship of *Morte Arthure*. Yet there is no great similarity in these two lists. Andrew named seventeen places: France, Lombardy, Gascone, Gyane, Normandy, Flanders, Burgundy, Brabant, Zealand, in other mss. Henaud, Holland and Fresland, in another ms. Goutland, Swessioun or Sweys, Swethrick and Norway, Denmark, Ireland and Orkney, and all of the isles in the sea. Or, in other words, everything north of Spain and Italy, and west of the German Empire. Anyone describing Arthur's conquests might give the same list. The list in *Morte Arthure* seems to me to be not particularly derived from this list. It gives Argile, Orkney and the isles, Ireland and Scathyle Scotland, Wales, Flanders, France, Holland and Henalt, Burgundy and Brabant and Brittainy, Gyane and Gothland, and Greece, numerous other places in France, Naverne, Norway, Normandy, Germany, Austria, Denmark, and Swethrik. Andrew of Winton with his habitual accuracy would, it seems to me, have taken more pains to make the list of Arthur's conquest accurate after the model of the author of *Morte Arthure* had he known of that poem. But we have no reason to assume that the list is copied from Huchown. It is, as I have said, more probably from the *Brut*, since Andrew does not break away from the *Brut* to talk about Huchown till later. The Scottish *Brut* is, unfortunately, lost. The rest of Andrew's knowledge of Arthur coincides well enough with the poem *Morte Arthure*, just as it coincides well enough with the poem called *Arthur* in the Marquis of Bath's ms. In

Arthur, too, Lucius is always called Emperor. The knowledge was not confined to any one poem in the Arthur cycle. But it is incredible that Andrew of Wyntoun should deliberately say he knew of no writing that tells the end of Arthur, when the *Morte Arthure*, to which Trautmann and others suppose he refers, gives a most explicit account of the death of Arthur, including the prosaic sending for a surgeon, declaring his heir, making a will, dying and being buried at Glastonbury (lines 4297–4342). Trautmann gets around this objection with a beautiful piece of evasion. He claims that Wyntoun's words imply that he doubts the Huchown story and therefore will not put it into his own history. Now Wyntoun says plainly,

“ Bot of his ded and his last ende
I fonde na wryt couythe mak it kende.”

(Lines 4353–4).

Trautmann reads into this, “I have found no trustworthy authority.” But how could Andrew despise Huchown as an authority when he has just referred his readers to Huchown as excellent authority for this last part of Arthur's life? We are left, therefore, without the slightest shred of proof for identification of the *Morte Arthure* as a work by the poet of the *Susan*. With this statement the whole fabric of Huchown's authorship falls to the ground.

We turn now to the third poem mentioned by Andrew, *The Awntyrs of Gawayn*. Trautmann says that this title is to be read without a comma between it and the preceding. Thus “he made the *Great Gest of Arthure* and *The Awntyrs of Gawayn*,” that is, one poem with a double title. *The Awntyrs of Gawayn*, according to this view, refers to the adventure of Gawayn described in lines 2371 to 3083, which do indeed relate an adventure of Gawayn. But can another example be given of a mediæval title in which a single

episode is included in the general title? ¹ The practice is all the other way. The term "Awntyr of Gawayn" might have applied to any of the poems which tell of the adventure of that hero. There is hardly an Arthurian story in which Gawayn does not play a distinguished part. There are at least eight poems extant in which he is certainly to be called the hero. Many others were probably written and are now lost. An attempt to identify anyone of these as Huchown's seems to me to be utterly futile. Although Sir Frederick Madden would have had us take *Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight*, the *Susan* gives us no indication that Huchown was capable of such a magnificent poem. Its own nature pictures are dull and unlikelike.

The Awntyrs of Arthur at the Tarn Wathelyng are, it is true, in the same meter as *Susanna* except for the catchphrase carried over from one stanza to the next. But the evidence of Mr. Amours for this identification is scarcely more convincing than that of Mr. Trautmann for *Morte Arthure*. The vigor and freshness of the poem strike one as being quite different from the conventional evenness of the *Susan*. We must therefore leave *The Awntyr of Gawayn* unidentified. So far as Trautmann's evidence in this case goes, it is wholly adverse.

With these statements we conclude the discussion of authorship concerning Huchown proper. It remains to clear up certain other identities which have been assumed by scholars in the controversy.

The middle English *Destruction of Troy*, edited by Panton and Donaldson, is practically accepted by the *Cambridge History* as written by the author of *Morte Arthure*. There is no evidence for this assumption. Messrs. Panton and Donaldson did their work in Glasgow some forty-five

¹ Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. Text Society, 1864. Cf ll. 203 ff.

years ago. They had little to guide them in judging alliterative poetry, and their proof of the identity of authorship lay simply in the fact that both poems are written in a northern dialect in the latter part of the Middle Ages. Their statement has been complacently passed from scholar to scholar without any investigation, so far as I know, except for Trautmann's conclusions in the aforesaid article in *Anglia*. Trautmann's arguments are of the same kind that we have seen in the investigation of *Morte Arthure* and *The Susan*, but his observation is more accurate. His statement that *The Destruction of Troy* is the most evenly composed of all the middle English alliterative works seems to me to be a just observation. In the uniformity of its lines and in the vigor of the translation it is incomparably the best of the English Troy versions. Its vocabulary is not like that of *Morte Arthure*; and there are, as Trautmann observes, a half hundred of words which occur only in one of the two poems. The indications of identity are simply those which accompany all alliterative writing of romantic narrative. Mr. Trautmann is further right in saying that the *Troy* holds rigidly to the rime scheme *aa : ab*, while the *Morte Arthure* does not.

For *The Wars of Alexander* there is still less to be said in the way of parallels. The work is not nearly so good as that of the *Morte Arthure*, and the metrical structure is even more unlike. Trautmann did not investigate this poem for identities of authorship, but the few parallels which Mr. Neilson brings up are not at all convincing, since they are chiefly derived from the *Troybook* and the *Titus*, and not from the *Morte Arthure*. Professor Skeat, the editor of *The Wars of Alexander*, has no idea whatever that Huchown might have a claim. He dates the poem as of the former half or the middle of the fifteenth century; I should be not unwilling to date it a little earlier. But it is incredible that

the well informed Wyntoun should quote the *Pistill of Sute Susan* as Huchown's work and make no reference to the enormous *Wars of Alexander*, which must have been in its original 50,000 lines long. The parallels between the *Morte Arthure* and the *Alexander*, as given by Mr. Neilson, are of the following type :

<i>Alexander :</i>	<i>Morte Arthure.</i>
For all the worth of the world, 5317.	Ne of worth of this world, 541.
Drives over the deep, 64.	Driving on the deep, 761.
And makes a way wide enough, 1324.	Wrought ways full wide, 1796.
He pight down his pavilion, 2175.	Pight pavilions of Palle, 2478.
The wilds of this world, 24.	Of all the wilds of this world, 3554.
Derfe dintes dreghe delt taken, 2091.	Derfe dynthys he dalte, 3749.

Such parallelisms are insufficient to prove identity of authorship, and as they are the only evidence presented by Mr. Neilson, may be dismissed at once.

The place-name argument of Neilson is negligible. Both poems give Flanders and France, Gascone and Guyenne, Normandy and Naverne, Turkey and Tartary, Persia and Pamphilia. But these groups of names are purely conventional and due to alliteration, and the insertions in the *Alexander* story not in its Latin original are the result of the desire of the poet to find an alliterative place-name to fill out his line. Mr. Neilson's investigations above described on the Glasgow MSS. prove really nothing except that manuscripts of those types were probably the source of the alliterative translations of these pieces. *The Wars of Alexander* is striking in the identity of its place-names with those of the Glasgow MS. certainly, and the proof is valuable, but the point does not concern authorship.

Mr. Neilson's identification of the *Titus* as derived from

both the *Alexander* and the *Troy* and his proof of the identity of authorship here are worthless. The *Titus* was used, says Mr. Neilson, in the *Morte Arthure* because the *Titus* tells the story of the Vernacle and King Arthur took his vows in the *Morte Arthure* upon the Vernacle, and Arthur shaved the Roman ambassadors in the *Morte Arthure* 2331 because the Jews did the same in the *Titus*, 355. The dragon banner in the *Morte Arthure* and in the *Titus* is similarly significant as indicative of the royal presence, according to Mr. Neilson, as is the ball symbolizing the sovereignty of the earth and the sword signifying authority. The arming of Vespasian in the *Titus* is, according to him, closely like Arthur's arming of himself in the *Morte Arthure*, but the parallels he gives us are not convincing. As the knight arms himself birds sing. Vespasian busks him fair and stirs him far. Both of them hang on themselves broad shields. The gloves are embroidered with gold in both cases. One hero asks for a horse, the other asks for his sword. Upon both of them is there a helm with the crown of gold upon it. And his knights, when he has armed himself, follow him in a company. Surely this is no extraordinary parallel, which was duplicated every time a king went into a fight in mediæval romance! The shaving of ambassadors, which occurs in the Romance of *Ogier le Danois*, was not an uncommon way of greeting messengers. The dragon banner in *Morte Arthure* is an integral part of the legend of the Round Table and is not borrowed from the *Titus*. The vow upon the Vernacle may have been due to *Titus*, or it may not. Even if it were, however, identity of authorship would not necessarily follow. Yet Mr. Neilson coolly assumes that these coincidences, such as they are, are sufficient to prove identity of authorship.

With regard to the next group of poems, *Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight*, *The Pearl*, and *Patience*, I have but little

to say. It is perfectly obvious to every one but Mr. Neilson that the author of *Sir Gawayn* was not the author of *Morte Arthure*. The two poems, both full of merit, are entirely different in style. The two most important differences seem to me to be the metrical tests of the 'w' and 'v' rime, regular in the *Morte Arthure* and never occurring in the four poems of the Gawayn group, while, on the other hand, 'wh' rimes with 'w' continually in the Gawayn group and very rarely in the *Morte Arthure*. This identification however, it is really unnecessary to dwell upon, since the author of the article in the *Cambridge History* does not agree with it, and since Mr. Neilson is the only person that holds it. His parallels in this connection are more unconvincing than ever, and are not worth quoting. The very fact that Mr. Neilson believes that the author of *The Awntyrs of Arthur* wrote *Sir Gawayn and the Grene Knight* is sufficient proof, to anyone who has read these two poems, of the untrustworthiness of his knowledge of style.

Mr. Neilson's alleged discovery of the identity of the *Erkenwald* story with certain elements in the *Trental of Gregory* and *The Pearl* is not such a discovery as he would claim it to be. In *The Awntyrs of Arthur* Guinevere at night sees an apparition of a howling and grisly ghost all gore with a toad at her throat. This ghost is Guinevere's mother and begs her to say thirty trentals between undern and noon in order to bring her soul to peace. Guinevere puts all the priests in the kingdom to work singing masses; and the ghost glides away. This is, of course, one version of the Gregory story. Gregory saw his mother in a similar vision and said trentals according to her instructions on the ten chief feasts of the year; and an angel carried her off to heaven at the year's end. But direct borrowing from the *Trental* poem is not necessary to hypothecate. Students of

legend know better than to insist on any such direct communication.

We come now to the *Erkenwald*, which to my mind is one of the most charming of all this interesting group of poems. This is a story of a wise heathen judge whose body has been preserved fresh and lifelike until Saint Erkenwald has an opportunity in the church to baptise it and thus release its soul to heaven. All the similarities which Neilson finds here are the conjuration by a human person to tell what is the matter, the reply of the ghost, and the release of the soul. These are the very commonplace of mediaeval legend. Horstmann's identification of *Erkenwald* as the work of Huchown is entirely unsupported by any evidence, and cannot therefore be admitted.

The Parlement of the Three Ages and *Wynner and Wastour* are even less like the *Morte Arthure* and other poems of the types described than *Erkenwald*. Professor Manly describes them as strongly resembling *Piers Plowman*; and as yet Mr. Neilson has not seen fit to annex that poem as a work of Huchown. In the *Parlement of the Three Ages* we have a striking plot and a striking poem of the vision type based upon the triple division of life into youth, middle age, and old age, combined with the narrative of the Nine Worthies.

Wynner and Wastour, which Gollancz with some right believes is by the author of *The Parliament of the Three Ages*, is unquestionably written in some connection with the Order of the Garter. In it occurs the earliest translation of "Honi soit qui mal y pense." The description of the hosts and armies gathered the one against the other is as vivid as anything of the kind in middle English literature. But the dating of the poem as related to certain circumstances in regard to the troubles with the pope in 1358, as put forth by Mr. Neilson, is not too clearly evidenced in the text. Sir Hew of Eglintoun was in London in 1358, and so Mr.

Neilson would have him the author of the *Wynner and Wastour*; but the evidence he relies upon, metrical and linguistical, is absolutely nil, and we need not trouble ourselves to dispute an argument which is not really presented. This may certainly be said, that *Wynner and Wastour* is much more like *The Parlement of the Three Ages* than any other poem, and that the latter is certainly not by Huchown, or by the author of the *Morte Arthure*.

We have thus come through the maze of guesswork, which has associated a large part of our anonymous middle English alliterative poetry under the name of Huchown. Was Huchown of the Awle Ryale a Scotchman, and was he Sir Hew of Eglintoun? These are the final questions. Certainly Sir Hew was traditionally a poet: and he is the only Hew of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who was traditionally a poet. Certainly Huchown is a variation of the name Hew. Certainly Awle Ryale may mean royal hall, and Sir Hew of Eglintoun had access to the royal hall in Scotland. In so far as these established facts work towards a common end they argue for Huchown's identity with Sir Hew. On the other hand, Hew was not an uncommon name in Scotland and there may well have been other Hews who were poets in that time. Sir Hew is never called Huchown of the Awle Ryale in any document of the period, but is always referred to as Sir Hew of Eglintoun. It is odd that the formal historian referring pointedly to him should not have given him his proper title of knighthood. The final verdict must be, *Not proven*.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

XXIII.—SPENSER AND THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

The most critical year in the life of Spenser was that extending from the summer of 1579, when he was preparing for the publication of the *Shepheards Calender*, to the summer of 1580, when he went to Ireland as the secretary of Lord Grey. The epistle to Harvey, prefixed to the *Calender*, was dated "from my lodging at London thys 10. of Aprill, 1579"; but the book was not published until some time in the following winter. Besides this, his first ambitious work, Spenser had various other literary undertakings in hand, including a first draft of the great epic. By the tenth of April, 1580, he was anxious to have Harvey's judgment on the *Faerie Queene*, and on the twelfth of August he landed in Ireland.

The most important document bearing on this period is the letter to Harvey dated October fifth.¹ This letter has been frequently cited for its discussion of reformed versifying; but the real significance has, I believe, been strangely overlooked. It is true that much space is given to telling about the Areopagus, and there are some specimens of Spenser's lamentable essays in the new versification; but these are merely incidental to his real purpose, which was to ask Harvey's advice on some matters on which he was in doubt. "My principal doubts are these," he says. "First, I was minded for a while to have intermitted the uttering of my writings; leaste by over-much cloying their noble eares, I should gather a contempt of myself, or else seeme rather for gaine and commoditie to doe it, for some sweetnesse that I have already tasted. Then also, me seemeth, the work too base for his excellent Lordship, being made in

¹ Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, i, pp. 6 ff.

Honour of a private Personage unknowne, which of some yl-willers might be upbraided, not to be so worthie, as you know she is: or the matter not so weightie, that it should be offred to so weightie a Personage; or the like."

That this passage refers to the *Calender*, and that Spenser was considering a dedication to Leicester, there can be no doubt. The "private Personage unknowne," who, though "worthie," is yet celebrated in the "base" style of a pastoral, is certainly Rosalind. The facts that the prefatory letter to Harvey was dated April tenth, and that when the *Calender* appeared it was dedicated to Sidney, offer no difficulties. By October, Spenser had been received with so much favor by Leicester that he contemplated offering his poem to the powerful favorite, and sought Harvey's advice. This is the real occasion for his letter. It is also in this same letter that Spenser speaks of Gosson's impudent dedication of the *School of Abuse* to Sidney, "being for his labour scorned"; he continues, "Suche follie is it, not to regarde aforehand the inclination and qualitie of him to whome wee dedicate oure Bookes. Suche mighte I happily incurre entituling *My Slomber* and the other Pamphlets unto his honor. I meant them rather to Maister Dyer."

There is yet more of importance in this letter. Spenser speaks of his intimacy with Sidney,¹ and proceeds: "Your desire to heare of my late beeing with her Maiestie, muste dye in itselife. As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master Sidney and Master Dyer, they have me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity." And near the end, after asking Harvey to write the news when Spenser has gone abroad, he continues, "As gentle M. Sidney, I thanke his good Worship, hath required of me, and so promised to doe againe."²

Thus far it is evident that Spenser was elated over his

¹ P. 7.

² P. 17.

relations with Leicester, Sidney, and Dyer; that he was proceeding with caution, though inclined to dedicate the *Calender* to Leicester, because fearful of presuming as Gosson had presumed with Sidney; and that his present position was of such importance that he had been sent to the Queen on confidential business. But the most significant passage is that in which he shows that even literature is of secondary importance:

"I was minded also to have sent you some English verses: or Rymes, for a farewell: but by my Troth, I have no spare time in the world, to thinke on such Toyes, that you know will demaund a freer head, than mine is presently. I beseech you by all your Curtesies and Graces let me be answered ere I goe: which will be, (I hope, I feare, I thinke) the nexte weeke, if I can be dispatched of my Lorde. I goe thither, as sent by him, and maintained most what of him; and there am to employ my time, my body, my minde, to his Honours service."¹

The true significance of this letter consists not in its discussion of Areopagus and reformed versifying, or even in the list of poems which Spenser had ready for publication, but rather in the tone of hope, in the sense of his having established important relations with men who could advance him, in the extreme caution naturally felt by a young man who does not wish to make a nuisance of himself; in short, in the very clear impression which it gives that, for the

¹ P. 16. Spenser also (p. 7) advises Harvey to look out for preferment for himself: "And indeede for your self to, it sitteth with you now, to call your wits and senses together . . . when occasion is so fairely offered of Estimation and Preferment. For, whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates." Harvey's reply, dated Oct. 23, chaffs Spenser on this business-like manner and wagers all the books in his study that Spenser will not go over sea by next week or the week after. Harvey was evidently skeptical of his friend's enthusiasm.

moment at least, his head was full of more important matters than verse-making, and that his poetry was mainly valuable as a means to worldly preferment.

If we turn, now, to the third of these "Three Proper and wittie familiar letters," dated in April, 1580,¹ the change in tone is marked. The letter is purely literary. Spenser treats of quantity and accent, giving illustrations; seeks to compare Harvey's theories with Drant's; speaks of his literary undertakings, naming several poems. Evidently Harvey's prophecy had come true: something had occurred to turn the poet back to his visions and his books. In August he was in Ireland, beginning the long period of exile, and deprived of his hopes of rising in the councils of state. I wish to stress these points, even at the expense of repetition: In October, Spenser was at Leicester House, intimate with the powerful group of men about the great earl, confident of preferment; by the following April, he had turned once more to literature. In August he was in Ireland, the dream over. I propose now to offer an explanation of these circumstances.

I.

Before I discuss the possible relations of two important poems to this passage in Spenser's life, it is necessary to treat briefly the crisis which confronted Leicester in 1579-80. At no other time in the history of this most powerful of Elizabeth's favorites was he engaged in such a battle as confronted him when the queen seemed about to marry the duc d'Alençon. Not even the critical period 1585-86, when Leicester aroused the fury of his mistress by assuming the lordship of the States, can compare with this; for in 1585 he had given up all hopes of ever becoming the king-

¹ Harvey, *Works*, I, pp. 29 ff. The second letter is by Harvey.

consort. In 1579, it is very certain, such hopes still remained.

Early in 1579, the Queen's marriage with Alençon again seemed imminent. Jehan de Simier, master of the wardrobe for the duke, arrived early in January, and at once became the favorite of the Queen. He is described as "a consummate courtier, steeped in the dissolute gallantry of the French Court." His correspondence with the Queen is of a frankness, an intimacy, which is astonishing, even for the times. Elizabeth had already had experiences of a tender nature with La Mole (1570), an earlier ambassador, but La Mole was an amateur in love-making in comparison with the artful Simier. He at once became her "monkey." In February, Talbôt writes of her continued "very good usage of Monsieur Simier and all his company," and says "she is the best disposed and pleasantest . . . that is possible."¹ Castelnau writes to Catherine that not a day passes that the Queen fails to send for him, or to visit him, at times before he is dressed; "those who are against it are cursing him, and declare that Simier will cheat her, and has bewitched her."² Leicester became violently jealous, and endeavored to prevent the Queen from signing the passports for the coming of Alençon at the end of June, but he was defeated by Simier. In August, the prince came, and from the first day was the Queen's "frog." Alençon, being not less expert in love-making than La Mole and Simier, was in the highest favor, and the Queen seemed completely bewitched, while the Puritan pulpits fulminated in vain against the unholy alliance, and Elizabeth's subjects talked of love philtres and black art as the secret of the hold the two Frenchmen had obtained. But the crisis came in October. From the second

¹ Nares, *Memoir of Burghley*, III, p. 114.

² Hume, *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 207, 208.

to the eighth of that month, the Queen's council met daily. At length the final responsibility was left to Elizabeth. She wept, railed at her faithful servants, exiled some of them; even her faithful "sheep," Hatton, was in disgrace. Stubbs's book, "The discovery of a gaping gulph, whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns, by letting her Majesty see the sin and punishment thereof," discloses the temper of the people, though the daring author was disgraced and lost his right hand. The clergy were put under restraint by a proclamation. Only Sidney dared to protest directly to her Majesty, and his frank and manly letter reflects credit on him.¹

It is beside our purpose to enter into a complete discussion of this complicated intrigue. Probably the real crisis in the Queen's mind was passed by the time Simier left, in November. But that she was on the very verge of marriage and that her heart was deeply affected, there can be no doubt. The next year the affair came up at intervals, reaching the second crisis in November, 1581, when the Queen publicly kissed Alençon and told her friends that he was to be her husband. Without doubt, her council believed her, excepting Burghley, who by this time saw clearly the game she was playing, and possibly Leicester. In the case of the earl, however, his own love for the Queen, not yet dead, led him to distrust her, and he showed his mad jealousy at times by secluding himself, at other times by conniving at the assassination of Simier, and at times even by plotting with the Spanish ambassador to make the match impossible.

Outwardly the relations of Burghley and Leicester were friendly. Still, we must remember that the Queen would

¹This letter was written in January, 1580. Sidney was excluded from the royal presence for a time, as a punishment.

have married Leicester long before if the great treasurer had not prevented. That the earl knew this, one feels certain. As was his custom, Burghley sought to gain his ends by keeping in the background. I find it very difficult to determine his real attitude toward the marriage. As an Englishman, with Puritan leanings, he probably detested the idea as much as any one could. But he saw more clearly than others the extreme danger of England's position. Mary of Scotland was a source of alarm; if the Catholic powers joined to put her on the throne, Elizabeth was lost. One must confess that Burghley was actuated by far-seeing motives, while Leicester was impetuous, short-sighted, selfish. One is also quite sure, on reading the reports of council meetings and studying with care those very interesting tables which Burghley was in the habit of drawing up, that to Leicester, Sidney, Hatton, Walsingham and others, Burghley seemed in favor of the marriage. His action was fox-like. Probably he hoped the game might shape itself so that the Queen might avoid the marriage; certainly he carefully avoided closing the negotiations, but rather helped the Queen to keep her suitor, and of course her followers, in perpetual hot water.¹ One who reads these

¹ Burghley's famous letter to the Queen, under date of 28 Jan., 1580, is in *Hatfield House Records*, II, pp. 308-310. In it he states that he had favored the marriage as one that would make for her honor and safety and enable her to "rule the Sternes of the shippes of Europe with more fame than ever came to any Quene of the Wordell." Now that the negotiations are off, it is his duty to point out the dangers of Elizabeth's position with reference to the Powers, and to suggest ways and means. He then gives an alarming list of dangers, proposing some measures which, he confesses, are but "shews of remedies," "whereas her marriage, if she had liked it, myght have provided her more surety with less peril." If we take all this literally, it reveals that Burghley actually favored the marriage. But the man was as crafty as Elizabeth herself, and we cannot be sure that this is not mere rhetoric, delivered after he felt that the real danger was past. That the court, however, believed Burghley to favor the match, I think there is not the smallest doubt.

records constantly feels that Leicester was, with reason, suspicious of Burghley, while Burghley, in turn, realized that the powerful earl was a dangerous adversary.

As to Leicester himself, he blew hot and cold. At times he openly favored the negotiations. At these moments he appears to have been sure that it was all a drama, that Elizabeth would find a way out. But of his personal jealousy of Alençon and Simier, especially of the latter, there is no doubt. It was in August of 1579, after an attempt to kill Simier had failed, that Simier launched his thunderbolt by revealing Leicester's marriage. As is well known, it was always dangerous to tell the Queen of the marriage of one of her favorites. She liked to be surrounded by a circle of tame animals. Her rage knew no bounds; the earl came near losing his life, and he had no cause to love Simier.¹

II.

We have now to consider an extraordinary characteristic of Elizabeth's relations to her followers, which will help to explain Spenser's connection with the whole intrigue. It was a whimsical custom with the Queen to give her admirers the names of animals. Thus, Simier was her "ape"; Alençon, her "frog"; Hatton, her "sheep." Leicester seems to have been known as the "lion" or the "bear;" more frequently he was her "sweet Robin." Other names were "spirit" or "leviathan," for Burghley; "dromedary," for Egerton; "boar," for Oxford; "Moor," for Walsingham. The letters of the time are filled with illustrations of these and other pet names. With his usual adaptiveness,

¹ In a letter of 29 Jan., 1580, Simier begs Elizabeth to protect him from the fury of the bear: "qu'il vous playse le conserver de la pate de l'ours" (*Hatfield House*, II, p. 311). This seems to refer to the quarrel with Leicester.

Simier not only rejoiced in his name of "singe," but devised a code for use in his correspondence with the Queen. By this code, the king of France was known as "Jupiter" or "Mars" or "Mercure"; Elizabeth was "le soleil," "la perle," "le diaman"; the king of Spain was "la ronse" or "Vulcan"; Orange was "le guanon" or "le pigeon"; Montmorency was "le faucon"; Casimer, "le corbeau" or "l'estourneau"; Biron, "le renard"; Bellegard, "le grifon"; Matignon, "la perdris"; Anjou, "le loryer" or "l'olivier"; and the Queen of Navarre was "la lune," "la rose," "le rubis."¹ One cannot be sure how widely known these code-names were; probably Burghley and Leicester knew them; but the point which I wish to stress is that the custom of using animal names was highly characteristic. Even more interesting is Simier's constant use of such phrases as "nombre de vos bestes." Perhaps as significant an example as any is in a letter which seems to beg the Queen to protect him from the fury of Leicester: "Je vous requiers & vous suplye très-humblement que le singe soit toujours continué au nombre de vos bestes, & qu'il vous playse le conserver de la pate de l'ours."² In another letter he writes, "Je ne vous dis pas cela sans cause, vous suplyent très humblement, Madame, me continuer de vos faveurs autant que la moindre de vos bestes, & la plus affectionnée de toutes le peut mériter; vous assurent que je ne veus conserver la vye de vostre singe que pour vous en fere ung sacrifice."³ A third example, from a letter of the same period: "J'ay prins ung peu de courage, et ayent overt vos deulx lectres qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre, je recogneu à mon grand regret que vostre ma^{te} avoit quelque mescontantement de seluy qui ne veut et

¹ The complete code is in *Hatfield House*, II, p. 448.

² 29 January, 1579-80 (*Hatfield House*, II, p. 311, no. 813).

³ 25 February, 1579-80 (*ibid.*, p. 314, no. 822).

ne peut vivre ung car d'eure s'il ne se voit continuer au nombre de vos bestes, et en la qualité de singe, puis qu'il vous a pleu ainsi le noumer."¹ And again: "Asures vous sur la foy d'un singe, la plus fidelle de vos bestes, que vostre grenoule se nourit d'espérance qu'il a que vos envoyes bien tost guérir les conmiseres, pour mestre la fin qu'il désire" etc.²

Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Catherine de Medici is called, repeatedly, "Mad. de la Serpente."³ Simier is constantly calling himself the Queen's "pauvre singe"; Alençon thanks her for good offices of which he hears from "nostre singe";⁴ the ape prostrates himself before her, "car je suis vostre singe, et vous estes mon créateur, mon deffanceur, mon adjuteur, et mon sauveur," etc.;⁵ the "frog" cannot sleep for weeping and sighing, and the "monkey" takes the liberty of humbly kissing her lovely hands.

These, then, are the conditions in this strange year 1579-80. The Queen, madly infatuated with her "ape" and her "frog," adepts in love-making and compliment mongering, is in danger of letting her affections run away with her judgment. Burghley is thought by court and country to favor the match, while Leicester, madly jealous, yet fearful, blows hot and cold. But Leicester is the leader of the Puritan party, and the Puritans are panic-stricken at the danger. All the old hatred of the French "Monsieurs Youths" blazes out; contempt for their effeminate gallantry, for their subtlety, for their skill in making love.

¹ *Hatfield House*, II, p. 318 (no. 833).

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 283, no. 783 (Dec. 29, 1579).

³ *E. g.*, *Hatfield House*, II, p. 30 (no. 89).

⁴ *Hatfield House*, II, p. 355.

⁵ *Hatfield House*, II, pp. 349-352 (no. 902).

But Elizabeth, strange compound of statecraft, cunning, and mere woman, is happy. She adds the ape and the frog to the "number of her beasts," and they carry the affectation much farther. The court circle is made up of lions, apes, frogs, partridges, dromedaries, and all the rest of Æsop.

Near this charmed circle of the English Circe, but not yet of it, emboldened by the favor of the great earl and his brilliant nephew, ambitious to be a man of consequence, stands the youthful author of the *Shepherds Calender*. He is a disciple of Chaucer. Like Wyatt with his fable of town and country mice, also told in Chaucerian fashion, the new poet has in mind a tale of a fox and an ape. Perhaps it is already written in part when in this crisis it occurs to him to treat in allegorical fashion this Æsopian court, in order to show the danger threatening the Queen and his patron. *Mother Hubberds Tale* is the result.

III.

The facts are these: *Mother Hubberds Tale* was published in 1591, but the dedication states that it had been "long sithens composed in the raw conceipt" of youth. There is evidence that Spenser got into trouble about it, and that it was "called in." But in 1591 it appeared in the volume of "Complaints," and there is no indication that this volume was criticized. The water must, therefore, have become lukewarm by 1591. It seems to me possible to show now just what its temperature was when the poem first saw the light.

The conventional view is that Spenser's trouble arose from the fact that he attacked Burghley, and that the reason for this attack lay in Burghley's failure to appreciate the talents of the young poet.¹ But a moment's consideration must

¹ See, for example, Grosart, I, p. 82, where Bacon is mentioned as another example of a "forward youth" whom Burghley "as was his mode" wished

show the absurdity of this view. Can we conceive that a young and ambitious man, no matter if disappointed over some prospective position, would vent his feelings by writing a vitriolic attack upon a man so powerful as Burghley? He may have done so in 1591; indeed the picture was in all probability retouched at that time. But the man who wrote so cautiously about offending great personages as Spenser did in his letter of October fifth to Harvey, would not have committed suicide by such an attack on Burghley in 1579, unless he had some other motive than disappointed ambition, or was playing for a greater stake. We must, therefore, either suppose that in its first form the *Tale* was a harmless adaptation of Renardic material, afterwards retouched into a severe attack upon Burghley, or that there were things in the early version which cost Spenser dear. The first of these views is untenable, for the trouble antedated 1591. It is needful to ascertain just what there was, in the first draft, to give offence.

The two main incidents in *Mother Hubberds Tale* constitute an allegory of the court in which the courtiers are animals. The relation between these two passages is somewhat perplexing. In the first, the fox and the ape, having tried various employments without success, meet the mule, and are directed by him to the Court, where, they are told, they will reap a rich reward if they follow a crafty course. They take the mule's advice, and the ape assumes the airs of "some great Magnifico," and "boldlie doth amongst the boldest go." Reynold, his man, spreads the impression that his master is a powerful lord, and for a time they have everything their own way. Incidentally we have a) the

to "keep down." Grosart refers the passage about Leicester's quarrel with the Queen to her discovery of his marriage, but quotes Camden, not noting that Elizabeth got her knowledge from Simier (p. 83). But this, as will appear presently, is not without significance.

reference to Leicester's marriage ; b) the description of the perfect courtier ; c) the description of the foreign adventurer and his false arts ; d) the bitter passage on suitors' delays. At length they are discovered, and are compelled to quit the Court. In the second episode, which immediately follows, we are told that after long wandering they come to the forest where the lion lies sleeping, his crown and sceptre beside him. The ape is afraid, and turns to flee, but the fox tells him that here is the chance of their lives. "Scarce could the ape yet speake, so did he quake"; but he asks the fox to explain himself. After a prolonged debate, the ape agrees to assume the sceptre, "yet faintly goes into his worke to enter," being "afraid of everie leafe." He goes on tiptoe, but he is "stryfull and ambicious," while the fox is "guilefull, and most covetous." The fox agrees that the ape shall be king, "Upon condition, that ye ruled bee In all affaires, and counselled by mee." Then they proceed to the Court. There is significance in the statement that the ape-king protected himself by appointing "a warlike equipage Of forreine beasts, not in the forest bred." The fox enlarged his private treasures, kept charge of all offices and leases, sold justice ; he fed his cubs "with fat of all the soyle," and loaded them with lordships ; he violated all laws, "though not with violence"; his "cloke was care of thrift, and husbandry." So they ruled, till one day high Jove saw, and sent the son of Maia to awaken the rightful sovereign from sleep. The lion rushed to the Court, slew "those warders strange," tried the fox, but let him go free, and ordered that the ape should lose his tail and half his ears.

That the second of these episodes is clearly an afterthought, and not a part of the original plan is, I think, evident. In the first place, the second story is not characteristic of those forms of the Renard cycle which

Spenser seems to have used.¹ Again, the two courts are not the same, nor is the allegory. The first story is a general satire on court life, such as we find in Wyatt, and frequently in sixteenth-century literature in England and on the continent. The theme is at base a familiar incident in the Renard stories, with certain conventional Renaissance accretions, such as the contrast between the noble courtier and the base, and the satire on suitors' delays. Very probably this passage was retouched *ca.* 1591, after Spenser had had an experience he surely could not have met in 1579; but this has nothing to do with the fundamental relationship between the two stories. The second incident, on the other hand, is more specific; the allegory is the prominent element; the conception of a court of beasts is stressed; the general satire less evident. Moreover, the characterization is utterly different. Passing by the fact that the lion in the first incident is a courtier, in the second the king, we find that the ape is not the same in the two stories. In the first, he is bold and confident; in the second, he is weak, cowardly, completely the tool of the powerful fox. To this point, which is important, add that the ape-king protects himself by a guard of "foreign" beasts, and the conclusion is irresistible.

In the second story the ape is Simier, or possibly Simier plus Alençon; the fox is Burghley; the lion, or sovereign, is Elizabeth. The purpose of the allegory is to show how a combination between Burghley and the French favorites threatens the Queen, who is unconscious of her peril. If the combination succeeds, Burghley, the fox, will really rule the weak king-consort who has no right to the throne, and who surrounds himself with Frenchmen, foreign beasts, while he and the fox plunder the country, subvert religion,

¹On the relations of *M. H. T.* to the Renard cycle, see my discussion in *Modern Philology*, January, 1905.

virtually depose the rightful sovereign, and despoil the native beasts.

Reviewing the main points in the argument, we have seen that Burghley and Leicester, rivals always, have special interest in this marriage; Burghley being popularly credited with favoring the match, employing fox-like methods, seemingly innocent and caring only for "thrift" and "husbandry," while in reality seeking to make himself powerful at the expense of Leicester.¹ We have seen that the Queen in the winter of 1579-80 was blind to what the Puritans regarded as a national peril, being completely infatuated with her dissolute and effeminate admirers. We have seen that there was a wide-spread fiction making the courtiers animals and the court an assembly of beasts,—a beast-fable in application, appealing to the Elizabethan fondness for such allegories. With all this Spenser was familiar at first hand.² He was in the service of Leicester, and at the very time of the crisis, in early October, was expecting to be sent on a mission for him. His patron, therefore, who had everything to lose by this marriage, since Burghley and not Leicester would rule the French favorites, should be warned of the danger; perhaps the Queen herself should be warned. So Spenser takes his imitation of Chaucer, written perhaps not long before, applies the beast-allegory to the crisis among Elizabeth's beasts, and with a daring not less great than Sidney's own, speaks his mind. Here we have reason

¹ Mendoza wrote, 8 April, 1579, that Burghley was not so much opposed to the match as formerly, but that he suspects the reason lies in the desire of Burghley and Sussex to bring about the fall of Leicester (cited by Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, p. 330, n. 1). In the following March, Leicester, out of favor, told Mendoza that his enemies were plotting the marriage only to spite him (*ib.*, p. 340).

² It is said that Stubbs was well acquainted with Spenser. Moreover, Spenser and Sidney were much in each other's company, and at Leicester House, during this time.

for the traditional enmity of Burghley ; we have also reason for Spenser's being shipped to Ireland the following summer ; we have the grounds on which the poem was "called in." Spenser was ambitious to succeed as Sidney was succeeding ; his literary talents were to be a means for advancing him in the service of the powerful earl ; at the same time he spoke sincerely the astonishment and terror of Englishmen at the imminence of the monstrous foreign alliance, to the dangers of which the Queen seemed through her passion utterly blind.

More subtle than the vigorous denunciations of Stubbs and the Puritan pulpits, *Mother Hubberds Tale* is not less daring. If it lacks the manly frankness of Sidney's famous letter, it has the same aim. Perhaps Spenser's motive was less pure, for he wished to serve Leicester and thereby advance himself ; but there is no harm in a young man's seeking preferment through making himself honorably useful ; and the ring of conviction, the sureness of touch which makes this satire a masterpiece, is proof of sincerity. Spenser allowed the caution revealed in his October letter to be overcome by the crisis. The whole episode has that touch of the dramatic so characteristic of the times, not less interesting in that Spenser was not to be one of those who had prominent places among the *dramatis personæ*. It meant success, or exile : he played for a high stake, and he lost.

Some minor pieces of evidence deepen the impression that the *Tale* belongs to the year 1579-80. One of these is the prevalence of the Plague in both France and England during that period, and it will be remembered that the *Tale* makes reference to such a visitation.¹ Again, the

¹ References to the Plague are numerous at this time. Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, writes to Burghley in October, 1578, that he has been in Buckinghamshire since Michaelmas because he was troubled every day with such as came having plague sores about them, or being sent

entire poem reflects the hatred of French gallantry and intrigue especially characteristic of these years. Simier is said to have turned the Queen's thoughts aside from topics that might awaken her ambition, "disposing her to listen rather to tales of gallantry and such conversation as might engage her affections."¹ The character of Alençon, as summarized by his sister, is precisely that of the ape; "if fraud and infidelity had been banished from the earth, there was in him a stock sufficient of both from which it might have been replenished."² In her Progress of 1578, the Queen was attended by a number of young Frenchmen, whom the English called in derision "Monsieurs Youths."³ All this is reflected in Spenser's poem. Finally, direct evidence is supplied by the well-known reference to Leicester's marriage, ("but his late chayne his Liege unmeete esteemeth" etc.) which would lose its point had it not been written soon after Simier revealed the fact of this marriage, in 1579. The allusion is capitally adapted to a poem designed to rouse the earl to greater zeal in opposing the wiles of the ape who had got him into such trouble.

With the later history of *Mother Hubberds Tale* we are

by the Lords to places where he found dead corpses under the tables, which surely did greatly amaze him (*Hatfield House*, II, p. 222, no. 660). Letters from Paris in 1579-80 report that all study has ceased and friends from England are advised not to travel; importations of certain goods from France to England were forbidden (*Cal. State Papers, Eliz. Domestic*, I, p. 683). Other letters appeal for aid, since the dearth of all things, due to the Plague, renders the need extreme (*State Papers, Eliz.*, I, p. 635). Additional instances might be cited.

¹ Nares, III, p. 164 and note. This is closely parallel to a passage in *M. H. T.* describing the arts of the false courtier. Ample illustrations might be drawn, if necessary, from the extraordinary letters to and from the Queen.

² Nares, III, p. 183.

³ Topcliff to the Earl of Shrewsbury; cited by Nares, III, pp. 109, 113, 114.

not now concerned. It is worth noting, however, that when it was published in the volume of *Complaints* (1591), Burghley was very unpopular. The quarrels between the Puritans and the Catholics, the growing infirmities of age, the war with Essex over the appointment of Sir Robert Cecil to the Privy Council and later to the secretaryship left vacant by Walsingham's death, and the growing influence of Raleigh with the Queen, are examples of the troubles he met.¹ Spenser was intimate with both Essex and Raleigh, and had been disappointed of advancement; the complimentary sonnet prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* in 1590 had failed to bring results. The *Tale*, as revised, reflects some of the poet's new resentment, as in the passage wherein the fox is made to prefer his own cubs for important offices, a palpable reference to the quarrel over Sir Robert's advancement. Another allusion to the same quarrel with Essex and Raleigh is in the *Ruins of Time*.² In 1592 a deposition was made in which it was said that "England was governed by the Machiavellian policy of those who would be kings and whom it is time were cut off."³ Trouble arose over the discovery that Burghley had farmed the customs;⁴ and frequent complaints against him were lodged with the Queen. Thus we can understand how Spenser's own disappointed hopes, together with Burghley's troubles with Essex and Raleigh and the criticism directed against him

¹ See Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*, pp. 444-450, with the notes.

² "O grief of griefs! O gall of all good hearts!
To see that virtue should despised be
Of him that first was raised for virtuous parts,
And now broad spreading like an aged tree,
Lets none shoot up that nigh him planted be."

³ Cited by Hume, p. 456.

⁴ Nares, III, pp. 372-3.

from other sources, should give point to a revised edition of the *Tale* in 1591. In 1579, however, Spenser's attack was not personal; it reflected the popular idea that Burghley was favoring the French marriage in order that he might himself increase his power and ruin Leicester; Spenser was in the employ of the earl and sought to do him service. Perhaps he even feared that Leicester would be blinded to the consequences of the alliance.

The significance of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, therefore, proceeds 1) from the fact that Spenser was elated because of his new intimacy with Leicester, Sidney, and Dyer, and his evident purpose to be a man of action as well as a poet; 2) from the fact that the Queen's court was regarded as an assembly of beasts, each courtier being given a name as in the Renard cycle of tales; 3) from the fact that fox and ape, Burghley and Simier and Alençon, seemed on the point of succeeding in their supposed attempt to gain control, this being possible because of the blindness of the Queen through her infatuation; and 4) from Spenser's attempt to second Sidney and other Puritans in voicing the horror of the people and warning Leicester, as the head of the Puritan party, to prevent the alliance from being consummated. For such a purpose the allegory was admirably suited. It is not necessary to consider the poem as a whole to have been written with this purpose in view. The indications are to the contrary. The presence of two episodes dealing with court life, different, even contradictory in part, gives reason to suppose that the allegory of the usurpation was an after-thought. It is this that refers to the Alençon intrigue. But even if the poem was written at one time, no one who is familiar with Spenser's methods in allegory will be troubled by the fact that the earlier incidents in the story do not refer to this intrigue; such changes and additions are common in the *Faerie Queene*. The *Tale* is primarily a Chau-

cerian story based on the Renard cycle, with modifications frequently met in the literature of the Renaissance. But the story of the usurpation, the satire on gallantry, and the reference to Leicester's marriage, these have to do with the intrigue that stirred England to the depths in 1579-80, and these fix the date of the *Tale*.

IV.

We have now to consider the consequences of Spenser's daring. It should be remembered that in this year the Queen was for the first time personally unpopular. The marriage negotiations called forth protests that were so bold as to be dangerous. I have referred to the book by Stubbs and to his punishment. In the *State Papers* is a circular from the Council to the Bishops, dated October 5, 1579,—the date of Spenser's letter, and the time when the Council was holding daily sessions to consider the marriage. This circular gave notice that the seditious suggestions in the book called *The Gaping Gulph* were without foundation, and that special noted preachers should declare the same to the people.¹ Even more interesting is Sidney's connection with the affair. His letter was written in January, 1580, and states his objections to the marriage, mainly on religious grounds, thus representing the Puritans. We are told that he was punished for his boldness by several months' exclusion from the Queen's presence,² and letters from his friend Languet seem to fear more severe penalties. I have no space to tell of the quarrel between Sidney and Oxford, the sensation of the time.³ Oxford was compelled

¹ There are eleven copies of this circular in *State Papers*, CXXXII (abstract in *Calendar*, p. 634, nos. 26-36). Some of these are fully signed, some partially, some not signed at all.

² Cf. Fox Bourne, p. 185.

³ See the details in Fulke Greville's *Life of Sidney* (1652), Clarendon Press repr. 1907, pp. 63 ff.

to challenge Sidney, but "her Majesties Counsell took notice of the differences," and commanded peace. Oxford, be it remembered, was the cowardly son-in-law of Burghley. In view of Spenser's relations with Sidney at this time, the incident is highly significant; Sidney opposed the marriage, and Oxford took advantage of his being out of favor with the Queen to insult him.

Leicester, too, had his troubles. Burghley and Sussex favored the marriage. There is proof that when, in 1580, Leicester had dealings with Condé, the object being to form a Spanish alliance against France, Burghley deliberately incited the fiery Sussex to quarrel with Leicester. He wrote that he came upon Condé and the earl in an important conference with the Queen. Burghley himself found the door shut against him. The wily Lord Treasurer expressed no personal grievance at the affront, but he knew his man.¹ When the marriage apparently fell through, in 1581, Sussex threw all the blame on Leicester and tried to arouse the anger of the French against him. Walsingham writes of the great quarrel between the two earls, and says that the Queen commanded both to keep their chambers on penalty of commitment. They pretended to be friends, but she kept them waiting for days before they were forgiven.² More direct evidence is found in a letter to Burghley of July 20, 1580, in which Leicester complains that he has found less of her Majesty's wonted favors. He gives particulars of his suits to her for more lands, which had been stayed, and he states that the Queen used "very hard terms" to him. He pleads in this letter for a continuance of Burghley's friendship. Interesting further evidence of the methods by which he sought to ingratiate himself with

¹ See the letter, and the fiery reply of Sussex in *Hatfield House*, II, p. 329.

² *Cal. State Papers*, II, p. 22.

Burghley is found in a letter in which Burghley thanks him for the gift of a fine hound,—“she maketh my huntynge very certen.”¹

Now if we combine with this evidence as to Sidney's connection with the affair during the few months following October, 1579, and Leicester's troubles with the Queen, Burghley, and Sussex, the fact that *Mother Hubberds Tale* was “called in” and that in the next summer Spenser was sent to Ireland, the case seems clear. We may note that in December, 1580, Alençon writes that he has heard that several individuals in court are out of favor because of their disaffection to him, and begs that they may not be ill-used on his account.² And there is Hatton's servile letter of September, 1580, in which he tells of receiving the Queen's most gracious letter on his knees, praises the cunning of her style of writing as exceeding all the eloquence of the world, and closes with the comforting assurance that having made long war against love and ambition, it is now more than time to yield.³ The draft of an Act against slanderous words and rumors against the Queen's Majesty, found early in 1581,⁴ indicates the stern measures thought necessary. It would be easy to make the case stronger, but enough has surely been said to prove that Leicester's position in 1580 was particularly critical; that he was made a scape-goat for the failure of the marriage, as well as compelled to suffer the

¹ These two letters are in *State Papers, Domestic*, 1580 (*Cal.* I, pp. 666 and 672).

² *Hatfield House*, II, p. 355 (no. 909).

³ *Calendar, State Papers*, I, 677. But that Hatton was insincere is shown by the fact that when, early in 1582, Leicester was forced to accompany Alençon to Brabant, the “sheep” promptly reported a chance remark of the Queen's, with the result that Leicester came post-haste to England, to be called a knave and a traitor for his pains.

⁴ *Calendar*, II, p. 3.

resentment of the Queen.¹ Much of this resentment was due to the activities of Leicester's Puritan allies, among whom was Spenser, and one can hardly doubt that *Mother Hubberds Tale* was one of the slanderous documents to which objection was made.

Thus one realizes that the over-zealous Spenser cannot have been so valued by his patron as he had hoped in the preceding October. Probably no one was more thankful than the earl that in the summer of 1580 Lord Grey was appointed to Ireland, was in need of a secretary, and was willing to take the young poet. Grey was himself *persona non grata*; for he had been suspected of sympathy with the ill-fated Duke of Norfolk. Ireland, Brabant, the Low Countries, these were Siberias to which over-zealous persons might be sent if needful. Leicester, Raleigh, Grey, even Sidney were subjected to this "cooling card"; Spenser was in distinguished company.

V.

If this interpretation be accepted, that Leicester, finding himself in a tight place, sacrificed his young admirer as well as a fine hound to propitiate angry deities, we can now explain another perplexing problem in Spenser's work. In few passages in the entire body of his poetry does Spenser speak so bitterly as in the sonnet addressed to Leicester at the beginning of *Virgils Gnat*. The lines have a fierce repression that suggests Milton:

¹ For additional indication of how Leicester was looked upon by the Puritans as their one hope, see the letter to him from Sir Francis Knollys, June, 1580, objecting fiercely to the proposed triumph of Catholicism, plotted out by the *serpentine subtlety* of the Queen Mother's head (*Calendar*, I, p. 658).

“Wrong’d yet not daring to expresse my paine,
 To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,
 In clowdie teares my case I thus complaine
 Unto yourselfe, that onely privie are.”

The poem is marked “Long since dedicated to the most noble and excellent Lord, the Earle of Leicester, late deceased.” There can be no doubt that the dedicatory sonnet was written before the earl’s death (1588). There can also be no doubt that the reference in the sonnet, as well as the story of the poem itself, is to *Mother Hubberds Tale* and to the punishment which Spenser suffered therefor. It will be remembered that the gnat (Spenser) does the shepherd (Leicester) a service by *warning him of the snake* (the Alençon marriage).¹ He is crushed, and is carried into a “waste wilderness” (Ireland). “Ay me!” he says, “that thankes so much should faile of meede :

“For that I thee restor’d to life againe . . .
 Where then is now the guerdon of my paine?
 Where the reward of my so piteous deed?
 The praise of pitie vanisht is in vaine,
 And th’ antique faith of Justice long agone
 Out of the land is fled away and gone.”

More directly he says,

“I saw anothers fate approaching fast,
 And left mine owne his safetie to tender ;
 Into the same mishap I now am cast.”

Other exiles return, but

“I, poore wretch, am forced to retourne
 To the sad lakes.”

¹ I hardly dare go so far as to suggest that even the snake recalls the name by which Catherine was known: “Mad. la Serpente”; yet it seems not impossible. Of course Spenser is following the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*.

Line after line might be quoted to the same effect: the poet, exiled to Ireland because of the service he rendered his patron, complains of the injustice of his hard lot. That service was the warning which *Mother Hubberds Tale* conveyed. Thus we are able not only to explain the sonnet prefixed to *Virgils Gnat* and the allegory of the poem itself, but also to date that poem at least approximately. Spenser wrote it after he had been long enough in Ireland to give up all hope but the hope that Leicester might bring him back. That must have been prior to September, 1585, when Leicester was appointed to the command in the States and got himself into the difficulty from which he was never fully released until his death in 1588. But Spenser, having failed before, dared not send the poem, and it remained in manuscript until, with the first cause, the *Tale* itself, it was printed in the volume of 1591. The two poems, taken together, give the history of that mistake of overboldness which Spenser wished so pathetically, in his letter to Harvey, to avoid. But the part he played in it all, while an error in judgment, is not discreditable, and his complaint, in *Virgils Gnat*, is dignified and manly.

VI.

Several other subjects suggest themselves, among them a reconstruction of the history of Spenser's relations to Burghley. It would have been more politic had Spenser attached himself to the great Lord Treasurer rather than to his rivals. But none understood Burghley, in that day, except Elizabeth. He used men as tools to further his own ends; he played a middle course; fox-like, his strategy seemed insincere and Machiavellian. He had attacks of gout or busied himself about other affairs, when exigency required. We can realize, now, that he was not altogether selfish, and that much of his

apparent unscrupulousness was due to his desire to attain great ends which could be attained only by unscrupulous means. Leicester was able, but reckless; lacking true patriotism, he was swayed by his passion for the Queen. But he allied himself openly with the Puritans; to them he was a great leader, and he attached to himself by this means such high-souled but impractical men as Sidney and Spenser. Both paid dearly for their connection with the earl. One thing is clear: whatever animosity against Burghley was expressed in the original form of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, was due to other than selfish pettishness because Spenser's talents were not appreciated. The idea that at the early time when the *Tale* was first written, and with matters of such weight engaging his attention elsewhere, Burghley was meanly jealous of Spenser because he was brilliant and promising, is too absurd to be longer maintained. Admirers of Spenser's poetry are apt to exaggerate his importance in other respects. Politically he was a very small person indeed; his image of the gnat is pathetically accurate.

The fitting close of this discussion of Spenser's connection with Leicester is found in that later version of the earl's marriage put in the *Faerie Queene*. Belphebe (Elizabeth) saves Timias (Leicester) but does not realize his love for her.¹ Afterwards, however, she sees him kissing Amoret (The Countess of Essex), and becomes very angry. He pursues her, vainly; goes into retirement; yields to immeasurable grief. The Dove sees him with the ruby and a little golden chain, makes peace between them and they are happy.² The allegory does not end in marriage, or in love in the conventional sense; it represents knightly service. Here is
 2. a charming picture of the quarrel of 1579, softened by time,

¹ *F. Q.* III, v, 50.

² *F. Q.* IV, vii, 35-47; viii, 1 ff.

and presenting in the happiest light the attachment of the earl for his Queen. One wishes that Leicester might have seen it before the time, four days before he died, when he wrote that message on which Elizabeth penned the words, "His last letter."

In this discussion I have sought to show that it was Spenser's connection with Leicester which caused his exile to Ireland, and that this connection led him to write at least the portion of *Mother Hubberds Tale* which gave such offence, the attack on Burghley being due not to personal grievance, but to Spenser's desire to defend his patron and to aid the Puritans. This has made it possible to offer an explanation of the allegory in the *Tale* and in *Virgils Gnat*, and to suggest dates for these poems. All this throws additional light upon the critical year 1579-80, and a study of the October letter to Harvey confirms the impression that at this time Spenser had plans for his life which, if carried through, would have made serious differences in his later work. For the history of English literature it is highly fortunate that the young poet was not plunged into the maelstrom of political life as were Sidney and Raleigh. Spenser himself was bitterly disappointed; he hoped to be an important figure in his own time. The incident is one of many to prove that the course of a man's life may have a significance quite at variance with his plans for himself.

EDWIN A. GREENLAW.



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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 15, with its title, a synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the program.

3. The Secretary shall select the program from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

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Title page

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CONTENTS.

XXIV.—Sprachliche Studien zur Ästhetik Winckelmanns. By HERMANN J. WEBER, - - - - -	563-607
XXV.—Some Notes of Gabriel Harvey's in Hoby's Translation of Castiglione's <i>Courtier</i> (1561). By CAROLINE RUTZ-REES, - - -	608-639
XXVI.—Spenser's <i>Muiopotmos</i> in Relation to Chaucer's <i>Sir Thopas</i> and <i>The Nun's Priest's Tale</i> . By THOMAS WILLIAM NADAL, - - - - -	640-656
XXVII.—Dolce Stil Nuovo—The Case of the Opposition. By A. G. H. SPIERS, - - - - -	657-675
APPENDIX.—Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., and at the State Uni- versity of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, December 28, 29, 30, 1909, - - - - -	i-xlv
THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, - - - - -	xlv-lxv
THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS, - - - - -	lxvi-lxxxiii
MEMBERSHIP LIST, - - - - -	lxxxix-cxlii

The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly instalments. It contains chiefly articles which have been presented at the meetings of the Association and approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. Other appropriate contributions may be accepted by the Committee. The closing number of each volume includes, in Appendices, the Proceedings of the last Annual Meeting of the Association and its Divisions.

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CHARLES H. GRANDGENT,
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Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The next Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at the College of the City of New York, December 28, 29, and 30. The Meeting of the Central Division will be held at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., on the same days. Attention is called to the regulations printed on the third page of this cover.

PUBLICATIONS
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1910.

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NEW SERIES, VOL. XVIII, 4.

XXIV.—SPRACHLICHE STUDIEN ZUR ÄSTHETIK
WINCKELMANN'S.

I.

Mit markanten Zügen hat Goethe¹ Winckelmann's Lebensbild gezeichnet und ihm für immer den Vorteil gesichert, "im Andenken der Nachwelt als ein ewig Tüchtiger und Kräftiger zu erscheinen"; in umfassender Weise hat Justi² Winckelmann, den Kunsthistoriker und Archäologen, in einer Biographie dargestellt, welche sich zu einem groszen Bilde der zeitgenössischen Kunstbestrebungen erweitert; aber die philologische Forschung hat Winckelmann bis jetzt gänzlich unbeachtet gelassen.³ Mit Unrecht, denn die deutsche Literatur kann Winckelmann mit eben so viel, wenn nicht mit mehr Recht für sich in Anspruch nehmen als die Kunstgeschichte und Altertumskunde. Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*⁴ ist, vom kunst-

¹ Winckelmann, WA, XXXVI, pp. 1-101.

² Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen,³ Leipzig, 1898.

³ Vgl. jedoch des Verfassers Artikel über *Grazie* und *Geschmack* in *Ztschrft. f. deutsche Wortforschung*, IX, 2, pp. 141-152; X, 1, pp. 17-20.

⁴ Dresden, 1764; zitiert als GKA.

historischen und archäologischen Standpunkt beurteilt, durchaus veraltet, als Literaturdenkmal steht dieses Werk in unvergänglicher Jugendfrische da.¹

Stellen wir an ein Literaturdenkmal die Forderung, dasz es einen reichen Gefühlsinhalt habe, und dasz dieser Inhalt in einer adäquaten Form dargestellt sei, so gehören die wichtigsten von Winckelmanns Schriften trotz ihres zum groszen Teil fachwissenschaftlichen Inhalts der Literatur an, und sein Hauptwerk, die *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* kann füglich als ein *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὲλ* der deutschen Nationalliteratur bezeichnet werden. Was zunächst Winckelmanns Stil anbetrifft, so haben Herder,² Goethe³ und A. W. Schlegel⁴ gewetteifert, ihn zu preisen. Es würde sich also wohl der Mühe verlohnen, diesen Stil zum Gegenstand umfassender sprachwissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen zu machen und unter anderem festzustellen, worin das von Goethe bemerkte "schöne Masz" und die "würdige Einfachheit" von Winckelmanns Schriften bestehen. Andererseits bedarf ihr reicher Gefühlsinhalt kaum eines Hinweises, denn das war ja eben das Wesen dieses Mannes, dasz er nicht durch begriffliches Denken, sondern durch reine Intuition geleitet wurde, weshalb Goethe⁵ ihn mit Recht unter die Dichter zählt.

So mächtig wirkte das Anschauungsvermögen in Winckelmann, dasz die Kunstdenkmäler, welche er betrachtete, für ihn Leben annahmen, ihm das innerste Geheimnis plastischer Kunst offenbarten, dasz er selbst im Geiste zum schaffenden

¹ Vgl. Herders *Denkmahl Johann Winckelmanns*, Werke, ed. Suphan, VIII, p. 439.

² *Fragmente*, ed. Suphan, I, pp. 218/219; *Erstes kritisches Wäldchen*, ed. cit., III, p. 11; *Denkmahl*, ed. cit., VIII, p. 439.

³ *L. c.*, p. 94.

⁴ In der Besprechung der Fernowschen Ausgabe, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Böcking, XII, pp. 325, 333.

⁵ *L. c.*, pp. 56/57.

Künstler wurde, und so sind denn auch seine Beschreibungen des Torso, des Apollo im Belvedere, der Niobe- und Laokoon-Gruppen von echt dichterischem Geiste getragen. Aber Winckelmann war nicht allein Dichter, sondern intuitiver Ästhetiker, denn indem er das Schöne in den Werken hellenischer Plastik erschaute, suchte er auf Grund der anschaulich erlangten Erkenntnis das Wesen des Schönen-an-sich zu erfassen. Dadurch nun, dasz Winckelmann sich auf das seinem plastischen Empfinden und seinem antiken Geiste gemäße Gebiet der Plastik beschränkte, welches in den, seinen Betrachtungen zu Grunde liegenden griechischen Skulpturen den vollendetsten Ausdruck gefunden hat, der je einer Kunst zu teil geworden ist, ferner, dasz seine Objektivität durch eine echt hellenische Besonnenheit gesichert und durch eine erstaunliche Gelehrsamkeit unterstützt wurde, indem es ihm "wie den Alten glückte, das Unzulängliche durch das Vollständige seiner Persönlichkeit zu vergüten,"¹ vereinigten sich alle Umstände, um Winckelmanns Kunstbetrachtung zu einer für alle Künste gültigen und allgemein vorbildlichen zu erheben.

Auf dem einseitig intuitiven Charakter dieser Kunstbetrachtung beruht die Bedeutung, aber auch die Unzulänglichkeit von Winckelmanns Ästhetik, nämlich ihr Unvermögen aus dem Anschauungsstoff zu abstrahieren und somit zu wissenschaftlichen Bestimmungen der ästhetischen Grundbegriffe vorzudringen. Aber dieser Mangel vermag nicht Winckelmanns Verdienst zu schmälern, dasz durch ihn der in der rein abstrakten Reflexion der Baumgartenschen Schule verharrenden deutschen Ästhetik ein notwendiges Erfahrungselement beigemischt, die Ästhetik selbst von allen pädagogisch-moralisierenden Tendenzen befreit, und hier der erste gewaltige Anstosz zur Regeneration der Kunstan-

¹ Goethe, *l. c.*, p. 25.

schauung der Zeit gegeben wurde,¹ welche ihrerseits den Boden für eine grosse nationale Literatur schuf. Der Literaturhistoriker darf in Winckelmanns *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* einen ebenso bedeutsamen Vorboten dieser Literatur sehen, als in Klopstocks *Messias*, Lessings *Laokoon* und Herders *Fragmenten*, ohne dasz ihm jedoch eine Untersuchung über das Verhältnis der klassischen Dichtung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland im Einzelnen, namentlich auch über das der Kunsttheorien der Weimarer Kunstfreunde zu Winckelmann zur Verfügung stände.

Auch die Ästhetik Winckelmanns in ihrem Verhältnis zur antiken Philosophie bietet noch manche ungelöste Probleme. Während Hettner² auf Winckelmanns Abhängigkeit von Plato hinweist, wozu auch eine briefliche Bemerkung Winckelmanns stimmt,³ schlieszt dieser sich in dem Kernpunkt seiner Ästhetik, der Lehre der Emanation des Schönen aus der Gottheit, an Plotinos an, andererseits in dem für ihn so charakteristischen Begriff der "Begreiflichkeit" an das *ὁρισμένον* des Aristoteles. Der von Schelling⁴ mit Recht gerügte Umstand, dasz Winckelmann nicht lehre, "wie die Formen von dem Begriff aus erzeugt werden können," dürfte aus dem Dualismus zu erklären sein, dem ein gleichzeitig an Plotinos und Aristoteles anknüpfender Eklektizismus notwendigerweise verfallen musste. So spricht Winckelmann wohl von dem Begriff der Schönheit als einem "aus der Materie durchs Feuer gezogenen Geist, welcher sich suchet ein Geschöpf zu zeugen nach dem Ebenbilde der in dem Verstande der Gottheit entworfenen ersten vernünf-

¹ Vgl. Madame de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*,² Paris, 1814, I, pp. 229, 234.

² *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Braunschweig, 1872, III,² p. 432.

³ *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Eiselein, Donauöschingen, 1825, x, p. 217.

⁴ *Über das Verhältniss der bildenden Künste zu der Natur in den Philosophischen Schriften*, Landshut, 1809, I, p. 349.

tigen Creatur,"¹ wobei er durchaus auf dem Boden des Plotinos steht, dessen *νοῦς* Winckelmanns "Geist" offenbar entspricht, und mit Recht folgert er aus der Einheit der Gottheit die Einheit der schönen Form, aber der an diese Form angelegte Begriff der Faszbarkeit und Übersichtlichkeit, also der "Begreiflichkeit," wächst nicht organisch aus dem Begriffe der göttlichen Einheit heraus, und Winckelmann versäumte es, im Anschlusz an Plotinos eine Erklärung für die Funktion des "Geistes" zu geben oder gar die Lehren des Plotinos zu vertiefen.

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, alle angeregten Fragen zu behandeln; es soll vielmehr lediglich ein Beitrag geliefert werden zu einer sprachwissenschaftlichen Grundlage für ästhetisch-literarhistorische Arbeiten über Winckelmann und zu diesem Zwecke eine Anzahl von Wörtern, welche für das Verständnis Winckelmanns von Wichtigkeit sind, auf ihre Bedeutung hin untersucht werden. Solche Vorarbeiten sind durchaus erforderlich, da Winckelmanns Knappheit im Ausdruck² und eine gewisse, schon von A. W. Schlegel³ beobachtete Altertümlichkeit seines Stiles das Verständnis seiner Schriften erschweren; doch sind dieses nur untergeordnete Momente neben der allgemeinen, und besonders für alle tieferen Schriftsteller in Betracht kommenden Erscheinung des Sprachlebens, nämlich dem Umstande, dasz der Bedeutungsinhalt von Wörtern, namentlich von solchen, die ethische oder ästhetische Urteile bezeichnen, im Sprachgebrauch des Individuums rein individuelle Wertungen annimmt.⁴ Es ist nun die Aufgabe der Philologie, nicht nur den Bedeutungsinhalt eines Wortes für die gesamte Sprachgenossenschaft festzustellen, worunter wir die Disziplin der Lexikographie

¹ GKA, p. 149.

² Vgl. Winckelmanns Brief an Walther, *Werke*, x, pp. 187/188.

³ *L. c.*, p. 325.

⁴ Vgl. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*,³ pp. 94/95.

verstehen, sondern auch den Vorstellungsinhalt, den dieses Wort im Sprachgebrauch des Einzelnen darstellt, zu ermitteln, wenn dieser Einzelne in der individuellen Bedeutung, die er dem Worte verleiht, Gedanken niedergelegt hat, die für das Geistesleben der Gesamtheit von Wichtigkeit gewesen sind. Dieses ist durchaus der Fall bei Winckelmann, der übrigens seine ästhetischen Urteile fast ausschliesslich an den vorhandenen Sprachschatz anheftete, so dass eine Untersuchung der einschlägigen Wörter in seinem Sprachgebrauch ein wichtiges Mittel zum Verständnis seiner Ästhetik an die Hand gibt.

II.

Es ist nun vor allem bezeichnend für die Eigenart von Winckelmanns Ästhetik, dass eine Untersuchung des Bedeutungsinhaltes des Wortes "schön" in seinem Sprachgebrauch keinerlei nennenswerte Aufschlüsse über sein ästhetisches Denken gewährt. Es liegt dieses an dem Umstand, dass der Begriff des Schönen nicht den Fundamentalbegriff seiner Ästhetik bildet. Einer Definition der "Schönheit," welche Winckelmann tatsächlich mit dem "Schönen" identifiziert, obwohl er theoretisch beide Begriffe zu scheiden sucht,¹ und worunter er Schönheit der Form versteht,² geht er sogar geflissentlich aus dem Wege, wenn er sagt: "es kann aber leichter . . . von der Schönheit gesaget werden, was sie nicht ist, als was sie ist,"³ und die von ihm gegebenen Erklärungen des Begriffs sind gänzlich unzureichend; es wäre zwar lehrreich, den Begriff des "Schönen" aus Winckelmanns Sprachgebrauche zu rekonstruieren und zu den auf gleiche Weise gewonnenen Begriffen der "Grazie"

¹ *Von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst*, Dresden, 1763, p. 4 (zitiert als FES).

² GKA, p. 141.

³ GKA, p. 142.

und des "Erhabenen" in Beziehung zu setzen, aber der Mittelpunkt seiner Ästhetik wäre damit nicht gefunden. Dieser weist vielmehr auf das Höchste, auf die Gottheit selbst hin, deren Begriff ihm den Begriff der Einheit liefert, wie uns die Wörter "einfach," "Einfalt," "Einheit" zeigen.

EINFACH = einheitlich, als Ganzes wirkend.

"Die höchste Schönheit ist in Gott, und der Begriff der Menschlichen Schönheit wird vollkommen, je gemäßer und übereinstimmender derselbe mit dem höchsten Wesen kann gedacht werden, welches uns der Begriff der Einheit und der Untheilbarkeit von der Materie unterscheidet. Dieser Begriff der Schönheit ist wie ein aus der Materie durchs Feuer gezogener Geist, welcher sich sucht ein Geschöpf zu zeugen nach dem Ebenbilde der in dem Verstande der Gottheit entworfenen ersten vernünftigen Creatur. Die Formen eines solchen Bildes sind einfach und ununterbrochen, und in dieser Einheit mannigfaltig, und dadurch sind sie harmonisch."¹

"Denn die Formen eines schönen Körpers sind durch Linien bestimmt, welche beständig ihren Mittelpunkt verändern, und fortgeführt niemals einen Cirkel beschreiben, folglich einfacher, aber auch mannigfaltiger, als ein Cirkel, welcher, so grosz und so klein derselbe immer ist, eben den Mittelpunkt hat, und andere in sich schlieszet, oder eingeschlossen wird."²

Oder kurz zusammengefasst :

"Das Schöne bestehet in der Mannigfaltigkeit im Einfachen."³

Offenbar anschliessend an die Lehre des Plotinos, dasz das Schöne das Formenprinzip der zu gestaltenden Materie und somit die Selbstbewegung der Idee, des höchsten Guten, ist, wodurch das Schöne mit dem Guten, mit Gott selbst, zusammentällt, setzt Winckelmann den Begriff der höchsten Schönheit, als in dem der Gottheit enthalten, und schlieszt aus dem Wesen der Gottheit, nämlich Einheit und Unteilbarkeit, auf die Einfachheit der Form. Hierunter ist nun

¹ GKA, pp. 149/150.

² GKA, p. 152.

³ *Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst in Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, v, 1, Leipzig, 1759, p. 6 (zitiert als EB).

nicht etwas nicht aus Teilen Bestehendes zu verstehen, da dann ja nicht von Mannigfaltigkeit und Harmonie die Rede sein könnte; vielmehr etwas, dessen Teile ein einheitliches Ganzes bilden und nur als solches wirken. So ist denn das "Einfache" für Winckelmann das Wesen der Schönheit der Form und ihrer konkreten Erscheinung, der aus Ellipsen gebildeten Schönheitslinie.

Vgl. "Die Linie, die das Schöne beschreibt, ist elliptisch, und in derselben ist das Einfache und eine beständige Veränderung."¹

Das Moment der Schönheit an einer solchen Linie ist ein doppeltes, zunächst das der Veränderung, also der Bewegung, welches den als konzentrisch gedachten Kreisen von Winckelmann abgesprochen wird, da sie nicht in einander übergehen, ferner bildet, worauf es hier ankommt, ein System konzentrischer Kreise ein Mannigfaltiges, das sich zu keiner höheren Einheit zusammenschlieszt; die Wellenlinie hingegen, und dasz ihm diese vorschwebt, zeigt die Beschreibung des Torso, dessen Muskeln er mit Wellen vergleicht,² bildet ein einheitliches Ganzes. Vergleicht man:

"Die Formen eines solchen Bildes sind einfach und ununterbrochen, und in dieser Einheit mannigfaltig"³

mit:

"Das Schöne bestehet in der Mannigfaltigkeit im Einfachen,"⁴

so ergibt sich, dasz die Begriffe des "Einfachen" und der "Einheit" sich decken; in der Tat dient "einfach" als Adjektiv zu "Einheit," statt des bei Winckelmann nicht vorkommenden Wortes "einheitlich."

Wenden wir uns jetzt zum zweiten Wort dieser Gruppe: EINFALT, so bezeichnet dieses:

¹ EB, p. 6.

² *Beschreibung des Torso im Belvedere zu Rom in Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, v, 1, Leipzig, 1759, p. 37 (zitiert als BT).

³ GKA, p. 150.

⁴ EB, p. 6.

I. Einfachheit mit Anlehnung an den eigentlichen Sinn
= Einheitlichkeit, im Gegensatz zur Vielteiligkeit.

1) in der Psychologie : Freiheit von Leidenschaften.

“In der Einfalt und in der Stille der Seele wirkt sie [die Grazie], und wird durch ein wildes Feuer und in aufgebrachten Neigungen verdunkelt.”¹

“Einfalt” ist derjenige Zustand, in welchem die Einheit der Seelenkräfte nicht durch Leidenschaften gestört wird, daher gleichbedeutend mit “Einheit.” Vgl.

“Kentlicher und bezeichnender wird die Seele in heftigen Leidenschaften ; grosz aber und edel ist sie in dem Stand der Einheit, in dem Stand der Ruhe.”²

2) in den bildenden Künsten : Einheitlichkeit der Form, Übersichtlichkeit.

“Durch die Einheit und Einfalt wird alle Schönheit erhaben, so wie es durch dieselbe alles wird, was wir wirken und reden : denn was in sich grosz ist, wird, mit Einfalt ausgeführt und vorgebracht, erhaben. Es wird nicht enger eingeschränkt, oder verliehret von seiner Grösze, wenn es unser Geist wie mit einem Blicke übersehen und messen, und in einem einzigen Begriffe einschlieszen und fassen kann, sondern eben durch diese Begreiflichkeit stellet es uns sich in seiner völligen Grösze vor, und unser Geist wird durch die Fassung desselben erweitert, und zugleich mit erhaben.”³

Die Einfalt bedingt demnach die Begreiflichkeit, d. h. diejenige Eigenschaft des Objekts, welche es dem beschauenden Subjekte ermöglicht, dasselbe in seiner Totalität zu fassen und bildet mit der “Einheit” einen integrierenden Bestandteil der “Schönheit.” Vgl.

“Wodurch die Harmonie unterbrochen, und die Einheit und Einfalt gestöret wird, als worinn die Schönheit besteht.”⁴

¹ *Von der Grazie in Werken der Kunst*, in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, v, 1, Leipzig, 1759, p. 14 (zitiert als G).

² *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 1755, *Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, No. 20, p. 25 (zitiert als GN).

³ GKA, p. 150.

⁴ GKA, p. 145.

In diesem Sinne ist auch die "Einfalt" in der "Allegorie" zu verstehen, welche Winckelmann fordert.

"Die Einfalt besteht in Entwerfung eines Bildes, welches mit so wenig Zeichen als möglich ist, die zu bedeutende Sache ausdrücke . . . Die Einfalt ist in Allegorien, wie Gold ohne Zusatz, und der Beweis der Güte derselben, weil sie alsdenn viel mit wenigen erklären."¹

II. Einfachheit in rein übertragenem Sinne, wobei das Ungeteiltsein als die dem Dinge naturgemäsz zukommende Eigenschaft empfunden wird, und der Gegensatz zur Vielteiligkeit nur insofern in Betracht kommt, als er diese natürliche Eigenschaft der Dinge stört, daher gleichbedeutend mit Natürlichkeit, Schlichtheit, Naivität.

1) in der Moral: Unverderbtheit.

"In der Einfalt der Sitten der ersten Zeiten der Republik."²

2) in der Kunst: Natürlichkeit.

"Die Kunst vor dem Phidias, und Michael Angelo und Raphael, ist zwar in keine völlige Vergleichung zu stellen; aber sie hatte dort, wie hier, eine Einfalt und Reinigkeit, die destomehr zur Verbesserung geschickt ist, je ungekünstelter und unverdorbenere sie sich erhalten hat."³

Die Bedeutung des Naiven mit Rücksicht auf die zur Darstellung gebrachte Gemütseigenschaft tritt besonders hervor an der folgenden Stelle:

"Die schönsten Statuen der Faune sind ein Bild reifer schöner Jugend . . . und es unterscheidet sich ihre Jugend von jungen Helden durch eine gewisse Unschuld und Einfalt."⁴

III. Durch Vereinigung der sub I. 2 und II. 2 besprochenen Begriffe, nämlich des der Einheitlichkeit der Form und des der Natürlichkeit, erhalten wir den der "edlen Einfalt," so an der klassischen Stelle:

"Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der Griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt, und eine stille Grösse, so wohl in der Stellung als im Ausdruck,"⁵

¹ *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst*, Dresden, 1766, p. 30 (zitiert als VA).

² GKA, p. 295.

³ GKA, p. 331.

⁴ GKA, p. 158.

⁵ GN, p. 24.

wo die "edle Einfalt" zunächst auf die Erscheinungsform, die äusere Darstellung geht; vgl.

"Aus der reinen Einfalt in Gewändern . . ." ¹

"Die hohe Einfalt, so wohl in der Bildung der Köpfe, als in der ganzen Zeichnung, in der Kleidung, und in der Ausarbeitung." ²

Dagegen geht die "stille Grösze" auf den dargestellten psychologischen Inhalt, die "grosze und gesetzte Seele." Beide Begriffe finden sich prägnant vereinigt in der Fügung "stille Einfalt":

"Du muszt dieselbe[n] [die Werke des Altertums] mit groszer Ruhe betrachten; denn das viele im wenigen und die stille Einfalt wird dich sonst unerbauet lassen." ³

Die "edele Einfalt und stille Grösze" der GN heisst in GKA: "Gratie."

Zu vergleichen ist Sulzers ⁴ Artikel über Einfalt, der durchaus unter Winckelmanns Einfluss steht. Winckelmann gebraucht das Wort "Einfalt" nur in lobendem Sinne, und es scheint durch ihn in die Terminologie der deutschen Ästhetik eingeführt zu sein.

Es ist kürzlich von J. A. Walz ⁵ darauf hingewiesen worden, dasz die Fügung "edle Einfalt" sich wohl auf die englischen Ästhetiker zurückführen lässt.

Den Begriff der "Einheit" von der negativen Seite zeigt die Gruppe GEZWUNGEN und GEWALTSAM.

"Die Eigenschaften des ältern und ersten Stils der Hetrurischen Künstler, sind erstlich die geraden Linien ihrer Zeichnung, nebst der steifen Stellung und der gezwungenen Handlung ihrer Figuren, und zweytens der unvollkommene Begriff der Schönheit des Gesichts . . ." ⁶ Wir gehen also von dem ersten und älteren Hetrurischen Stile zu dem nachfolgenden und zweyten, dessen Eigenschaften und Kennzeichen sind theils eine empfind-

¹ GKA, p. 336.

² GKA, p. 226.

³ EB, p. 4.

⁴ *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, Leipzig, 1792-1794, II, pp. 15-20.

⁵ *Ztschrft f. deutsche Wortforschung*, XII, 3, p. 178.

⁶ GKA, p. 106.

liche [sich der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung aufdrängende, hervortretende] Andeutung der Figur und deren Theile, theils eine gezwungene Stellung und Handlung, die in einigen Figuren gewaltsam und übe[r]trieben ist. In der ersten Eigenschaft sind die Muskeln schwülstig erhoben, und liegen wie Hügel, die Knochen sind schneidend gezogen, und allzu sichtbar angegeben, wodurch dieser Stil hart und peinlich wird Die zweyte Eigenschaft kann nicht unter einen einzigen Begriff gefasset werden: denn gezwungen und gewaltsam ist nicht einerley. Dieses gehet nicht allein auf die Stellung, die Handlung, und auf den Ausdruck, sondern auch die Bewegung aller Theile; jenes kann zwar von der Handlung gesagt werden, ist aber auch in der rauhesten Stellung. Gezwungen, ist das Gegentheil von der Natur, und gewaltsam, von der Sittsamkeit und von dem Wohlstande. Das erste ist eine Eigenschaft auch des ersten Stils, das zweyte aber dieses Stils insbesondere. Das gewaltsame der Stellung flieszet aus der ersten Eigenschaft: denn um den gesuchten [beabsichtigten] starken Ausdruck und die empfindliche Andeutung zu erhalten, setzte man die Figuren in Stände [Stellungen] und Handlungen, worinn sich jenes am sichtbarsten äuszern konnte, und man wählete das Gewaltsame an statt der Ruhe und der Stille, und die Empfindung [Gemütsbewegung, Affekt] wurde gleichsam aufgeblasen, und bis an ihre äussersten Grenzen getrieben."¹

Der Unterschied zwischen "gezwungen" und "gewaltsam" besteht aber nicht so sehr darin, dasz nur das "Gezwungene" wider die Natur ist, wie man aus dem eben zitierten Passus schlieszen könnte, denn es zeigen Stellen wie:

"Ueber dieses angenommene Systema erhoben sich die Verbesserer der Kunst, und näherten sich der Wahrheit der Natur. Diese lehrete aus der Härte und von hervorspringenden und jäh abgeschnittenen Theilen der Figur in flüssige Umrisse zu gehen, die gewaltsamen Stellungen und Handlungen gesitteter und weiser zu machen,"²

dasz auch das "Gewaltsame" eine Entfernung von der Natur, der Lehrmeisterin aller Kunst, bedeutet. Vielmehr geht das "Gezwungene" zunächst auf die Form, das "Gewaltsame" auf den Inhalt und nur sekundär auf die durch den Inhalt bedingte Form eines plastischen Kunstwerkes, denn das eigentliche Gebiet des "Gezwungenen" ist die

¹ GKA, pp. 109/110.

² GKA, p. 224.

“Stellung,” des “Gewaltsamen” die “Handlung” und der “Ausdruck,” und das “Gewaltsame” ist das Gegenteil einerseits der “Sittsamkeit” und des “Wohlstandes” [des feinen Anstandes], andererseits der “Ruhe” und der “Stille.” Zum Beweise, dasz der Vorzug des zweiten griechischen, des “hohen” Stils sich aus dem Inhalt ergibt, und somit auch das “Gewaltsame” sich zunächst auf den Inhalt, nicht auf die Form bezieht, kann angezogen werden, was Winckelmann im weiteren Verlaufe über den zweiten etrusischen Stil sagt:

“Ueberhaupt würde dieser zweyte Stil, verglichen mit dem Griechischen von guter Zeit, anzusehen seyn, wie ein junger Mensch, welcher das Glück einer aufmerksamen Erziehung nicht gehabt, und dem man den Zügel in seinen Begierden und Aufwallung der Geister schieszen lassen, die ihn zu aufgebrauchten Handlungen treiben, wie dieser, sage ich, gegen einen schönen Jüngling seyn würde, bey welchem eine weise Erziehung und ein gelehrter Unterricht das Feuer einschränken, und der vorzüglichen Bildung der Natur selbst, durch ein gesittetes Wesen, eine grözere Erhabenheit geben wird.”¹

Hiermit ist zu vergleichen :

“Stand und Gebärden an den alten Figuren sind wie an einem Menschen, welcher Achtung erwecket und fordern kann, und der vor den Augen weiser Männer auftritt: ihre Bewegung hat den nothwendigen Grund des Wirkens in sich, wie durch ein flüssiges feines Geblüt und mit einem sittsamen Geiste zu geschehen pfleget: nur allein die Stellung der Bacchanten auf geschnittenen Steinen ist der Absicht bey denselben gemäsz, das ist, gewaltsam [d. h. spiegelt eine starke psychische Erregung wider].”²

Um so auffallender ist es, dasz Winckelmann die Künstler des ersten etrusischen Stils, ganz seiner sonstigen Auffassungsweise zuwider, den Inhalt durch die Form bestimmen läßt.

Somit ist das “Gewaltsame” als das Gegenteil der “stillen Grösze,” das “Gezwungene” und “Gewaltsame” als das Gegenteil der “edlen Einfalt und der stillen Grösze”

¹ GKA, pp. 110/111.

² G, pp. 15/16.

aufzufassen, wenn auch bei dem "Gezwungenen" und "Gewaltsamen" auf den Mangel der Einheitlichkeit, als eines integrierenden Teiles, den Winckelmann bei der "Einfalt" hervorhebt, nur indirekt geschlossen werden kann.

Über die Darstellung der Einheit in der plastischen Kunst, im weiteren Sinne über das hier obwaltende Verhältnis von Inhalt zu Form, belehren uns die Wörter "Handlung," "Ausdruck" und "Erhaben."

III.

HANDLUNG bedeutet :

I. Die sich zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen verbindende Summe zielbewusster Äusserungen des menschlichen Willens.

"Die Kunst unter den Griechen hat, wie ihre Dichtkunst . . . vier Hauptzeiten, und wir könnten deren fünf setzen. Denn so wie eine jede Handlung und Begebenheit fünf Theile, und gleichsam Stufen hat, den Anfang, den Fortgang, den Stand, die Abnahme, und das Ende . . ., eben so verhält es sich mit der Zeitfolge derselben."¹

II. Ein solches Ganzes, als Zustand aufgefasst, in der Kunst dargestellt.

"Die alten Künstler haben hier, wie ihre Dichter, ihre Personen gleichsam ausser der Handlung, die Schrecken oder Wehklagen erwecken müste, gezeigt."²

Da die "Handlung" die wichtigste äussere Erscheinungsform ist, in welche die Seele des Individuums treten kann, muss sie in der Plastik, als derjenigen Kunstübung, in der die Seele den Körper bildet, also der Kunstübung des Spiritualismus *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, von besonderer Wichtigkeit sein und ist in der Tat eines der wichtigsten Merkmale für Winckelmann in der Bestimmung der Epochen der Kunstgeschichte. Im "ältern" Stile ist die "Handlung" "gewaltsam," daher

¹GKA, p. 213.

²G, p. 17.

die Stellung "gezwungen." Im "groszen" oder "hohen" Stile findet "Handlung" nicht statt, und die Kunst erzeugt lediglich ein reines Gattungsideal. Im "schönen" Stil kommt die unterdrückte Sinnlichkeit wieder so weit zur Geltung, dasz sie die Herrschaft des Geistes nicht stört, und die "Handlung" zeigt "edle Einfalt und stille Grösze," oder, wie es später heisst, "Gratie," die Winckelmann, bevor er die "hohe" von der "niedern Gratie" trennt, allgemein als das "eigenthümliche Verhältnisz der handelnden Person zur Handlung"¹ bezeichnet.

III. Die Mittel, deren sich die bildende Kunst bedient, um ein solches darzustellen.

"Die Arme hängen gerade herunter längst den Seiten, an welche sie, wie fest angedrückt, vereinigt liegen, und folglich haben dergleichen Figuren gar keine Handlung, welche durch Bewegung der Arme und der Hände ausgedrückt wird."²

"... hat derselbe [Michael Angelo] aus seinen Weiblichen Figuren Geschöpfe einer andern Welt, im Gebäude [Wuchs], in der Handlung [der die Handlung veranschaulichenden Stellung der Arme und Hände] und in den Gebärden [dem Mienenspiel] gemacht."³

Für AUSDRUCK gibt Winckelmann selbst die folgende Definition :

"Der Ausdruck ist eine Nachahmung [Darstellung] des wirkenden und leidenden Zustandes unserer Seele, und unsers Körpers, und der Leidenschaften so wohl, als der Handlungen."⁴

Wichtig ist hier das Verhältnisz des "Ausdrucks," also der Wiedergabe psychischer und körperlicher Vorgänge zur "vornehmsten Absicht der Kunst, der Schönheit."⁵

"Die Stille ist derjenige Zustand, welcher der Schönheit, so wie dem Meere, der eigentlichste ist . . . Es kann auch der Begriff einer hohen Schönheit nicht anders erzeugt werden, als in einer stillen und von allen einzelnen Bildungen abgerufenen Betrachtung der Seele . . . und so unge-

¹ G, p. 15.

⁴ GKA, p. 167.

² GKA, p. 40.

⁵ EB, p. 2.

³ GKA, p. 144.

rührt von Empfindungen sind die mehresten Bilder der Götter; daher die hohe Schönheit dem angeführten Genius in der Villa Borghese nur in diesem Zustande zu geben war.”¹

Da die “hohe” [übersinnliche] Schönheit die Einheit der Seele zur Voraussetzung hat, würde die Schönheit der Linien leiden, sobald die Seele aus dem Zustand der Einheit, der Ruhe tritt, denn:

“In beyden Zuständen [“dem wirkenden und leidenden Zustand unserer Seele, und unsers Körpers”] verändern sich die Züge des Gesichts, und die Haltung des Körpers, folglich die Formen, welche die Schönheit bilden, und je grösser diese Veränderung ist, desto nachtheiliger ist dieselbe der Schönheit.”²

Also steht der Künstler hier vor einem Dilemma, denn die absolute Einheit der Seele kommt nur den Göttern zu, auch Götter muszten handelnd, wenn auch nicht leidend dargestellt werden; die “hohe” Schönheit konnte überhaupt nicht der einzige, und nicht einmal der höchste Vorwurf der plastischen Kunst sein. Der “ältere” griechische Stil strebte offenbar nur eine sinnliche, nicht “hohe” Schönheit an, aber selbst dieses gelang nur unvollkommen, weil der Gegenstand der Darstellung das “Gewaltsame” war.

“Die Zeichnung war nachdrücklich, aber hart; mächtig, aber ohne Gratie, und der starke Ausdruck verminderte die Schönheit.”³

Dem auf dem “älteren” folgenden “hohen” Stile war es gelungen, die “hohe” Schönheit rein darzustellen, aber nur durch den tatsächlichen Verzicht auf die Darstellung psychischer Vorgänge, sowie alles Individuellen und Charakteristischen.

“Gedachte grosse Meister des hohen Stils hatten die Schönheit allein in einer vollkommenen Uebereinstimmung der Theile, und in einem erhobenen Ausdrücke, und mehr das wahrhaftig Schöne, als das Liebliche, gesucht. Da aber nur ein einziger Begriff der Schönheit, welcher der höchste und sich immer gleich ist . . . kann gedacht werden, so müssen sich diese Schönheiten allezeit diesem Bilde nähern, und sich einander ähnlich und

¹ GKA, pp. 167/168.

² GKA, p. 167.

³ GKA, p. 221.

gleichförmig werden: dieses ist die Ursache von der Aehnlichkeit der Köpfe der Niobe und ihrer Töchter, welche unmerklich und nur nach dem Alter und dem Grade der Schönheit in ihnen verschieden ist." ¹

Eine vollkommene Versöhnung dieser Widersprüche, die Darstellung psychischer Vorgänge, bei denen die Einheit der Seele erhalten blieb und eine adäquate Form fand, gelang erst im "schönen" Stil, indem man Seelenzustände schilderte, welche die Harmonie der Seele nicht brechen, sondern die Seele gleichsam über sich selbst erheben.

"Das Mannigfaltige und die mehrere Verschiedenheit des Ausdrucks that der Harmonie und der Groszheit in dem schönen Stile keinen Eintrag: die Seele äuszerte sich nur wie unter einer stillen Fläche des Wassers, und trat niemals mit Ungestüm hervor. In Vorstellung [Darstellung] des Leidens bleibt die gröszte Pein verschlossen, wie im Laocoon, und die Freude schwebet wie eine sanfte Luft, die kaum die Blätter rühret, auf dem Gesichte einer Bacchante, auf Münzen der Insel Naxos." ²

Nur "grosze Seelen" vermögen dieses, und die Voraussetzung für die Darstellung solcher ist eine "grosze Seele" des Künstlers.

"Der Künstler muste die Stärcke des Geistes in sich selbst fühlen, welche er seinem Marmor einprägte." ³

So konnten denn, wie in der Laokoongruppe, die heftigsten seelischen Erschütterungen dargestellt und trotzdem eine vollendete Schönheit der Linien erreicht werden; dasselbe gelang bei Darstellung der sinnlichen Natur dadurch, dasz diese als Eins mit der geistigen Natur erscheint. Dieses Maszhalten in der Darstellung von Affekten und Leidenschaften, diese Schönheit des "Ausdrucks," als der sinnlichen Erscheinung der inneren Aktion, ist die "edle Einfalt" und "stille Grösse," oder wie sie in GKA heiszt, die "Gratie." Daraus, dasz die "Gratie" das Charakteristische der griechischen Plastik in der Zeit ihrer Vollendung ist, geht die hohe Bewertung hervor, die Winckelmann dem Psychischen gibt. Die schöne Form ist bedingt durch die

¹ GKA, p. 229.

² GKA, p. 233.

³ GN, p. 25.

schöne Seele, und wenn Winckelmann auch nicht zeigt, weshalb dieses so ist, so hat doch die Form bei ihm allein durch den Inhalt Bedeutung, und Hettners Tadel: "Der geistige Urgrund der Kunst kommt bei ihm nicht zu seinem Rechte,"¹ ist durchaus zurückzuweisen.

Lessing nahm im *Laokoon*² an Winckelmanns Ausführungen insofern Anstos, als er dessen Motivierung aus der Psyche des Künstlers und des Kunstobjekts nicht gelten lassen wollte; durch Beispiele, die er der griechischen Poesie, nicht der Plastik, entnahm, suchte er den Beweis zu erbringen, dass nicht der "Ausdruck," sondern die "Schönheit" das höchste Gesetz der griechischen Künstler gewesen sei. Er sagt:

"Es giebt Leidenschaften und Grade von Leidenschaften, die sich in dem Gesichte durch die hässlichsten Verzerrungen äussern, und den ganzen Körper in so gewaltsame Stellungen setzen, dass alle die schönen Linien, die ihn in einem ruhigen Stande umschreiben, verloren gehen. Dieser enthielten sich also die alten Künstler entweder ganz und gar, oder setzten sie auf geringere Grade herunter, in welchen sie eines Maasses von Schönheit fähig sind."³ . . . "Der Meister [des Laokoon] arbeitete auf die höchste Schönheit, unter den angenommenen Umständen des körperlichen Schmerzes. Dieser, in aller seiner entstellenden Heftigkeit, war mit jener nicht zu verbinden. Er musste ihn also herabsetzen; er musste Schreyen in Seufzen mildern; nicht weil das Schreyen eine unedle Seele verräth, sondern weil es das Gesicht auf eine eckelhafte Weise verstellte."⁴ . . . "Folglich kommen wir hier von selbst auf die Regel der Alten, dass der Ausdruck der Schönheit untergeordnet seyn müsse."⁵

Nun hatte Winckelmann durchaus nicht den "Ausdruck" der "Schönheit" überordnen wollen; er sagt:

"Aber der Ausdruck wurde derselben [der Schönheit] gleichsam zugewäget, und die Schönheit war bey den alten Künstlern die Zunge an der Waage des Ausdrucks, und als die vornehmste Absicht derselben . . ."⁶

Winckelmann und Lessing stehen in der Bewertung des

¹ *L. c.*, III, II, p. 432.

² *L. c.*, p. 159.

³ *Nachlass A*, I. c., p. 394.

⁴ Ed. Blümner, Berlin, 1880, pp. 149 ff.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 162.

⁶ GKA, p. 168.

“Ausdrucks” gegenüber der “Schönheit” so zu einander, dasz Lessing schlechterdings die “Schönheit” als höchstes Gesetz bei den alten Künstlern hinstellt und aus diesem Gesetz eine Abtönung des “Ausdrucks” folgert,¹ Winckelmann in der “Schönheit” ein Regulativ des “Ausdrucks” erblickt. Mit einer gewissen Genugtuung schreibt Lessing:

“H. Winckelmann hat sich in der Geschichte der Kunst näher erklärt. Auch er bekennet, dasz die Ruhe eine Folge der Schönheit ist”;²

doch ist diese Annäherung nur eine scheinbare und darf über den fundamentalen Gegensatz der Kunstanschauungen beider Männer nicht täuschen. Der der “Schönheit” untergeordnete “Ausdruck” ist nach Lessing seinem Wesen nach “permanent”:

“Unterschied in Ansehung der Schönheit des Ausdrucks, zwischen transitorischen und permanenten. Jener ist gewaltsam und folglich nie schön. Dieser ist die Folge von der öftern Wiederholung des erstern, verträgt sich nicht allein mit der Schönheit sondern bringt auch mehr Verschiedenheit in die Schönheit selbst.”³

Aus dem Umstande, dasz die bildenden Künste sich der “Figuren und Farben in dem Raume”⁴ bedienen, folgert Lessing, dasz das “Coexistierende” der Gegenstand ihrer Darstellung sei,⁵ und im Zusammenhang hiermit schlieszt er das “Transitorische” für die Darstellung durch die bildenden Künste aus.⁶ Das “Transitorische” ist für Lessing “gewaltsam”; auch Winckelmann verwirft das “Gewaltsame,” aber ihm ist es die Darstellung der nicht durch den Geist beherrschten Sinnlichkeit. Wie Lessing von dem Darstellungsstoffe “Figuren und Farben” auf das Darstellungsgebiet des “Coexistenten” schlieszt, so bestimmen ihm auch die, von einem a priori postulierten Schönheitsgesetz beherrschten Darstellungsmittel den geistigen Inhalt

¹ L. c., p. 159.

² L. c., p. 398.

³ L. c., p. 399.

⁴ L. c., p. 250.

⁵ L. c., p. 251.

⁶ L. c., p. 165.

des Kunstwerks.¹ Lessing geht also in seiner Besprechung vom Technischen aus und spielt die Frage nach dem Verhältnis des "Ausdrucks" zur "Schönheit" gleichfalls auf das technische Gebiet hinüber. Winckelmann dagegen geht hier, wie bei allen seinen Kunstbetrachtungen von der im Kunstwerk objektivierten, von ihm selbst anschaulich erfassten Idee aus, welche sich die ihr gemäße Erscheinungsform bildet, die als ein Gegebenes vorliegt. Somit schlieszt Lessing von Form auf Inhalt, Winckelmann von Inhalt auf Form. Die psychologische Erklärung von Winckelmanns Verfahren ist, dasz die Form, welche er anschaut, so mächtige Vorstellungsgefühle in ihm erweckt, dasz er diese Vorstellungsgefühle, oder genauer gesagt, die mit denselben verbundenen Willensgefühle in die Form als Idee einfühlt. Aber auch dann bleibt Winckelmann dem Kunstwerke gegenüber objektiv, Lessing dagegen verfährt subjektiv, indem er an das Kunstwerk einen Maszstab anlegt, den ihm sein kritischer Verstand, nicht das Kunstwerk, geliefert hat. Das Technische der Frage entging Winckelmann natürlich auch nicht; mit Bezug auf Laokoon fertigt er die Frage ab mit einem bündigen: "Die Oeffnung des Mundes gestattet es nicht."² Mit Recht faszt Winckelmann den "Ausdruck" rein psychologisch und sieht das Vollendete der Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik in der Übereinstimmung des Inhalts mit der Form und in der Darstellung groszer, d. h. ungebrochener Seelen, die in ihrer Einheit verharren und die ganze Form erfüllen.

Im engen Zusammenhang mit dem Begriffe "Ausdruck" steht der des "Erhabenen."

ERHABEN in occasioneller Bedeutung zur Bezeichnung von Begriffen in Winckelmanns Kunsttheorie bedeutet:

¹ L. c., p. 162.

² GN, p. 24.

I. mit bewusster Anlehnung an den Verbalbegriff "erheben": über die gemeine Natur erhaben.

1) von der Seele :

"unser Geist wird durch die Fassung desselben erweitert, und zugleich mit erhaben."¹

Dies gilt im besonderen von der Seele des schaffenden Künstlers.

2) vom Kunstwerk :

"Jordans, von der Gattung niederer Geister, ist in dem Erhabenen der Malerei mit Rubens, seinem Meister, keineswegs in Vergleichung zu stellen: er hat an die Höhe desselben nicht reichen, und sich über die Natur nicht hinaus setzen können."²

So existiert denn das "Erhabene" nicht in der sinnlichen Natur, sondern nur in der vom Künstler geschaffenen idealen Natur. Was hierunter zu verstehen ist, zeigt der Vergleich der Statue des Apollo im Belvedere mit dem Laokoon.

"Apollo hat das Erhabene, welches im Laocoon nicht statt fand."³

Winckelmann führt dieses im Einzelnen aus, indem er vom Apollo sagt :

"Die Statue des Apollo ist das höchste Ideal der Kunst unter allen Werken des Alterthums, welche der Zerstörung derselben entgangen sind. Der Künstler derselben hat dieses Werk gänzlich auf das Ideal gebauet, und er hat nur eben so viel von der Materie dazu genommen, als nöthig war, seine Absicht auszuführen und sichtbar zu machen."⁴

Dagegen vom Laokoon :

"Laocoon ist eine Natur [im Gegensatz zum "Ideal"] im höchsten Schmerze, nach dem Bilde eines Mannes gemacht, der die bewusste Stärke des Geistes gegen denselben zu sammeln sucht. . . . Die Natur, welche der Künstler nicht verschönern konnte, hat er ausgewickelter, angestrengeter und mächtiger zu zeigen gesucht."⁵

¹ GKA, p. 150.

² *Erläuterung der Gedanken von der Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* in *Sämliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Eiselein, Donauöschingen, 1825, I, p. 146 (zitiert als EG).

³ GKA, p. 154.

⁴ GKA, p. 392.

⁵ GKA, pp. 348/349.

Wenn auch Winckelmann den Apollo dem Laokoon vorzuziehen scheint, so ist doch der Umstand, dasz er dem Laokoon das "Erhabene" abspricht, nicht etwa so zu verstehen, als betrachte er diese Gruppe als minderwertig, denn er spricht von derselben als "diesem schönsten und groszen Werke der höchsten Zeit der Kunst,"¹ vielmehr geht das "Erhabene" im Apollo und das Nichtvorhandensein desselben im Laokoon darauf zurück, dasz der Künstler des Apollo von der Idee der Einheit, wie er sie in der göttlichen Psyche fand, ausging und diese zu realisieren suchte, während der Künstler des Laokoon von dem in der sinnlichen Natur gegebenen Urbilde der leidenden menschlichen Psyche ausging, die er idealisierte, indem er sie, so weit es die menschliche Beschränkung zulässt, der göttlichen Psyche näherte; in letzter Linie auf den durch die Darstellungsobjekte bedingten Gegensatz von idealistischer zu realistischer Darstellung.

Dem "Erhabenen" des Inhalts musste das "Erhabene" der Form entsprechen :

"So wie nun die Alten stufenweis von der Menschlichen Schönheit bis an die Göttliche hinauf gestiegen waren, so blieb diese Staffel der Schönheit. In ihren Helden, das ist, in Menschen, denen das Alterthum die höchste Würdigkeit unserer Natur gab, näherten sie sich bis an die Grenzen der Gottheit, ohne dieselben zu überschreiten, und den sehr feinen Unterschied zu vermischen Die Formen bildeten sie an Helden heldenmässig, und gaben gewissen Theilen eine mehr grosze [= einen Überschuss von Sinnlichkeit verratend, also gerade das Gegenteil von "grosz" im "groszen Stile"] als natürl[iche] Erhabenheit [Hervortreten]; in den Muskeln legten sie eine schnelle Wirkung und Regung, und in heftigen Handlungen setzten sie alle Triebfedern der Natur in Bewegung. Die Absicht hiervon war die mögliche Mannigfaltigkeit, welche sie suchten. . . . Noch deutlicher aber lässt sich dieses zeigen an eben diesen Muskeln am Laocoon, welcher eine durch das Ideal erhöhte Natur [also immerhin Natur, nicht "Ideal" (q. v.)] ist, verglichen mit diesem Theile des Körpers an vergötterten und Göttlichen Figuren, wie der Hercules und Apollo im Belvedere sind. Die Regung dieser Muskeln ist am Laocoon über die Wahrheit bis

¹ GKA, p. 350.

zur Möglichkeit getrieben, und sie liegen wie Hügel, welche sich in einander schlieszen, um die höchste Anstrengung der Kräfte im Leiden und Widerstreben auszudrücken Im Apollo, dem Bilde der schönsten Gottheit, sind diese Muskeln gelinde, und wie ein geschmolzen Glas in kaum sichtbare Wellen geblasen, und werden mehr dem Gefühle, als dem Gesichte, offenbar.”¹

Auch wo die psychische Einheit nicht die absolute, göttliche ist, kann das “Erhabene” stattfinden: die menschliche Psyche erscheint dann im zeitweiligen Zustande der Gefühlslosigkeit, wie in der Niobegruppe, der Winckelmann deshalb die “hohe Gratie” zuerkennt. Das “Erhabene” bezieht sich also zunächst auf das Psychische, weswegen Winckelmann auch dem Künstler des Apollo einen “erhabenern Geist” beimiszt, und ist dann identisch mit dieser Einheit der Seele; erst vermitteltst des Psychischen auf die Körperformen, welche jenes Psychische zur Erscheinung bringen.

II. absolut: “groß,” wenn es in seiner Totalität wirkt.

1) von der Form.

“Durch die Einheit [der Idee] und Einfalt [der sinnlichen Erscheinung] wird alle Schönheit erhaben, so wie es durch dieselbe [die Einfalt] alles wird, was wir wirken und reden [vorausgesetzt, dasz unsere Handlungen und Worte “groß” sind]: denn was in sich groß ist [die ihm charakteristischen Eigenschaften verglichen mit anderen Dingen derselben Gattung in bedeutendem Masse besitzt], wird, mit Einfalt ausgeführt und vorgebracht, erhaben. Es wird nicht enger eingeschränkt, oder verliehret von seiner Größe, wenn es unser Geist wie mit einem Blicke übersehen und messen, und in einem einzigen Begriffe einschlieszen und fassen kann, sondern eben durch diese Begreiflichkeit stellet es uns sich in seiner völligen Größe vor, und unser Geist wird durch die Fassung desselben erweitert, und zugleich mit erhaben [I. 1].”²

Da, wie wir sahen, die “Einfalt” die äuszere Erscheinungsform der “Einheit” ist, und das, “was in sich groß ist, mit Einfalt ausgeführt und vorgebracht, erhaben wird,” so ist das “Erhabene” hier die sichtbare Form des einheitlich gedachten “Großen,” eines integrierenden Teiles der

¹ GKA, pp. 163/164.

² GKA, p. 150.

“Schönheit.” Das “Erhabene” [I. 2], welches dem Laokoon abgeht, so weit die Form in Betracht kommt, ist identisch mit dem “Erhabenen” [II. 1], denn die Erscheinungsform der in göttlicher Ruhe verharrenden Seele, ist eben das in seiner Totalität wirkende “Grosze,” mit Bezug auf die Formen des menschlichen Körpers : der aus sanft in einander fließenden Linien gebildete Kontur. Im Laokoon dagegen herrscht wohl das “Grosze,”¹ aber dadurch, dass einzelne Teile auf Kosten der anderen betont sind, wird die Betrachtung vom Ganzen auf das Einzelne abgeleitet, und das “Erhabene” kann nicht stattfinden.

2) von der Seele : Im Zustand der Ataraxie.²

Ist es hiernach das “gesittete Wesen,” die Bändigung der Leidenschaften, was der menschlichen Natur eine grössere Erhabenheit gibt, so besteht das “Erhabene” selbst aus der sich daraus ergebenden absoluten Harmonie der Seelenkräfte, der Ataraxie. Dem “Erhabenen” der Form entspricht somit das “Erhabene” des Inhalts, die Grösze und Stille der Seele, welche in dieser Form sich widerspiegelt. Da Winckelmann sagt : “Der Künstler musste die Stärke des Geistes in sich selbst fühlen, welche er seinem Marmor einprägte,”³ kann der “erhabeneren” Geist des Künstlers des Apollo auch als in einem relativen Zustande der Ataraxie befindlich, erklärt werden.

Mithin ist das “Erhabene” bei Winckelmann, selbst in occasioneller Bedeutung, ein komplexer Begriff, der nicht mit einer Formel ausgeschöpft werden kann, und wenn Justi sagt : “Hier ist auch der Punkt, wo der Begriff des Erhabenen bei ihm auftritt, in ganz anderem Sinne als bei Longin, Burke und Kant. Erhaben bezeichnet nicht die gemischte Empfindung, die das überwältigend Grosze und Furchtbare erweckt, es ist Grösze durch Einfalt, im Gegen-

¹ GKA, p. 233.

² GKA, pp. 110/111.

³ GN, p. 25.

satz zu Kleinlichkeit durch Vieltheiligkeit,"¹ so bezieht sich diese Definition nur auf "erhaben" [II] und lässt den Begriff des Idealistischen im "Erhabenen" gänzlich unberücksichtigt.

Daraus, dass die "Schönheit" in "Harmonie," "Einheit" und "Einfalt" besteht,² andererseits durch die "Einheit" und "Einfalt" alle "Schönheit" "erhaben" wird,³ könnte man folgern, dass das "Erhabene" ein der "Schönheit" inhärierendes Element sei, gebildet durch die "Einheit" und "Einfalt"; doch würde diese Erklärung Winckelmann in Widersprüche verwickeln, indem er Laokoon das "Erhabene" abspricht, andererseits denselben zum "schönen" Stil rechnet; vielmehr ist die "Schönheit" der kleinere, das "Erhabene" der grössere, über die "Schönheit" hinausragende Begriff. Nur wo die "Einheit" absolut ist, findet das "Erhabene" statt. Mit Recht hebt Justi das Fehlen des "Erstaunens" in Winckelmanns Begriff des "Erhabenen" hervor, denn dem "Erstaunen" gibt Winckelmann eine sehr geringe ästhetische Wertung. Wichtig ist vor allen Dingen, dass der Schwerpunkt des "Erhabenen" im Psychischen liegt: es ist zunächst die Idee, erst in zweiter Linie ihre sichtbare Erscheinung, die in das Bereich des "Erhabenen" gehört; ferner, dass bei Winckelmann im Gegensatz zu Kant das "Erhabene" messurabel ist. Wie sehr der Begriff des "Erhabenen" [II] = "durch Einfalt gross" sich von demjenigen der Zeitgenossen Winckelmanns unterscheidet, zeigt die von Sulzer gegebene Definition.⁴

Das "Erhabene" [I. 2] berührt sich innig mit dem Begriff des "Ideals," welcher das Substrat des "Erhabenen" offenlegt.

¹ L. c., III, p. 159.

² GKA, p. 150.

³ GKA, p. 145.

⁴ L. c., II, p. 97.

IV.

IDEAL bedeutet :

I. den im Kunstwerk objektivierten Gedanken des Künstlers, den ideellen Gehalt des Kunstwerks im Gegensatz zur Form. In diesem Sinne gebraucht Winckelmann auch, obschon keinesfalls ausschliesslich, das Wort "Idee."

"Diese Beschreibung [des Torso] gehet nur auf das Ideal der Statue, sonderlich da sie idealisch [q. v.] ist. . . . Die Vorstellung [Darstellung, Beschreibung] einer jeden Statue sollte zweien Theile haben : der erste in Absicht des Ideals, der andere nach der Kunst [Kunstform ; nach von Stein¹ = Technik]."²

II. Das vom Künstler selbst geschaffene Urbild des Kunstwerks, im Gegensatz zu dem unmittelbar aus der sinnlichen Natur gewählten Vorbilde.

1) als psychisches Gebilde des Künstlers = innere Anschauung.

"Dieser Künstler [des Torso] hat ein hohes Ideal eines über die Natur erhabenen Körpers, und eine Natur männlich vollkommener Jahre, wenn dieselbe bis auf den Grad Göttlicher Genügsamkeit erhöht wäre, in diesem Hercules gebildet, welcher hier erscheint, wie er sich von den Schlacken der Menschheit mit Feuer gereinigt, und die Unsterblichkeit erlangt hat."³

So auch, wenn das Urbild sich nicht auf ein einzelnes Kunstwerk bezieht, sondern eine, die gesamte Tätigkeit des Künstlers beherrschende, subjektive Norm bezeichnet.

" er [Bernini] ergriff das entgegengesetzte Ende vom Alterthum : seine Bilder suchte er in der gemeinen Natur, und sein Ideal ist von Geschöpfen unter einem ihm unbekannten Himmel genommen."⁴

In Verbindung mit "hoch" [rein übersinnlich] ist das "Ideal" das Urbild für die Darstellung des "Erhabenen."

Den Übergang zu der Bedeutung : Darstellung eines vom Künstler selbst geschaffenen Urbildes zeigt der Passus :

¹ *Die Entstehung der neueren Aesthetik*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 383.

² BT, pp. 33/34.

³ GKA, p. 369.

⁴ G, p. 22.

“Die Jugend der Götter hat in beyderley Geschlecht ihre verschiedene Stufen und Alter, in deren Vorstellung [Darstellung] die Kunst alle ihre Schönheiten zu zeigen gesucht hat. Es ist dieselbe ein Ideal, theils von Männlichen schönen Körpern, theils von der Natur schöner Verschnittenen genommen, und durch ein über die Menschheit erhabenes Gewächs [Wuchs] erhöht: daher sagt Plato, dasz Göttlichen Bildern nicht die wirklichen Verhältnisse, sondern welche der Einbildung die schönsten schienen, gegeben worden.”¹

Obwohl es sich hier um die Darstellung von Göttern handelt, hat wie die Abwesenheit des Wortes “hoch” im Zusammenhang mit “Ideal,” zeigt, das “Erhabene” nicht statt, denn die Künstler nahmen bei der Darstellung jugendlicher Götter Vorbilder aus der sinnlichen Natur, welche sie idealisierten, so dasz ihr Vorbild zwar ein “Ideal” wurde, sie gingen aber nicht von der Idee der göttlichen Einheit aus.

2) in der plastischen Kunst dargestellt.

“Der schöne Barberinische schlafende Faun ist kein Ideal [d. h. ist nicht die Darstellung eines vom Künstler selbst geschaffenen Urbildes, sondern ist nach einem von der sinnlichen Natur gebotenen Vorbilde gearbeitet], sondern ein Bild [Abbild] der sich selbst gelassenen [überlassenen, also nicht idealisierten] einfältigen Natur.”²

“Die Statue des Apollo ist das höchste Ideal der Kunst unter allen Werken des Alterthums [d. h. ist dasjenige Kunstwerk, welches der vollkommenste Ausdruck eines Urbildes der von den Zufälligkeiten der sinnlichen Natur gereinigten wahren Natur ist] Der Künstler derselben hat dieses Werk gänzlich auf das Ideal [II. 1] gebauet, und er hat nur eben so viel von der Materie dazu genommen, als nöthig war, seine Absicht auszuführen und sichtbar zu machen.”³

So bezeichnet das “Ideal” [II] nicht ein vollkommenes und deshalb unerreichbares Urbild, auch nicht die vollkommene Verkörperung einer Idee, sondern die vom Künstler in seinem subjektiven Bewusstsein gereinigte und vervollkommnete Natur. Es ist wohl zu beachten, dasz Winckelmann keineswegs unter “Ideal,” wenn auch unter dem

¹ GKA, p. 157.

² GKA, p. 158.

³ GKA, p. 392.

“hohen Ideal,” ein rein subjektives Erzeugnis der Phantasie versteht; vielmehr musz, wie die Darstellung jugendlicher Götter lehrt, das “Ideal” in dem festen Boden des durch die sinnliche Anschauung Gegebenen wurzeln und sich folgerichtig aus dem Realen entwickeln, denn dem Bernini wirft Winckelmann vor, dasz er zwar seine Kunstformen in der sinnlichen Natur gesucht, aber diese nicht unter Beobachtung der von dieser selben sinnlichen Natur vereinzelt gebotenen, mustergültigen Formen, also ihrem innersten Wesen entsprechend, vervollkommnet habe. Denn:

“Was endlich die Schönheit einzelner Theile des Menschlichen Körpers betrifft, so ist hier die Natur der beste Lehrer: denn im Einzelnen ist dieselbe über die Kunst, so wie diese im Ganzen sich über jene erheben kann.”¹

Die Frage, wie der Künstler zu seinem “Ideal” kommt, berührt Winckelmann, soweit die Form in Betracht kommt, im Folgenden:

“Es fällte Bernini ein sehr ungegründetes Urtheil, wenn er die Wahl der schönsten Theile, welche Zeuxis an fünf Schönheiten zu Croton machte, da er eine Juno daselbst zu malen hatte, für ungereimt und für erdichtet ansah, weil er sich einbildete, ein bestimmtes Theil oder Glied reime sich zu keinem anderen Körper, als dem es eigen ist.”²

Redet Winckelmann hier auch scheinbar dem Eklektizismus das Wort, so zeigt doch der nachstehende Passus, dasz es sich beim Bilden des “Ideals” nicht um ein einfaches Sammeln und Zusammensetzen des in der Natur Zerstreuten handelt; er sagt nämlich:

“Es wird auch der Kunst, wie der Weltweisheit, ergangen seyn, dasz, so wie hier, also auch unter den Künstlern Eclectici oder Sammler aufstuden, die, aus Mangel eigener Kräfte, das einzelne Schöne aus vielen in eins zu vereinigen sucheten. Aber so wie die Eclectici nur als Copisten von Weltweisen besonderer Schulen anzusehen sind, und wenig oder nichts ursprüngliches hervorgebracht haben, so war auch in der Kunst, wenn man eben den Weg nahm, nichts ganzes, eigenes und übereinstimmendes zu erwarten.”³

¹ GKA, p. 177.

² GKA, p. 155.

³ GKA, p. 235.

Dieses erklärt er im Einzelnen :

“Diese häufigen Gelegenheiten zur Beobachtung der Natur veranlassen die Griechischen Künstler noch weiter zu gehen: sie fiengen an, sich gewisse allgemeine Begriffe von Schönheiten so wohl einzelner Theile als gantzer Verhältnisse der Körper zu bilden, die sich über die Natur selbst erheben solten; ihr Urbild war eine bloß im Verstande [“Verstand” ist das Vermögen zu “denken,” d. h. anschauliche Vorstellungen, welche nicht unmittelbar durch die Sinne gegeben sind, schöpferisch hervorzu-
bringen, vgl. Lessing: “Der denkende Künstler ist noch eins so viel werth (als die Natur)"]¹ entworfene geistige Natur [das Ideal].”²

Winckelmann faszt also jenen Vorgang in der Seele des Künstlers, den die Anekdote von Zeuxis recht ungeschickt zu versinnbildlichen sucht, so auf, dasz der Künstler [mittelst der “Empfindung” oder “Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen”] das Schöne in der sinnlichen Natur erkennt und die sinnliche Anschauung durch die a priori in ihm ruhende Form zur geistigen Anschauung erhebt.

“Ideal” kann sich bei Winckelmann auch auf den Inhalt eines Kunstwerkes beziehen [Ideal I], doch gebraucht er das Wort nur selten in diesem Sinne, da hierfür die Wörter “Idee” und “Begriff” zur Verfügung stehen; als spezifisch technischer Ausdruck der Winckelmannschen Ästhetik bezieht sich “Ideal” [Ideal II] auf die Form, und so weit diese im Geiste des Künstlers ruht, auf die innere Form.

Den Begriff des Ideals im Sinne des Musterbildes bezeichnet das Wort “Muster.”

“Die Niobe und ihre Töchter, die Muster der höchsten weiblichen Schönheit.”³

An die Grundbedeutung von “Ideal” [II] schlieszt sich die des Adjektivs IDEALISCH an, das aber eine reichere Entwicklung zeigt; es bedeutet zunächst: auf einem vom Künstler selbst geschaffenen Urbild ruhend.

¹ *Emilia Galotti*, I, 4.

² GN, p. 14.

³ FES, p. 6.

“Die Bildhauerey und Malerey sind unter den Griechen eher, als die Baukunst, zu einer gewissen Vollkommenheit gelangt: denn diese hat mehr Idealisches, als jene, weil sie keine Nachahmung von etwas wirklichem hat seyn können”¹

Je nachdem nun das Urbild des Künstlers die wahre, vergeistigte oder nur ein Zerrbild der sinnlichen Natur ist, nimmt das Wort “idealisch” eine lobende oder tadelnde Bedeutung an.

I. Im lobenden Sinne: zu “Ideal” [II. 1], oder vielmehr zu “hohes Ideal.”

“Die sinnliche Schönheit [d. h. die schönen Formen in der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Natur] gab dem Künstler die schöne Natur [wie er sie z. B. in dem Barberinischen schlafenden Faun darstellte]; die Idealische Schönheit [die schöne Form der inneren Anschauung] die erhabenen Züge: von jener nahm er das Menschliche, von dieser das Göttliche.”²

Wie der Künstler sich das “Ideal” auf eklektischem Wege bildet, entsteht auch die “idealische Schönheit” durch Auswahl:

“Sie [diese weisen Künstler] suchten das Schöne aus vielen schönen Körpern zu vereinigen. Sie reinigten ihre Bilder [Bild ist hier das in der Seele des Künstlers geformte Abbild eines Urbildes, welches letzteres in diesem Fall der sinnlichen Natur entnommen ist] von aller persönlichen Neigung, welche unsern Geist von dem wahren Schönen abziehet.”³

Die Analyse des Schönen in der einzelnen sinnlichen Erscheinung seitens des Künstlers und die Synthese durch ihn zur höheren Einheit, muß konsequenterweise zum Typischen in der Kunst führen, und so bezeichnet denn “idealisch” geradezu typisch im Gegensatz zu individuell.

“Die Bildung der Schönheit ist entweder Individuel, das ist, auf das einzelne gerichtet, oder sie ist eine Wahl schöner Theile aus vielen einzelnen, und Verbindung in eins, welche wir Idealisch nennen.”⁴

“Mit einem Kopfe, welcher nicht Idealisch ist, sondern eine bestimmte Person vorstellet.”⁵

“Der Kopf seines [Guidos] Erzengels ist schön, aber nicht Idealisch.”⁶

¹ GKA, pp. 137/138.

² GN, p. 15.

³ GKA, p. 154.

⁴ GKA, p. 151.

⁵ GKA, p. 16.

⁶ FES, p. 26.

II. In tadelndem Sinne ; gekünstelt, maniert.

“Der ältere Stil war auf ein Systema gebauet, welches aus Regeln bestand, die von der Natur genommen waren, und sich nachher von derselben entfernt hatten, und Idealisch geworden waren.”¹

“Einige Stücke von Idealischen Gebäuden unter den Herculanischen Gemälden . . . können diesen verderbten Geschmack beweisen.”²

Die Verwendung des Wortes “idealisch” in tadelndem Sinne scheint Winckelmann eigentümlich zu sein.

V.

Winckelmanns Theorie der Einheit kann wie folgt zusammengefasst werden : Wie das Wesen der Gottheit Einheit ist, so auch alles dessen, was aus ihr emaniert, vor allem des Prinzips der Gestaltung der Materie, des Begriffes der Schönheit. Die Idee sucht Gestaltung in Formen, welche diese Einheit zur Erscheinung bringen : die Einheit der Idee in der sinnlichen Erscheinung heisst “Einfalt,” mit Rücksicht auf die Harmonie der Teile “Schönheit.” Für den menschlichen Geist, als eine Manifestation der Gottheit, ist Einheit das Ziel alles Strebens ; daher das Ideal in der Ethik die “stille Grösze,” als derjenige Zustand, wo die Seele über allen Regungen schwebend, eins mit sich ist, und das Bestreben, in der Kunst die Idee der Einheit in adäquaten Formen zu objektivieren.

Die Entwicklung der griechischen Kunst zeigt, wie diese Aufgabe gelöst worden ist. Im “ältern” Stil hat der psychische Gehalt des Kunstwerks noch keine Einheit, die “Handlung” ist “gewaltsam,” und der “Ausdruck” ist “hart,” oder wie es von dem älteren etrusischen Stil heisst, sogar “gezwungen,” die Formen entfernen sich von den in der sinnlichen Natur gegebenen. Im “hohen” oder

¹ GKA, p. 224.² GKA, p. 388.

“groszen” Stil erscheint die Seele im Zustande der Einheit, aber diese Einheit schlieszt nahezu jede “Handlung” aus, die Formen dieses Stiles zeigen natürliche Proportionen, es haftet ihnen aber noch das “Gerade” an, und sie bringen nur den Gattungstypus zur Darstellung. Erst im “schönen” Stile herrscht eine wahre, höhere Einheit: die Seele befindet sich in ungebrochener Harmonie von Geist und Natur (Bacchante, Faun), erhebt sich über die Beschränkungen der menschlichen Natur zu höherer Einheit (Laokoon), oder ist in absoluter, göttlicher Einheit (Apollo), sie zeigt “stille Grösze.” Dementsprechend zeigt der “Ausdruck” “edele Einfalt,” oder wie es später heisst “Gratie,” und die Formen die höchste sinnliche Einheit, die der Einheit des Meeres entnommene Wellenlinie. Dieser Stil ist, obwohl er den Idealismus nicht ausschlieszt, realistisch. Ein Hinausgehen über diesen Stil ist nicht möglich, es folgt das Epigonentum, “der Stil der Nachahmer.”

Der Künstler nimmt mittelst der “Empfindung,” auch “Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen” genannt, sein Vorbild aus der sinnlichen Natur, die er von allen Zufälligkeiten befreit, und erhält auf diese Weise das “Ideal,” nach welchem er schafft; schlägt er den umgekehrten Weg ein und sucht die Idee zu realisieren, schafft er nach einem “hohen” Ideal, so findet das “Erhabene” statt. Voraussetzung für beide Prozesse ist die Einheit in der Seele des Künstlers, damit sein “Ideal” ein Abbild der Idee der Einheit ist, er diese Idee objektiviert und somit in seinem Kunstwerke eine höhere Natur schafft.

Der Begriff, oder richtiger, die Idee der Einheit war der Leitstern, welcher Winckelmann den Weg wies zu den innersten Geheimnissen der griechischen Plastik, deren Wesen ja die Einheit von Idee und Form ist. Aber dasz Winckelmann alle anderen Mittel der Erkenntnis verschmähte, rächte sich: er wurde doktrinär. Schon bei

Winckelmanns Betrachtung der griechischen Plastik fehlt es nicht an gelegentlichen Anzeichen, dasz der Begriff, wenn auch nicht die Idee, der Einheit ein falscher Führer sein konnte. Winckelmann vergasz, dasz wenn auch das Wesen der Gottheit und des aus ihr emanierenden Gestaltungsprinzips Einheit ist, doch in der Gestaltung selbst Differenzierung stattfinden musz, dasz Einheit hier nicht mehr Einheit-an-sich, sondern Einheit in der Mannigfaltigkeit ist. Nur so ist es zu erklären, dasz Winckelmann in der Darstellung von "verschnittenen Naturen" "die zwote Art Idealischer Jugend" zu sehen vermeinte und mit hinreissender Begeisterung von solchen Darstellungen sprach, indem er hier den Typus der höheren, in sich selbst zurückgeführten menschlichen Natur zu erblicken glaubte, die in der sinnlichen Natur nur als Mann und Weib differenziert erscheint. Hier spielte ihm das Streben nach Einheit und nach Befreien der Natur von Zufälligkeiten einen bösen Streich.

Ganz aber versagte der Begriff der Einheit bei dem Versuche, allgemein gültige ästhetische Gesetze aus dem Wesen der griechischen Plastik zu abstrahieren und diese auf andere, und nun gar moderne Kunstübungen zu übertragen. Winckelmann verkannte den Umstand, dasz, soweit es ein Höchstes in der Kunst gibt, dieses relativ und wandelbar ist, dasz griechische Kunst wohl das Höchste der antiken Kunst, aber nicht ein absolut Höchstes der Kunst ist, dasz es keine Einheit in der Kunst in dem Sinne gibt, dasz die aus einer Kunstübung und Kunstepoche erschlossenen Gesetze unbedingte, allgemeine Gültigkeit haben, und dasz, weil Einheit das Wesen griechischer Plastik ist, es nicht das Wesen aller und jeder Kunst zu sein braucht. Die Einheit der griechischen Plastik besteht in dem Eins-Sein von Idee und Form, diese Kunst ist nach Hegels Terminologie klassisch; nun konnte eine reine empirische Ästhetik wie die Winckelmanns zwar überhaupt nicht zu

allgemein gültigen Grundsätzen durchdringen, aber sie hätte wenigstens folgerichtig für alle Kunstübungen aller Zeiten das Ideal einer rein klassischen Kunst aufstellen und dieses theoretisch begründen können. Statt dessen entwickelte Winckelmann seine Theorie der "Allegorie," welche die ganze Verwirrung zeigt, die durch die Übertragung der aus der griechischen Plastik abgeleiteten ästhetischen Gesetze auf heterogene Gebiete entstand.

VI.

Für ALLEGORIE gibt Winckelmann selbst die folgende Definition :

"Die Allegorie ist, im weitläufigsten Verstande [Sinne] genommen, eine Andeutung der Begriffe durch Bilder, und also eine allgemeine Sprache, vornehmlich der Künstler, für welche ich schreibe: man begreift unter Allegorie alles was durch Bilder und Zeichen angedeutet und gemahlet wird."¹

Nimmt man hier "Begriff" als philosophischen Kunsta Ausdruck in der üblichen Bedeutung und versteht man unter "Bild" die Darstellung von etwas begrifflich Gedachtem durch etwas sinnlich Wahrnehmbares, so deckt sich Winckelmanns Definition mit dem, was wir heutzutage unter "Allegorie" verstehen; tatsächlich aber ist diese Definition für Winckelmanns Sprachgebrauch ganz unzulänglich. Schon seine Zeitgenossen nahmen Anstand an dem zu weiten Gebrauche des Wortes "Allegorie," so der Rezensent² seiner hierfür maßgebenden Schrift *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst*, ferner Herder³ und A. W. Schlegel.⁴

Rein sprachlich betrachtet, bezeichnet nun "Allegorie" bei Winckelmann :

¹ VA, p. 2.

² In der *Neuen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* Leipzig, 1766, 3. Bd., 1. Stück, p. 240.

³ L. c., p. 479.

⁴ L. c., p. 347.

I. Sinnbildliches Zeichen oder Bild.

“Ein jedes allegorisches Zeichen und Bild soll die unterscheidenden Eigenschaften der bedeuteten Sache in sich enthalten, und je einfacher dasselbe ist, desto begreiflicher wird es Die Allegorie soll folglich durch sich selbst verständlich seyn, und keiner Beyschrift vonnöthen haben. . . . ”¹

II. Sinnbildliche Darstellung.

“Eine solche Allegorie ist in der Villa Albani eine Anrede (Allocutio) Kayzers Lucius Verus, welcher auf einem Sugesto sitzt, und von der Diana und von dem Frieden begleitet ist.”²

III. Sinnbildliche Darstellungsweise.

“Man hat in der That einige neuere Allegorien [II] , die vielleicht neben die Bilder der alten höhern Allegorie zu setzen sind.”³

IV. Sinnbildliche Bedeutung.

“Was die aegyptischen Götter betrifft, deren Geheimnisz auch durch den schwarzen Stein ihrer Bilder vorgestellt werden soll, so ist die Allegorie der mehresten bekannt.”⁴

V. Theorie der Darstellung durch Sinnbilder.

“Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst.”

VI. Den ideellen Gehalt eines Gemäldes, also gleich “Ideal” [I], sofern dieses sich auf die Malerei bezieht und frei erfunden ist :

“Die Fabel wird in der Malerei insgemein Allegorie genant; und da die Dichtkunst nicht weniger, als die Malerei die Nachahmung zum Endzwek hat : so machet doch diese allein ohne Fabel kein Gedicht, und ein historisches Gemälde wird durch die blosze Nachahmung nur ein gemeines Bild sein, und man hat es ohne Allegorie anzusehen, wie Davenants sogenanntes Heldengedicht Gondibert, wo alle Erdichtung vermieden ist.”⁵

Synonym mit “Allegorie” gebraucht Winckelmann

I. Bild.

“Alles was von alten Allegorien [I] in Figuren erscheint, ist von zwei Gattungen, und diese Bilder [= “Allegorie” (I)] können theils als abstracte [“Emblemata”] theils als concrete Bilder [“die theils in Figuren theils in anderen Zeichen mit denjenigen Bildern verbunden sind, auf welche jene eine Beziehung haben”] betrachtet werden.”⁶

¹ VA, p. 2.

² VA, p. 19.

³ EG, p. 176,

⁴ VA, p. 7.

⁵ EG, p. 155.

⁶ VA, p. 19.

II. Symbol.

“Ich stelle mir daher als unmöglich vor, dass das Gemälde des Parrhasius, welches das atheniensische Volk bilden [darstellen] sollte, alle die zwölf verschiedenen und einander entgegen gesetzten Eigenschaften desselben, die Plinius angiebt, ausgedrückt habe, und dass dieses nicht anders als durch eben so viel Symbola habe geschehen können.”¹

Womit zu vergleichen ist:

“Aristides, ein Mahler, der die Seele schilderte, hat so gar, wie man sagt, den Character eines gantzen Volcks ausdrücken können. Er mahlete die Athenienser, wie sie gütig und zugleich grausam, leichtsinnig und zugleich hartnäckig, brav und zugleich feige waren. Scheinet die Vorstellung [Darstellung] möglich, so ist sie es nur allein durch den Weg der Allegorie, durch Bilder, die allgemeine Begriffe bedeuten.”²

Bei der Betrachtung des Winckelmannschen Begriffes “Allegorie” müssen demnach die Wörter “Bild” und “Symbol,” soweit sie synonym mit “Allegorie” gebraucht werden, herangezogen werden.

Der Begriff “Allegorie” bezeichnet nun:

I. Allegorie im eigentlichen Sinne, also Personifikation eines abstrakten Begriffes.

“Von bestimmten Allegorien, vornehmlich allgemeiner Begriffe. . . . Der Abend fährt in weiblicher Gestalt, und als Diana oder der Mond gebildet, auf einem mit zween Ochsen bespanneten Wagen, welche Berg abgehen, auf einer grossen Begräbnisz-Urne in der Villa Pamfili. . . .”³

II. Eine Verwirrung der Begriffe “Allegorie” und “Symbol,” indem das Wort “Allegorie” sowohl “Allegorie” als “Symbol” bezeichnet, zeigt sich jedoch bereits im Folgenden:

“Die Nothwendigkeit selbst hat Künstler die Allegorie gelehret. Anfänglich wird man sich freilich begnügen haben, nur einzelne Dinge von einer Art vorzustellen; mit der Zeit aber versuchte man auch dasjenige, was vielen einzelnen gemein war, das ist, allgemeine Begriffe, auszudrücken. Eine jede Eigenschaft eines Einzelnen gibt einen solchen Begriff, und, getrennet von demjenigen, was ihn begreift, denselben sinnlich zu machen, musste durch ein Bild geschehen, welches, einzeln wie

¹ VA, p. 22.

² GN, p. 40.

³ VA, p. 56.

es war, keinem Einzelnen insbesondere, sondern Vielen zugleich zukam. Die Ägypter waren die ersten, die solche Bilder sucheten, und ihre Hieroglyphen gehören mit unter den Begriff der Allegorie die Göttergeschichte aber ist nichts als Allegorie. . . . ”¹

Hier wird eine Definition der “Allegorie” versucht, aber das eine angeführte Beispiel, die Hieroglyphen, paßt nur auf das Symbol, während das zweite, die Mythologie, ein Beispiel für die, der Allegorie allerdings nahe verwandte personifizierende Apperzeption ist, indem hier zunächst doch die Auszenwelt, und erst in zweiter Linie sittliche Mächte als beseelt gedacht sind.

III. Symbol, d. h. ein durch Ideenassoziation eingesetztes, unzulängliches Bild zur Veranschaulichung eines Gedankens.

“Man könnte die allegorischen Bilder der Alten unter zwei Arten fassen, und eine höhere und gemeinere Allegorie setzen, so wie überhaupt in der Malerei dieser Unterschied statt finden kann. Bilder von der ersteren Art sind diejenigen, in welchen ein geheimer Sinn der Fabelgeschichte oder der Weltweisheit der Alten liegt: man könnte auch einige hieher ziehen, die von wenig bekannten, oder geheimnisvollen Gebräuchen des Altertums genommen sind. Zur zweiten Art gehören Bilder von bekannterer Bedeutung, als persönlich gemachte Tugenden und Laster u. s. w. Bilder von der ersteren Art geben den Werken der Kunst die wahre epische Grösze: . . . Die Vorstellung der Alten von einem Kinde, welches in der Blüthe seiner Jugend stirbt, war ein solches: sie maleten ein Kind in den Armen der Aurora entführet.”²

Unter der “höheren Allegorie” ist hier das Symbol zu verstehen. Wie schon darauf hingewiesen, gebraucht Winckelmann auch das Wort “Symbol,” dieses jedoch nur in eigentlicher Bedeutung:

“Bekannte Symbola von Ländern und Städten . . . z. E. den Scorpion als ein Zeichen von Africa.”³

Besonders erscheint “Symbol” im Sinne von “symbolisches Attribut.” Es sind die Wörter “Allegorie” und “allegorisch,” welche auf das Gebiet von “Symbol” und

¹ EG, pp. 159/160.

² EG, pp. 164/165.

³ VA, p. 20.

“symbolisch” hinübergreifen, nicht umgekehrt; mit anderen Worten: “Allegorie” und “allegorisch” begreifen “Symbol” und “symbolisch” mit ein.

IV. Ersetzung einer fremdartigen, ungewohnten Vorstellung durch eine bekannte; Metapher.

“Die Natur selbst ist der Lehrer der Allegorie gewesen, und diese Sprache scheint ihr eigener als die nachher erfundene Zeichen unserer Gedanken: . . . Die in Bildern redende Natur und die Spuren von bildlichen Begriffen erkennt man so gar in dem Geschlechte der Worte, welches die ersten Benenner derselben mit den Worten verbunden haben. Das Geschlecht zeuget von einer Betrachtung der wirkenden und leidenden Beschaffenheit, und zugleich des Mittheilens und des Empfangens, welches man sich Verhältniszweise in den Dingen vorgestellet, so dass das Wirkende in männlicher Gestalt und das Leidende weiblich eingekleidet worden.”¹

Hier liegt eine Übertragung einer aus sinnlicher Erfahrung gewonnenen Vorstellung auf die bei der Sprachbildung wirksamen Vorstellungen vor; dieser Gebrauch des Wortes “Allegorie” ist selten bei Winckelmann.

V. Die angemessene Beziehung der in architektonischen Zieraten dargestellten Ideen zu dem Begriffe des Zweckes der mit diesen Zieraten geschmückten Räume oder Gebäude.

“Es sind auch die Verzierungen alter Gebäude in Gips-Arbeit und in Gemälden nicht beständig allegorisch, wenigstens nicht in den Pompejanischen Gebäuden. In einigen Gebäuden aber haben die Bilder eine Beziehung auf den Ort, und Hyllus den die Nymphen entführen, mitten an der in Gips gearbeiteten Decke, in dem so genannten Bade der Agrippina zu Baja, kann nebst den Nereiden in anderen Feldern, dieser Decke, auf die ehemalige Bestimmung dieses Gebäudes gedeutet werden.”²

VII.

Wir gehen nunmehr zu der Untersuchung der Bedeutung über, welche der Begriff der “Allegorie” in Winckelmanns Ästhetik einnimmt. In GKA und den meisten seiner kleineren Schriften suchte Winckelmann das Wesen der

¹ VA, p. 3.

² VA, p. 17.

antiken Kunst, und dadurch ästhetische Grundgesetze, mit fast alleiniger Berücksichtigung der griechischen Plastik zu erkennen; in dem zweiten Teile der GN und in VA dagegen, versuchte er aus dem Wesen der antiken Kunst normative Gesetze für die moderne Kunst, vorzüglich die Malerei, aufzustellen: daher erweitert sich der Begriff der "Allegorie" als einer Theorie geradezu zu einer Lehre der "Allegorie." Die Beispiele aus der antiken Kunst, an welche Winckelmann anknüpft, sind nun aber in der Regel nicht der griechischen Plastik, sondern der gesamten antiken Kunst, mit gänzlicher Ausschließung der Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik und mit starker Bevorzugung der Kunst der äussersten Verfallzeit, entnommen. Die Ursache hierfür liegt wohl in dem Umstande, dasz Winckelmann die Bedingungen seiner eigenen Zeit, für welche er ästhetische Verhaltensmassregeln geben wollte, als mit denen der Verfallzeit des klassischen Altertums wesensverwandt ansah, aber die reine Quelle seiner Kunstbetrachtung wurde dadurch von vornherein empfindlich getrübt.

Aus dieser so getrühten Quelle flieszt seine Lehre der "Allegorie," ihr Fundamentalfehler liegt in dem Umstande, dasz Winckelmann, wenugleich er nicht wie Lessing unter "Malerei" schlechthin die bildenden Künste verstand, doch infolge seines rein plastischen Kunstempfindens ohne weiteres die für die Plastik gültigen Gesetze auf die Malerei übertrug. Da Winckelmann nun in der griechischen Plastik die Aufgabe erfüllt sah, die Idee im schönen menschlichen Körper zu objektivieren, verlangte er das Gleiche von der Malerei, daher die Forderung, "sie soll die Gedanken persönlich machen in Figuren,"¹ und wie bei Lessing die gänzliche Miszachtung der Landschaftsmalerei. Da nun ferner die Plastik das Psychische nur mittelst des Umrisses

¹ VA, p. 2.

ausdrücken kann, wollte Winckelmann auch die Malerei hierauf beschränken und verkannte ganz die der Malerei eigentümlichen Mittel des Ausdrucks, nämlich Kolorit und Perspektive, eine irrige Anschauung, die auch wohl Lessing vorschwebte, als er unmutig ausrief: "Ja ich möchte fragen, ob es nicht zu wünschen wäre, die Kunst mit Oelfarben zu mahlen, möchte gar nicht seyn erfunden worden."¹

Was nun durch Kolorit und Perspektive hätte ausgedrückt werden sollen, wollte Winckelmann die "Allegorie" ausdrücken lassen, dieses zeigt sich vor allem in der Art, wie er das "Übersinnliche", worunter zunächst einfach das Psychische zu verstehen ist, dargestellt sehen wollte:

"Man benimmt also der Mahlerey dasjenige, worinn ihr gröstes Glück bestehet, nemlich die Vorstellung unsichtbarer, vergangener und zukünftiger Dinge."²

Die "Allegorie" wiederum ist es, wodurch dieses Übersinnliche dargestellt werden soll:

"Die Mahlerey erstreckt sich auch auf Dinge, die nicht sinnlich sind; diese sind ihr höchstes Ziel . . . Aristides, ein Mahler, der die Seele schilderte, hat so gar, wie man sagt, den Character eines gantzen Volcks ausdrücken können. . . Scheinet die Vorstellung möglich, so ist sie es nur allein durch den Weg der Allegorie . . ."³

Dazu kommt die Erwägung, dasz es der modernen Malerei an Stoffen gebreche.

"Die Geschichte der Heiligen, die Fabeln und Verwandlungen sind der ewige und fast einzige Vorwurf der neueren Mahler seit einigen Jahrhunderten . . ."⁴

Dieser Stoffarmut, welche Winckelmann als das wesentliche Merkmal seiner Zeit betrachtete, wollte er durch die "Allegorie" abhelfen, mit anderen Worten, die aus plastischen Werken der Verfallzeit abstrahierten Ideen in eine Formensprache für die moderne Malerei verwandeln.

¹ L. c., p. 469.

² GN, p. 40.

³ GN, p. 43.

⁴ GN, p. 39.

Winckelmanns Tendenz zur Allegoristerei, soweit sie die Malerei betrifft, und es ist fast ausschliesslich in Bezug auf diese Kunstübung, dasz er der "Allegorie" das Wort redete, geht somit auf seine irrtümliche Auffassung von dem Wesen der Malerei zurück, nicht etwa auf die der Dichtkunst, wie man aus seiner Bemerkung am Anfange des VA schlieszen könnte, wo es heisst:

"Denn da die Kunst, und vornehmlich die Mahlerey eine stumme Dichtkunst ist, wie Simonides sagt, so soll dieselbe erdichtete Bilder haben, das ist, sie soll die Gedanken persönlich machen in Figuren."¹

Lessing wollte diese "blendende Antithese des griechischen Voltaire"² nur als einen "Einfall" gelten lassen, und sah in der "Aftercritik der neuesten Kunstrichter," welche "bald die Poesie in die engern Schranken der Mahlerey zwingen, bald die Mahlerey die ganze weite Sphäre der Poesie füllen lassen" den Grund der "Allegoristerei in der Mahlerey." VA und *Laokoon* erschienen beide im Jahre 1766. Dasz Lessing, als er obige Stelle schrieb, jene Schrift Winckelmanns vorgelegen hätte, lässt sich nicht beweisen, und es ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, dasz selbst wenn dieses der Fall gewesen wäre, Lessing Winckelmann unter den "neuesten Kunstrichtern" einbegriffen hätte, seine grosse Hochachtung vor Winckelmann verbietet eine solche Annahme; die Frage drängt sich aber auf, ob Lessing ein Recht gehabt hätte, jene Worte auf Winckelmann zu münzen, und ob in der Tat der Grund oder auch nur ein Grund für Winckelmanns Allegoristerei in seiner Annahme des Axioms des Simonides liegt. Diese Frage ist durchaus zu verneinen.

Zwar sagt Winckelmann:

"Es scheint nicht widersprechend, dasz die Malerei eben so weite Gränzen als die Dichtkunst haben könne, und dasz es folglich dem Maler möglich sei, dem Dichter zu folgen, so wie es die Musik im Stande ist zu thun,"³

¹ VA, p. 2.

² Vgl. l. c., pp. 146/147.

³ EG, p. 156.

doch ist zu beachten, dasz er lediglich die Möglichkeit gleicher Stoffgebiete für Malerei und Dichtkunst annimmt. Dagegen ist nachdrücklich auf die folgenden Stellen hinzuweisen :

“In Vorstellung [Darstellung] der Helden ist dem Künstler weniger, als dem Dichter, erlaubt : dieser kann sie malen nach ihren Zeiten, wo die Leidenschaften nicht durch die Regierung, oder durch den gekünstelten Wohlstand [Anstand, Schicklichkeit] des Lebens, geschwächt waren, weil die angedichteten Eigenschaften zum Alter und zum Stande [Kulturstufe] des Menschen, zur Figur desselben aber keine nothwendige Verhältnisz haben. Jener aber, da er das schönste in den schönsten Bildungen [Gestalten] wählen musz, ist auf einen gewissen Grad des Ausdrucks der Leidenschaften eingeschränkt, die der Bildung nicht nachtheilig werden soll.”¹

“Die Kunst aber ist in ihren Bildern verschieden von der Dichtkunst, und kann die schrecklich schöne Bilder, die diese mahlet, nicht mit Vortheil ausführen. Die wütende Nothwendigkeit (*sæva necessitas*) des Horatius würde also im Bilde vorgestellet, unser Gesicht abwenden, wie von dem Anblicke eines wütenden Menschen, und die dichterische Zwietracht des Petronius kann eben so wenig als die Gorgonen des Aeschylus und die Teufeleyn des Miltons in der Mahlerey erscheinen, wovon man sich überzeugen kann durch die Vorstellung, was solche Bilder des Brittischen Dichters vor eine Wirkung auf dem Theater machen würden.”²

Diese Stellen zeigen deutlich, dasz obwohl es Winckelmann durchaus fern lag, die Grenzen der Malerei gegen die der Dichtkunst abzustecken, er sich des Vorhandenseins derselben wohl bewusst war und ohne von Lessing beeinflusst zu sein, in wichtigen Punkten mit dessen Theorie übereinstimmte.

Dagegen ist der oben zitierte Vergleich,³ in den Winckelmann die Malerei zur Dichtkunst stellte, für das Verständnis seiner Lehre der “Allegorie” von Wichtigkeit. Es sind hier nicht Gesetze, welche nur der Dichtkunst eigentümlich sind, als eine Forderung auf die Malerei übertragen, sondern die Grundbedingung alles künstlerischen Schaffens, die

¹ GKA, p. 169.

² VA, p. 31.

³ EG, p. 155.

künstlerische Phantasie an dem, dem Leser geläufigsten Beispiel der Dichtkunst exemplifiziert. Daz der Künstler nicht unmittelbar die sinnliche Natur darstellen, also nicht einen rohen Naturalismus üben, sondern frei schaffen und seinem Werke einen bedeutenden Inhalt geben solle, heisst hier die Forderung; so auch, trotz der ungeschickten Ausdrucksweise in dem Passus :

“ Je mehr Unerwartetes man in einem Gemälde entdeket, desto rührender wird es ; und beides erhält es durch die Allegorie. . . . das kleinste Gemälde kann das grösste Meisterstück werden, nach dem die Idee desselben erhaben ist,”¹

wo der Begriff der “ Allegorie ” sich mit dem des “ Erhabenen ” berührt, aber durch den vorhin gerügten Elementarfehler von Winckelmann's Lehre der Allegorie bleibt diese richtige Erkenntnis des Wesens alles künstlerischen Schaffens, welche Winckelmann im vollen Glanze seiner intuitiven Ästhetik zeigt, wie denn auch die Forderung des “ Einfachen,”² für die “ Allegorie ” auf die Theorie der Einheit hinweist, gänzlich unfruchtbar.

Hieran sind nun in zweiter Linie auch sprachliche Vorgänge beteiligt.

Wir sahen, daz das Wort “ Allegorie ” bei Winckelmann, wobei die übrigen Bedeutungsunterschiede ausser Acht gelassen werden sollen, sowohl “ Allegorie ” als “ Symbol ” bedeutet, und daher sich sowohl auf das begriffliche als das Phantasie-Denken bezieht. Diese sprachliche Erscheinung lässt sich auch sonst häufig bei Winckelmann beobachten, so, wenn er im weiteren Verlaufe der Stelle,³ wo er von der “ Fabel ” als dem auf schöpferischer Phantasie beruhenden Inhalt einer Dichtung spricht, dasselbe Wort im Sinne: “ moralisierende Erzählung ” gebraucht:

“ Was bei Kindern die Fabel, im engsten Verstande genommen, ist, das ist die Allegorie einem reifern Alter.”⁴

¹ EG, p. 159.

² VA, p. 2.

³ EG, p. 155.

⁴ EG, p. 158.

Dieser Vorgang hat eine nicht unerhebliche Tendenz, das Denken selbst zu beeinflussen. Winckelmann geht wohl zunächst von dem Phantasie-Denken, von der Idee aus, aber am Worte haftend, welches in seiner usuellen Bedeutung sich auf begriffliches Denken bezieht, vergisst er die occasionelle Bedeutung und wird hierdurch auf das Gebiet kahler Abstraktion geleitet.

Wichtig ist in dieser Beziehung vor allem das Wort "Bild," welches der Verquickung des Begriffes der "Allegorie" mit dem des freien Schaffens Vorschub leistet. Sagt Winckelmann :

"Was vor ein grosses Bild giebt Thetis, die gleich dem Nebel sich aus dem Meere erhebet,"¹

so bezeichnet "Bild" ausschliesslich die dichterische Darstellung und das beim Hörer oder Leser hervorgerufene psychische Gebilde, welches dem beim Anschauen eines Gemäldes entstehenden, psychologisch verwandt ist. Dagegen unmittelbar vorher in dem Passus :

"Er [Homer] verwandelte in sinnliche Bilder die Betrachtungen der Weisheit über die menschlichen Leidenschaften, und gab dadurch seinen Begriffen gleichsam einen Körper, welchen er durch reizende Bilder belebete"²

bezeichnet "Bild": symbolische Darstellung durch den Dichter. Vielleicht ist in diesem Sinne das Wort "Allegorie" zu verstehen, wenn Winckelmann von der "Allegorie im Homer"³ spricht, da er aber sowohl "Bild" als "Allegorie" auch von Allegorie im eigentlichen Sinne gebraucht, ist es zum mindesten sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sich in die Auffassung der "Allegorie bei Homer" ein starkes begriffliches Element einmischt, wie denn auch Winckelmanns Auffassung des Homerischen Schaffens sich bedenklich der Gottschedschen nähert.⁴

¹ VA, p. 8.

² VA, p. 8.

³ EG, p. 186.

⁴ VA, pp. 7/8.

Sicherlich musz der Umstand, dasz "Allegorie" einerseits die Idee eines Gemäldes, andererseits die mannigfachsten sinnlichen Mittel zur Darstellung derselben bezeichnet, zur Erklärung herangezogen werden, wie es möglich ist, dasz Winckelmann, wenn er von "Allegorie" spricht, sowohl allgemein gültige Kunstprinzipien ausspricht, als in die grössten Absurditäten verfällt. So vergleicht er, um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen, die Gemälde Le Bruns in der groszen Galerie des Schlosses zu Versailles, "die gelehrtesten Werke der Allegorie in der Welt," also eine Darstellung rein begrifflicher Abstraktionen,

"An Höhe mit Homers berühmter Beschreibung von Neptuns Fahrt auf dem Meere, und dem Sprunge der unsterblichen Pferde desselben."¹

Fast scheint es, dasz Winckelmann gegen seine eigenen Fehler nicht blind gewesen sei: wenigstens sagt er im *Send-schreiben*, worin er anonym seine Erstlingsschrift rezensiert:

"Über die Allegorie in der Malerei bin ich mit dem Verfasser auch nicht völlig einerlei Meinung Es kann nicht fehlen, die Allegorie würde endlich aus allen Gemälden Hieroglyphen machen."²

Unverständlich bleibt es auf jeden Fall, wie es Winckelmann entgehen konnte, dasz, wenn der moderne Künstler frei schaffen soll, die ihm vorgeschriebene Benutzung der aus dem Altertume entlehnten allegorischen Formensprache solches unmöglich machen würde, denn:

"Es ist eben so wenig erlaubt, diesen Mangel [an modernen Allegorieen] mit eigenen Gedanken abzuheffen, als dem Mangel einer Sprache durch neugemachte Worte, wenn wir dort, wie hier, wollen verstanden werden: denn unsere Zeiten sind nicht mehr allegorisch wie das Alterthum, wo die Allegorie auf die Religion gebauet und mit derselben verknüpft, folglich allgemein angenommen und bekannt war;"³

womit Winckelmanns Gebäude der "Allegorie" in sich zusammenfällt.

HERMANN J. WEBER.

¹ EG, p. 186.

² *Ed. cit.*, I, p. 98.

³ VA, p. 22.

XXV.—SOME NOTES OF GABRIEL HARVEY'S IN
HOBY'S TRANSLATION OF CASTIGLIONE'S
COURTIER (1561).

A man's notes in his favourite books must have an interest quite distinct from that of the revelation of himself disclosed in what he invents or composes of his own motion. He is taken, as it were, unawares. The receptive and responsive regions of his intelligence under the touch of another mind are revealed in the passages that strike him, as in the annotations and reflections suggested to him. The reader who comes upon a volume so annotated may promise himself a new, probably a more intimate view of its quondam owner; aridity or abundance may equally surprise him. It is, then, with a sense of adventure that he will embark upon the perusal of notes like those of Gabriel Harvey in a book of such vogue and effect as the famous *Courtier* of Baldesare Castiglione, "fine Castilio," as Harvey himself calls him.¹

That copy of the first edition² which contains these notes is in the possession of a judicious collector, Mr. W. A. White of Brooklyn, N. Y., to whose kindness I owe the opportunity of studying it. Harvey came into possession of it in 1572, eleven years after its publication. He twice wrote his name on its title-page: *Gabriel haruey 1572* in the top right-hand corner; in the middle of the page at the bottom *Gabrielis Harueij*. He inscribed it again with abundant

¹ Sonnet XII. *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets. Works* (ed. Grosart), I, p. 245.

² *The / Courtyer of / Count Baldessar Ca/stilio; divided into / foure booke. / Very necessary & profita/ble for yonge Gentilmen; and Gentil/women abiding in Court, Palaice / or Place; done into Englyshe / by Thomas Ho/by. Imprinted at London by Wyllyam Seres / at the signe of the Hedg/hogge, 1561.*

flourishes on a page left, in the main, blank at the conclusion of the actual translation.¹ Similar flourishes depend from a name in the middle of the top of the title-page, which may therefore have been Harvey's also, though so much of it has been cut away that it is impossible to tell. Of another name in the top left-hand corner of the leaf enough only remains to show that it is not Harvey's. The interval between the publication and Harvey's ownership of the book makes it likely that the name of some former owner is here inscribed, perhaps even that of the writer of certain notes in the volume. Throughout the book, three forms of handwriting appear. Two of them, one singularly clear and well-formed, one larger and more loosely-knit, must have belonged to Harvey, as the separate inscriptions of his name evidently prove. The third, however, though with some resemblance to the larger of these, is far enough away from the former to leave room for doubt. The matter has little importance in any case, since the notes in this writing are merely of contents, with no particular colour or style, and not, therefore, to be quoted here.

The book is abundantly, — too abundantly, — marked. Lines are underscored, passages marked at the side, pages covered with signs incomprehensible, at least to most readers. These at first sight have an air of boyish scribblings difficult to associate with a man who, when he acquired the volume, was already a Fellow of Pembroke. One at least has humorous intention of a schoolboy sort. An arrow, pointing from the precept "To be portly and aimiable in countenance unto whoso beehouldeth him," leads the eye to a crudely sketched image, comic enough.² Investigation, however, discovers, among the marks which besprinkle these pages, certain astronomical signs, fitting form of memoranda on the

¹ Fol. Yy iiij vº.

² Fol. Yy iiij rº.

part of a man supposed in later life to be a "pretender to astrology."¹ The symbol of Mars stands beside passages treating of war or feats of arms;² that of Mercury marks what relates to the mind and its activities, no less than to the god himself;³ while the significance of the symbols of the sun and moon, though less clear, seems to lie in reference to power as well as to the actual heavenly bodies.⁴ There may then be meaning in all, since there is in some, of Harvey's marks. Perhaps they were intended as guides in the compilation of a commonplace book, or even in the preparation of a new edition. The last conjecture might even explain Harvey's underscorings—without some clue, meaningless beyond belief; and would give particular significance to those which mark half a dozen words in the printer's preface: "the author thought it much better to keepe it in darknes awhile, then to put it in light *unperfect* and *in peecemeale to serve the time.*" Whatever Harvey may have had in mind, however, the ensuing edition of the work (Denham, 1577) shows no trace of his hand.

Harvey's marks beside the passages that struck him, strengthened occasionally by the word *nota*, though of interest, are the less significant for their very abundance and catholicity. Thoughts so various drew his pen to the page, that no clear preference emerges. It must suffice here to note in passing that passages on language or style, as was natural, seldom failed to arrest his attention.

The notes themselves fall into two divisions: those which indicate the contents of a page or the interlocutor, and those

¹ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

² Fols. A ij r^o and v^o; C iij v^o; D iij r^o; E iij r^o; H ij v^o and iij v^o; R j v^o; Ff j r^o; Qq j r^o; Zz j r^o.

³ Fols. F iij v^o; G iij r^o; H iij v^o; Dd ij r^o; Ii ij v^o and iij v^o; Kk iij r^o; Ll ij r^o; Nn iij r^o; Vv iij v^o.

⁴ Fols. B j r^o and iij r^o; F ij r^o; K j r^o; Vv j r^o.

which convey Harvey's own comments. Even the former, couched indifferently in English or Latin, are not devoid of frequent pith and flavor, and emphasize the phrase *In diaphano Eudaemon* with which he prefaces Hoby's *breef rehearsall* of the contents of the book.¹ They exhibit admirably indeed Harvey's gift of neat summary. He hits off the gist of a passage on repartees which elaborate the metaphor of the first speaker with *Scitum est, respondere ad Idem; et ex eadem pharetra*,² and closes the page with *Suis quemque telis configere, Ingenii est*. *Regard of circumstances: with respective consideration and discretion*, is his laconic account of Hoby's "To consider well what it is, that he doeth, or speaketh, where, in presence of whom, what time, why; his age, his profession; the end and the meanes."³ In these notes Harvey rarely fails of such pregnant brevity. It would be hard to outdo in this regard his *In diebus illis*, beside an account of old men's complaints of the times;⁴ and he is hardly less happy when he indicates the contents of several pages of example and illustration thus: *A courtier must do, & speak euerie thing as well, as possibly he can: yet with such a dexteritie & such a negligent diligence, that all may think, he might do much better, if he woold. Summa summarū*.⁵ Nor is he merely brief. His index abounds with happy phrases, the proper expression of a man familiar with the whole extent of his own language, its homely no less than its lofty excellences. He adds to the printed marginal note, "Universitye of Paris"—beside the mention of that seat of learning "where all the world resorteth"—the words: *an Epitome of the world*.⁶ *No vaine fellow no phantastical mate*; thus he indicates the contents of a passage on the sober sincerity proper to a Courtier.⁷ *Horse-play* is his word for Hoby's "skittish & Ruffian like pranckes."⁸

¹ Fol. Yy iiij rº.² Fol. Vij vº.³ Fol. Zz ij vº.⁴ Fol. L i vº.⁵ Fol. E ij vº.⁶ Fol. H. ij vº.⁷ Fol. R ij rº.⁸ Fol. Zz j rº.

Connie catching his phrase for his author's "pilfering by naughtipackes that wander about the world with diuers shiftes to get money."¹ This phrase may serve as clue to the date of the note. It was probably suggested to Harvey as late as 1591-92 by Greene's pamphlets, which popularized the term and to which Harvey made contemptuous reference in his *Pierce's Supererogation* in 1593. *One sure Conny-catcher worth twenty Philosophers!*²

With all its excellence, Harvey's index is not flawless. There are occasional indications so little pertinent that they could hardly prove enlightening even to their author in re-reading. Such, for example, is the note *Mnemosynon* without better excuse than that afforded by an introduction to a speech, "If I do well beare in mind, your saying was &ct."³ And a nice taste may regard it as a flaw that Harvey should, in one instance at least, allow his prejudices to colour his notes, though in so private a thing as a manuscript index. Giuliano's attack upon Religions, despite his disclaimer, "I meane not the good, but the bad and wicked," is simply ticketed *against monks and friars*; while the next page, continuing the subject, has the note, *Roomish Priestes*.⁴

Whatever piquancy Harvey's summarizing notes may contain, his own comments illustrative or reflective might be expected, in the nature of things, to be of greater value. Without attempting an exhaustive account of these, an undertaking too large for the limits of this article, I propose to note their chief points of interest and significance. They must have been made at various times, some, at least, like the one remarked upon, perhaps, several years after Harvey came into possession of the volume in 1572. The testimony of differing ink and chirography is borne out by other

¹ Fol. Z iij vº.

² Cf. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, p. 434.

³ Fol. Vv ij rº.

⁴ Fols. Dd ij vº and iij rº. Two or three indecipherable words follow.

evidence. One note is actually dated 1572, another 1580;¹ a reference to Clerke's Latin version of the *Courtier* can have been made no earlier than 1577;² 1581 may be taken as the earliest date for a note on Guazzo's *La civil conversatione*,³ of which Harvey possessed an Italian edition of that year;⁴ another note records, as Bishop of Peterborough, Howland, who was nominated to that see in 1584; mention of Everard Digby's *De arte Natandi*⁵ places another as late as 1587; again, Harvey refers to the anonymous *Court of Civil Courtesy*,⁶ published only in 1591, and if in naming Grassi's book on fencing, issued two years before he owned the *Courtier*, he had in mind the English translation, the reader must attach to this note a date no earlier than 1594.⁷

Harvey's comments offer a threefold interest. They shed some light upon contemporaries, although his reference to these is disappointingly scant; they acquaint us to some

¹ Fols. Yy iii v^o and [Zz v r^o]. Cf. *infra*.

² *Balthasaris Castilionis Comitis de Curiali sive Aulico Libri quatuor, ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversi, Bartholomeo Clerke Anglo Cantabrigiensi interprete*. London, 1571. B. M. Cat. 8403 b. 29.

³ *La civil conversatione del sig. Stephano Guazzo, gentilhuomo di Casale di Montferrato, divisa in quattro libri*. Brescia, Tomaso Bozzola, 1574. It was translated into English in 1581. *The civile Conversation, translated by George Pettie, divided into foure Bookes*. London, 1581.

⁴ In the possession of the British Museum, 711 a. 25. It contains MS. notes by Harvey.

⁵ *De Arte Natandi Libri duo, quorum Prior regulas ipsius artis, posterior vero praxin demonstrationemque continet*. London, 1587. B. M. Cat. 1040. d. 19.

⁶ *The Court of civil courtesy fillie furnished with a pleasant Port of stately Phrases and pithie Precepts. Out of the Italian, by S. R. gent.* (probably Samuel Rowlands). London, 1591 (Lowndes).

⁷ *G. di Grassi, his true Arte of Defence, plainly teaching how a Man may safelie handle all sortes of Weapons with a Treatise of Disceit or Falsinge, and with a Waie or Meane by private Industrie to obtaine Strengthe, Judgement and Activitie. Englished by I. G. gentleman.* (Edited by T. Churchyard.) For I I. London, 1594. B. M. Cat. G. 2. 333. The original was published twenty-four years earlier; *Ragione di adoprar sicuramente l'arme si da offesa come da difesa*. Venice, 1570.

extent with the less worn paths of a scholar's reading during the English Renaissance; and they introduce us to their author's views and mental processes when, in a sense, off his guard. One of his earliest notes is on that John Astley whom his contemporaries regarded as the perfect example of the Courtier. He registers on the half-page left blank by Lord Buckhurst's commendatory sonnet to Hoby¹ three tributes to the gifts of this paragon:

Petrus Bizarus in suis Poematis² facit Joannem Ashlium Anglum perfectum Castilionis Aulicum.

M. Ascham wrote his Discourse of Germane Affayeres³ to this M. Astely; whereby it appearith that they had red together Aristotles Rhetorique, Tully, and Liuy.

M. Blundeuil, in his Praeface to My Lord of Leyester before his Art of Ryding. I sawe my deare frend, M. John Ashley, M. of the Queens Maiestys Jewel house, by the daily practising of the Rules of Grisons Books, without ye help of any other Teacher, bring two of his Horses unto such A perfection, as I beleeeve few Gentlemen in this Realme haue the lyke. where he also commendith him, not only for this exercise, but for many other courtly and vertuous qualitys, as well of mynd, as of body; thereby deserving the looue, fauour and commendatjon of all men.⁴

¹ Fol. A ij v^o (pref.).

² *Petri Bissari varia opuscula.* Aldus. Venitiis MDLXV. Bib. Nat. ms. Rés. Z 2732.

³ *A report & discourse, written by Roger Ascham of the affaires and state of Germany and the emperour Charles his court, durying certaine yeares while the sayd Roger was there.* London, [1553]. B. M. Cat. 33. b. 27.

⁴ *A new booke containing the arte of ryding and breakinge great Horses* [1560] B. M. Cat. 56. a. 22. It was a translation of Frederico Grisone's *Gli ordini di cavalcare.* Napoli, 1550. B. M. Cat. 1040. k. 8 (1). Blundeuil later revised this book and used it as Part II of a larger work; *The fower chiefyst offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe paynfully collected out of a number of aucthours By Tho. Blundeuil* London, n. d. (Pt. III dated 1565, Pt. IV 1566.). B. M. Cat. 43. d. 28.

Harvey's quotation, not verbatim, is actually not from the dedicatory

The John Astley who could gain the regard of such contemporaries as Ascham, Bizzari, Blundeville, and Harvey remains for posterity a personage sufficiently obscure. He published in 1584 a treatise on horsemanship¹ which Harvey praises in his *Pierce's Supererogation*. "I cannot forget the gallant discourse of Horsemanship penned by a rare gentleman, M. Iohn Asteley of the Court, whom I dare intitle our English Xenophon, and maruell not that Pietro Bizzaro, a learned Italian, proposeth him for a perfect Patterne of Castilio's Courtier."² When he wrote this treatise, Astley was *Master of the queen's jewel house*, and Harvey's quotation from Blundeville proves that he held this office as early as 1560. He was at Hatfield House with *Her Grace* in 1552, and dates thence the letter to Ascham which, as the occasion of the latter's *Report on the Affairs and State of Germany*, was published with that work.³ Evidently an intimate of Ascham's, he made one also of the dinner-party described in the Preface of the *Scholemaster*. Bizzari's tribute to him indicates that he was already a conspicuous figure in the social life of his time when in 1565 the wandering Italian scholar visited England. In the same year Bizzari published the volume which contained the lines addressed to him :

letter, but from the *Chapter to the reader*. "And you shall haue very good Cause also to be thankful unto my deare frende house. By whose daily practising Grison his book, I sawe him, without ye helpe horses, and especially that whiche he calleth his Balle, unto such perfection lyke." The commendation of Astley's other qualities is as follows: "In hope that other men woulde with like diligence use the like exercise, wishing all gentelmen lacking his qualities, to be his like in dede. And that not only in this exercise, but also in many other his vertuous exercises, as well of minde as of body. A v rº and vº.

¹ *The art of riding set foorth in a breefe treatise with a due interpretation of certeine places alledged out of Xenophon and Gryson written by (G. B.) a gentleman of great skill and long experience in the said art.* London, 1584. B. M. Cat. 58. b. 8.

² *Works*, ed. Grosart, II, p. 99.

³ Cf. *Works*, ed. Giles (1864), III, p. 3.

Ad Joannem Ashleum.

Non qualis fuerit publica Res, Plato
 Sed qualis potius debeat haec fore,
 Scripsit, nec Xenophon qualis erat Cyrus,
 Sed qualis potius bonus
 Princeps debeat esse, ut pius & sagax,
 Justusque, ac reliquis partibus undique
 Perfectus, nihil ut prorsus ei queat
 Deesse, ac nec fuit, aut erit
 Quisquam hic talis. ita est (ut puto) nobilis,
 Liber Castilij qui docet Aulicam
 Vitam, quo'ue modo acquirere gloriam
 Possit optimus Aulicus.
 Quem autem hic inuenias conditionibus
 Tot, tantisque virum qui undique polleat
 Virtute, ingenio, quique sit omnibus
 Perfectus numeris suis?
 At si ullus titulum vindicat hunc sibi
 Et iure id faciat, uel dabitur tibi,
 Vel nulli penitus, nec poterunt uirum
 Talem cernere principes.
 Verum ipse (ut fatear quae mea opinio
 De te, quidque alij iudicio bono
 Dicant) solus es ille Aulicus, Anglia
 Sola talem habet Aulicum,
 Qualem Castilio praecipit. hanc tibi
 Si hûc posset remeare, ipsemet integram
 Laudem ascriberet, ac praecipuum locum &
 Palmam inter reliquos daret.¹

Astley may have typified for Harvey, as for other contemporaries, the perfectly accomplished courtier; but an account of that compelling charm which should distinguish Castiglione's ideal personage, evokes for him a greater name of the generation before him. That Sir Thomas More left upon the men of his time and upon those who immediately succeeded, the strong impress of his great and loveable personality, needed no confirmation from Harvey; but there is illumination in the inscription of that name beside such a

¹ Fol. 132 vº and 133 rº.

passage as the following: "Likewise in company with menne and women of all degrees, in sportinge in laughynge, and in iestyng he hath in hym a certayne sweetenesse, and so comely demeanours, that whoso speaketh with hym or yet beholdeth him, muste nedes beare him an affection for ever."¹

Harvey gives other evidence of his sympathy with the enthusiasms of his day when he sets Elizabeth's name, though in a singular conjunction, beside the recommendation to the *wayting gentilwoman*: "To be seene in the most necessarie languages." *Cleopatra, The Queen*, is his note.²

Consistently with his reputation, Harvey's personalities are in general caustic enough. Since these notes cover a considerable period after Harvey came into possession of the *Courtier*, the reader may guess a fling at Raleigh no less than at the other Elizabethan gentlemen-adventurers in the note: *Captains now growne valiant negotiatours, pragmaticians, & marchant venturours for gold, & fame*, beside a passage on glory: "You knowe in great matters and auenturous in warres the true prouocation is glory: and whoso for lucre sake or for any other consideration taketh it in hand (beside that he neuer doeth anye thyng woorthy prayse) deserueth not the name of a gentleman, but is a most vile marchaunt."³ A private note of this character has an added air of sourness, if compared with a page in Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*⁴ lauding the accounts of the voyages of Gilbert, Drake, Frobisher and Raleigh; or with lines coupling with that of his adored Sidney such names as these:

"Ah that Sir Humfry Gilbert should be dead:
Ah that Sir Philip Sidney should be dead:

¹ Fol. C iii r^o.

² Fol. H. iiij r^o.

³ Fol. zz iiij r^o.

⁴ *Works*, II, pp. 96 and 97.

Ah that Sir William Sackeuill should be dead :
 Ah that Sir Richard Grinuile should be dead :
 Ah that braue Walter Deuoreux should be dead." ¹

Again Harvey attaches the name of the vice-chancellor of his University, that famous turncoat *Doctor Perns, Dean of Elie*, to a *bon mot* of Iannot de Pazzi, asked to suggest a design for a variegated coat of arms: "Take the woordes and deedes of the Cardinal of Pavia." ² Between Perns and Harvey no love, in fact, was lost. He appears to have been one of the dignitaries whom Harvey was accused of attacking, to judge from the latter's own version of Sir James Croft's acceptance of his *amende*: "As for my old Controwler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed was the man that other whiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles ouerthwarted me crosly, alwaies plaied fast and loose with me) he was old enough to aunsweare for himselfe and should not bee defended by him. Onely he wished me to proceede louingly with the Uniuersity howsoeuer I dealt with that Doctor." ³ Harvey takes delight in repeating a *mot* of Tarlton's to Perns's disadvantage. Accused in jest by Harvey of hypocrisy, the actor answered, "I am somewhat of Doctor Perne's religion." ⁴

Tarlton himself does not come off very well in Harvey's notes. His name stands in unflattering juxtaposition with the sentiment: "For undoubtedlye it is not meete for a Gentlemanne to make weeping and laughing faces, to make sounes and voices, and to wrastle with himselfe alone as Berto doeth; to apparaile himself like a lobb of the Countrey as doeth Strascino: and such other matters, which do well become them, because it is their profession." ⁵ Harvey in

¹ Sonnet XIII. *His Intercession to Fame. in Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets. Works*, I, p. 246.

² Fol. X iij v^o.

³ *Four Letters and certain Sonnets. The third letter. Works*, I, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵ Fol. 8 iij r^o.

fact generally spoke of Tarlton and *Tarletonizing*, with an easy contempt¹ hardly deserved by a man of whom Case, the Aristotelian commentator, boasted, "Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudavit quendam peritum Tragaediarum actorem : Cicero suum Roscium : nos Angli Tarletonum."²

Another target for Harvey's ill-natured though private comment was Howland, Bishop of Peterborough. Howland, whom he may have known at Cambridge, since their residence there though not their student years or colleges coincided,³ Harvey associates with the description of a man falsely reported liberal "that doeth not onelye geue awaye hys owne good but other mens also," noting *the commendation of Doctor Howland, Bishop of Peterborough*.⁴ To the examples of humorous comparisons adduced by Castiglione's *dramatis personæ* Harvey contributes one concerning an unknown Dr. Wath : *M. Martin being asked of M^{rs} Hubert, how Doctor Wath her physitian looked in his sickness ; answered, M^r. Doctor lookes like the further end of a fiddle*.⁵

One name indeed, not of a contemporary, Harvey mentions with admiration. *Cæsar Borgia ill fauored yet verie loouelie when he applied himself*. Thus he illustrates the fine phrase which Castiglione puts into the mouth of Bembo, "Beawtie is the true monument and spoile of the victorie of the soule ; whan she with heauenlye influence beareth rule over materiall and grosse nature ; and with her light ouercommeth the darkeness of the bodye."⁶ Admiration for Bembo himself, Harvey's own literary model, is apparent enough in his notes on the *Courtier* : *Fine Bembo* expresses

¹ *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

² Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, p. 323.

³ Howland took his Master's degree in 1564, two years before Harvey matriculated. He was Master of St. John's from 1577 on, during the years that Harvey was Fellow of Pembroke and of Trinity. (D. N. B.).

⁴ Fol. X j r^o.

⁵ Fol. V iij v^o.

⁶ Fol. Vv j v^o.

his admiration of the wit in Bembo's excuse; "I would be loth (Madam) where I say that it is lefull for olde men to loue, it should be an occasion for these Ladyes to thinke me olde";¹ and, again, the wonderful eloquence of Bembo's famous apostrophe to Love draws from him the exclamation, *il diuino P. Bembo*.²

Of greater interest than his estimate of persons is the light Harvey sheds upon certain constituents of his own or his friends' libraries. As might have been expected, the classics play a large part here. Homer, as is natural, is constantly in the scholar's mind. He notes in Hoby's summary, beside the bodily exercises recommended for the Courtier: *Heroica Gymnastica apud Homerum*; ³ and illustrates the same matter in the text itself with *Ulysses in aula Alcinoi*.⁴ Beside the advice to old men to *take heede of muche praising themselves*, he writes: *Nestors fault in Homer*; ⁵ and beside illustrations of permissible deceit drawn from fencing, goldsmith's work, or skill of any sort, *Minerua, Herculis, Achillis, Diomedis Aiacis, Nestoris, Ulyssis*.⁶ He points a reference to the *politicke wysdome* stolen by Prometheus from Minerva and Vulcan, with *Homeri Minerua et Vulcanus peritorum artificum Dij*; ⁷ and to emphasize a passage on a good voice recalls Diomed's vocal powers, *Diomedes voce canorus. Voce valens Diomedes. Homer often*.⁸ The reader will be struck with all this reference to the Homeric deities, even the Homeric phrases, in their Latin dress. In fact such reference to the version of Eobanus Hessus⁹ has a strange air in a man whose frequent use of Greek phrases shows that he

¹ Fol. TT j rº.² Fol. Xx iiij vº.³ Fol. Zz j vº.⁴ Fol. D iiij vº.⁵ Fol. N j vº.⁶ Fol. R j vº.⁷ Fol. Nn iiij rº.⁸ Fol. F iiij rº.

⁹ *Voce canorus, voce valens*, are the phrases of Eobanus, *Poetarum omnium seculorum longe principis Homeri Ilias . . . Latino carmine reddita*. Bale, 1540. Other editions, 1543 and 1549.

piqued himself upon a knowledge of that tongue. Even in these notes he writes *Dione's ἀπιστία* beside certain cynical words of Bembo's,¹ jots down *διότι* from time to time, and flourishes off as summary of the whole book, with pedantry pardonable at two and twenty: *ὅτι καλὸν φίλον ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ καλὸν ὁ φίλον ἐστὶ. G. H. 1572.*² The incongruity is strengthened by quotations from Hesiod also in Latin. Harvey quotes very happily from the *Theogony* beside the sentence in Hoby's summary exacting of the gentlewoman "sweetnesse in language and a good utterance":³ *foelix est quem Pierides amarint et cui dulcis fluit ore vox.* This was probably his own version of his author; for it is not the rendering made by Boninus Mombritius at the end of the previous century and chiefly, though I know not if exclusively, current in Harvey's time.⁴ Harvey has yet another quotation from Hesiod, also in Latin, and vaguer in its recollection of the original: *fidutia et hecate faciunt diuites. hesiodus.*⁵ It is not easy to discover the aptness of these latter lines to anything the page contains. If the reader dare trust himself to decipher the meaning of Harvey's multifarious markings, these seem to connect them with the sentence: "but I saie unto you it" (modesty) "is accompanied with great prowesse it maketh him muchesteamed that hath it. And though of itselfe it lye styll, the woorthye deedes speake at large, and are much more to be wondred at,

¹ Fol. P. ij vº.² Fol. Yy iij vº.³ Fol. Zz iij rº.⁴ The version of these lines (the 97th and 98th) in the sixteenth-century edition reads:

. . . . ille vero beatus quemcunque Musae
Ament. suavis ei ab ore fluit vox.

The first edition differs somewhat, but it is no nearer Harvey's:

. . . . felix quem denique Musae
Observant. huius dulcis favus exit ab ore.

⁵ Fol. O j vº.

then if they were accompanied with presumption or rashness &c.² It is again in Latin that, to point the same counsel enjoining a sweet voice, Harvey quotes Menander, *Icon et character hominis Oratio. Menander*. For this citation Harvey may have been indebted to one of the anthologies so current during the whole course of the Renaissance. He did not, at least, find the line in the only edition of Menander available at the time he owned the *Courtier*, although that included a Latin translation.¹

Lucian, Harvey quotes with no great applicability at the bottom of two pages on jests,³ *Lucianus vocat ipsum Demosthenem ἀχάριστον sic plerique literati, gratiarum expertes. Aulicorum et pragmatum interest maxime omnium; omnia dicere agereque gratiose*. And again: *Luciano Rhetori, Plato frigidus: Demosthenes expert gratiarum: Isocrates delirus. unde plus spiritus; gratiae; ingenij, erigendum*.

To Plutarch he makes but scant reference. Once he writes his name beside a passage on flatterers;⁴ and again quotes him on the last blank leaf of the book in a note evincing also a general preoccupation with the stuff of the classics. The reference is to the question of self-appreciation discussed in course of the book. *Se ipsum laudare, simplicis, et rudis; ut glauci Homerici: vituperare, esurientis, et abiecti; ut Aesopi: utcunque vani, et levis; ut Thrasonis, aut Getae: Cato appellat uno uerbo stultum, qui sese laudat, aut culpat: Plutarchus distinguit, de excellenti homine, indigne prouocato, uel iniuriose tractato: quem non dedecurrit suae probatae virtutis obiter meminisse: quomodo Scipio ad Capitolium vocauit suos Accusatores tanquam Dijs gratias debituros pro victorijs suis: Alioque, vel magnorum virorum fuerit,*

¹ *Sententiae*, included in *Ex veterum comicorum fabulis, quae integrae non extant sententiae Nunc primum in sermonem Latinum conversae Parisiis MDLIII. Apud Guil. Morelium. B. M. Cat. 683. b. 1.*

² Fols. R ij vº, and iij rº.

³ Fol. H iij vº.

plurimum facere; minimum de se loqui: ut Jugurtham commendat Sallustius nec stultus, nec ignavus: Homericum Elogium.

Nor are other instances of Harvey's familiarity with the classics lacking: *Semper premeditatus Augustus; sed quasi extempore*, is the example he appends to Federigo Fregoso's advice that the Courtier should appear to perform without thought what he had actually considered beforehand;¹ *Musae cecinerunt in nuptiis Cadmi* he quotes on the last page of the *Courtier*;² and at the top of a page treating of "those readie Iestes that consist in a short sayinge" notes, *Salsorum dictorum usus in mundo maximus et ingeniosissimus. In quo genere excellunt arguta dicta Aristippi et Diogenis.*³ Elsewhere, summing up the matter of two or three pages, Harvey, like a true man of the Renaissance, names in a breath with the style of Caesar and Cicero, what Bacon calls the "flowing and watrie vaine" of his own contemporary Osorius: ⁴ *His speech must be sensible, fine & sententious, with a flowing facilitie, like the elegant & gallant stile of Caesar, Tullie, Osorius, most eloquent, but most easie.*⁵

Of the Latin classics, he quotes also Horace and Martial⁶ on the last blank page,⁴ but it is Cicero to whom his reference is most frequent. It is not only frequent but pointed, and Harvey states its object epigrammatically enough when towards the close of the second book he sums up the matter

¹ Fol. Q iiij vº.

² Fol. Yy iiij vº.

³ Fol. T iiij rº.

⁴ Fol. F. ij rº. Harvey expressed admiration for Osorius also in his published work. Cf. Gregory Smith, II, p. 433.

⁵ Fol. F ij rº.

⁶ Cur te vana juuant miserae ludibria chartae?
Hoc lege, quod possis dicere jure, meum est.

Martialis.

Parum sepultae distat Inertiae,
Celata Virtus.

Horatius.

of the foregoing pages: *Hitherto of the three sorts of Jestes. In quibus nisi fuisset Cicero Orator, non fuisset Castilio Aulicus.*¹ Castiglione's debt to Cicero was in general terms noted in the margin of Hoby's translation—"This discourse of Jestes is taken out of Cicero De Orat. lib. II";² and, in the original Italian, no secret is made of this source,—it is less comprehensively acknowledged but with more particularity, *Di Cicero, Imita Cicer.*, indicating particular borrowings. Harvey also had the idea of making these definite indications in his Hoby—and he did so independently, it would appear, of any help from the original, since two of his eight indications are lacking there,³ and he ignores three given in the Italian.

Knowledge of the classics was a distinction shared by Harvey with every man of his time who had the least pretension to learning. It was the mark of the educated man, the necessary fruit of attendance on the schools. Acquaintance with the body of modern or contemporary Latin literature, so happily open to scholars of all countries, put a man in a class hardly more restricted; while familiarity with works in the modern tongues, Italian above all, stamped him as one of a company narrower and more select. The broader public looked to translations for its introduction to things Italian so in vogue at the time. "Because our English men made Italians cannot hurte but certaine persons," wrote Ascham, "therefore these Italian bookes are made English to bryng mischief enough openly and boldly to all states." Harvey's notes show him not merely at home in the classics and versed in modern and contemporary Latin, but as familiar with Italian as with his own literature. This was to be expected in a man whose Italian look was

¹ Fol. Aa ij r^o.

² Fol. R ij v^o.

³ On fols. Y ij r^o and iij r^o.

remarked upon by Elizabeth, and who, by his own account, appeared to Italians to be one of themselves in spirit.¹ Harvey must also have been versed in French, since it was intended, in 1578, to send him, in some official capacity, to France as well as Italy,² but he gives no evidence of it here, nor does he refer to a single French work.

On the last blank leaf of the book, he shows his acquaintance with modern Latin by quoting a criticism of Pontanus on Laurentius Valla, to illustrate the discussions, in the course of the work, of a man's attitude towards his own accomplishments: *Laurentius Valla multae uir doctrinae, ingeniique acuti, popularibus in congressibus ac literorum circulis ostentendae disciplinae iudicatus est fuisse studiosior, ut dicam parum modestus; ut iis in circulis multo appareret diligentior, quam in libris ipsis, quos scriptos reliquit. Cumque non pauca in Dialecticis adinuenisset (?) aduersus horum temporum artis eius magistros; eo sese efferebat, palam ut diceret nullam esse Logicam praeter Laurentianam. Iouianus Pontanus.*

Beside Fregoso's counsel that the modern Italian should take Petrarch and Boccaccio as models, even as the inimitable Virgil patterned himself upon Homer, Harvey copies Sadolet's view of the two great epic poets. *Nec intelligo quid Homero magnificentius legere possim: nec quid Virgilio diuinius. Plurima sunt in Homero quae in coelum tolli; nihil in nostro quod melius possit optari. Sadoletus.*²

He contributes to Castiglione's jests founded on matters

¹ Dic. Huccine in oras
 Italicas, Francasque, tibi transmittere certum est?
 Certum, inquit Dominus; bene factum jam jam habet ille
 Vultum Itali, &c.
*Xaîpe, vel gratulationis Valdinensis. Pars secunda
 De vultu Itali. Works, I, xxxvi.*

² Fol. F ij r^o.

disagreeing a *mot* of Ramus, for whom he had a particular admiration. *Ramus superscription to [illegible] Ignoto Anglorum Deo.*¹

The famous Cardan held a high place in Harvey's admiration² and he finds occasion for referring to him in these notes. At the foot of one of Castiglione's two pages³ on the proper physical exercises for a gentleman, he notes, *propriae dexteritates cuiusque exercitationis, è Cardani subtilitate; aut è cuiusque communi, propriaque Arte. Minerua, id est peritissima Ars, fecit Achillem, et Diomedem, Ulysses, et Nestorem, reliquosque Heroas excellere.*⁴ The reference is apparently to the eighteenth book of the *De Subtilitate*, which contains a passage very similar to one on the page of the *Courtier* containing Harvey's note.

Hoby

If our Courtyer then be taught these exercises more then indifferently well; I beleue he may sette asyde tumblyng clymyng upon a corde, and suche other matters yt taste somewhat of iugglers crafte, and doe lytle beseeme a Gentleman.

Cardan

Cumque tam mirabilis sit haec ars, attamen nullo in precio habetur, cum uel coquus non vulgaris aliquem retineat existimationem. Causa multiplex est ut opinor: primo quod circa inutilia uersetur. Secundo quod a uilibus hominibus tractetur &c.⁵

A puzzling quotation is one from Baldus in connection with a mysterious J. C. with whose initials Harvey in fact besprinkled his copy not only of the *Courtier*, but of Guazzo's *Civil Conversatione*. Set beside the dictum that the gentlewoman should "haue an understandinge in all thinges belonginge to the Courtier; that she may gyue her iudgemente to commend and to make of gentilmen according to their worthinesse and desertes.", its sentiment takes on an air of satire:

¹ Fol. Y. j rº.

² Cf. *Works*, I, p. 230, II, p. 46.

³ Fols. D iiiij rº and vº.

⁴ Fol. D iiiij rº.

⁵ *Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici de Subtilitate libri XXI.* Bâle [1560], p. 1123.

Versus citati a Baldo J. C.

*Villanum precibus : Burgensem munere quaere :
Gentilem capies Commoditate Loci.*¹

Two Latin works by English hands may fitly conclude our list of Harvey's references to modern Latin literature. Beside the *commendatory verses* by Sackville,² Lord Buckhurst, with which Hoby introduces his translation, Harvey notes : *My Lord Buckhurst hath lykewise addid his epistle to M. Clark's latin translation of the Courtier.*³ Again he refers to Everard Digby's book on swimming,⁴ *De arte Natandi*,² noting *Ars Digbeij* beside a summary of physical exercises, headed by swimming, recommended for the Courtier in Hoby's "Breef Rehersall" ;⁵ as with *Ars Grassi* he connects Grassi's work² on fencing with the requirement "To play well at fense upon all kinde of weapons" ; and with *Ars Blundeuili*⁶ points the line "To ride and manege wel his horse." Grassi's book, if Harvey made the note after he had owned the *Courtier* twenty-two years, may, as has been said, have been known to him in English. But he was probably familiar with it in its original Italian.

Of other Italians, Harvey shows acquaintance in these notes with Machiavelli, Guazzo, and Della Casa. He was well versed in Machiavelli and full of admiration for his genius, "poysonous politician" as he deemed him ;⁷ and he

¹ Fol. Zz iiij vº. The reference is not, as might be supposed, to the grammarian Baldus, author of the *Regulae Baldi* (Biella, 1572. B. M. Cat. C. 33 f. 14). Nor have I been able to find the lines elsewhere. Harvey noted the initials J. C., (which might be taken for F. C. were the hand other than Harvey's), several times also in his copy of Guazzo. *John Cheke* suggests itself as a possible interpretation ; but I have not able to find the lines.

² *Thomas Sackevylle in commendation of the worke to the reader.* Fol. A (pref.) ij vº.

³ *Thomas Sackvillus D. Buckhurst Bartholomeo Clerke.* Fol. B. ij vº of the volume *cit. supra*.

⁴ Cf. *supra*.

⁵ Fol. Zz j rº.

⁶ Cf. *infra*.

⁷ Cf. Gregory Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116 ; II, pp. 260 and 276.

here shows his familiarity by noting Castiglione's debt to him for the story of Cosimo dei Medici's reply to the banished Strozzi's message: "The hen sitteth abroode" "Hennes can full yll sitt abroode out of the nest."¹ He noted in fact not merely source but locus: *Machiauel. 7 delle Historie Fiorentine.*² Again he writes at the end of Hoby's summary of the "chief qualities required in a Courtier": *Acta loquant. He must neuer be to seeke in ye Rules of ye Ciuil Law: or ye militar Rules, Machiauel della guerra.*³

Harvey thrice refers to Guazzo's *La Civil Conversatione*, a favourite book, we may suppose, since he annotated his copy of that work as of the *Courtier*.⁴ Evidently the book was much in his mind. He twice echoes its title. *La Ciuil conuersatione: et la martial professione*, he writes, summing up the first page of Hoby's "Breef rehersall of the chiefe conditions and qualities in a Courtier,"⁵ and annotates with *Ciivilis Conuersationis flos, in decora Audacia: et Aulica*, its precept "not to be a babbler, brauler, or chatter, nor lauish of his tunge." On the same page he adds to Hoby's "To be well spoken and faire languaged:" *Cortigiani parlano con dolezza.* Guazzo, quoting from Guazzo's second chapter.⁶ *Hac 4^{ta} Guazzi exquisitè festiuis*, is his comment on Emilia Pia's proposal as her contribution to games, that each mem-

¹ Fol. vij v^o.

² Correctly: p. 182 of Paris ed. 1852.

³ Fol. Zz ij v^o.

⁴ Cf. *supra*. Harvey mentions in his *Letter-book* another work by this author, later translated: *Guatzoes New Discourses of courteous behaviour. Works*, I, p. 137.

⁵ Fol. Yy iij r^o.

⁶ He quotes from a marginal reference, not from the page. Harvey marked and underlined this phrase both in the margin and in the index under *Cortegiani*, in his own copy: *La civil Conversatione del S. Stefano Guazzo Divisa in IIII libri In Venetia MDLXXXI.* Harvey wrote his name, *Gabrielis Haruey*, on the title-page just above the printer's mark. Cf. *supra*.

ber of the company should suggest a new one.¹ In his fourth book Guazzo in fact describes a similar introduction to a pastime like that of the Court of Urbino. Here Giovanni Cane directs a *gioco della solitudine*, which frees from the obligation of answering questions, whoever gives the best argument and authority for the solitary life.² Harvey marked the pages leading up to this with appreciative notes.

Again, on a page on the need of excellent masters in order to acquire grace in all exercises, Harvey mentions with Guazzo, as an adept in civil conversation and the paragon of courtiers, Galateo, the name of a work by Giovanni della Casa,³ Archbishop of Benevento. *Galateo et Guazzo, maestri della ciuile conversatione e cortigiani complementi*.⁴ "The Italian Archebyschoppes braue Galateo," as Harvey calls it in his *Letter-book*,⁵ was a book of manners in the hand of every English admirer of Italian elegance. Its name leads off the execrable hexameters of the satire aimed by Harvey at the *Anglofrancitali*, *Speculum Tuscanum*.⁶

It will be seen that the indications, in Harvey's notes, of acquaintance with Italian literature are more significant than extensive. The same may be said of his references to English books. With the words *Ars Bludeuili*, noted above, he indicates for the second time familiarity with an English book which was a mere translation of Grisone's well-known work on horsemanship, augmented in a later version with

¹ Fol. B j rº.

² Pp. 229-231 in the edition of 1581.

³ *Trattato . . . nel quale . . . si ragiona de modi. che si debbona ò tenere ò schifare nelle commune conversatione cognominato Gala.* Venice, 1558. Milan, 1559. B. M. Cat. 1063. b. 2 (1). It was translated into English in 1576 by Robert Peterson (Lowndes).

⁴ Fol. E j vº.

⁵ *Works*, I, p. 137.

⁶ *Letter to Spenser. Three proper wittie & familiar Letters.* *Works*, I, p. 84.

much original matter. We know that Harvey's acquaintance was with the earlier edition by his quotation relating to Astley from Blundevil's *Chapter to the reader*, not included in the later work. It is interesting to find Blundevil and Astley again associated in Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, where the author's praise of Astley's book recalls to him Blundevil's similar work: "And thinking upon worthy M. Asteley I cannot ouerpasse the like labour of good M. Thomas Blundeuil, without due commendation, whose painefull and skillfull bookes of Horsemanship deserue also to be registered in the *Catalogue of Xenophontian woorkes*."¹ Of two references made by Harvey to the anonymous *Court of Civil Courtesy*,² one, at least, is likely to pique in the modern reader a curiosity not easily gratified, since the book is to be seen neither in the British Museum nor the Bibliothèque Nationale. Nor is the bearing of this allusion at all clear. Beside the final page of Hoby's summary³ Harvey writes: *The Court of Ciuil Courtesie (ad unguem), Mr. Goring's familiar Spirit: With certen courtlie interteinments of his owne; especially at meeting, and parting*. The title of this book appears again on the next page of the *Courtier* to point, like the quotations from Horace and Menander already commented upon, the insistence upon good voice and speech.

Allusion to *Pamela* and *Philoclea*, to *Musidorus* and *Pyrocles*, to *Dametas* and *Basilus* might have been expected of the friend of Sidney during the years the *Arcadia* was circulating in ms. in Harvey's own circle or after it had, in its printed form, captured the imagination of lettered England.⁴ Seven years after Sidney's death, Harvey could write of "two braue knights Musidorus and Pyrocles, combined in the excellent knight, Sir Philip Sidney, at the

¹ *Works*, II, p. 99.

² V. *supra*, note.

³ Fol. Zz ij vº.

⁴ It was published in 1590.

remembrance of whose woorthy & sweete Vertues my hart melteth."¹ It is not surprising, then, to find these names beside Castiglione's list of faithful friends, Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Perithous, Scipio and Laelius.² Harvey adduces them again as examples of courage beside Gaspar Pallavicini's definition of that virtue: *the noble inuincible courage of Musidorus & Pyrocles*;³ recalls, in connection with the gentlewoman's behaviour towards her lover, *Pamela and Philoclea; most excellent paragons of sweet & honorable Looue*;⁴ and instances *Dametas, his favour with Basilius* for the vogue of a foolish favorite become the pattern of a court.⁵

A reference to a *booke intituled ye deceits of woomen* beside mention of "Meerie Pranckes of women,"⁶ must conclude this short list of Harvey's references to his English reading. This weapon in the eternal *querelle des femmes*, that, at one time or another, enlivened the controversial literature of Europe, was published at the end of the fifteenth century, and contained a quaint mixture of stories sacred and profane to the disadvantage of the sex, beginning with that of Eve and ending with one "done of late."⁷

As for Harvey's original reflections, they are disappointing and leave the reader not without a certain sense of "chasing a school-boy to his commonplaces," as for example when on the last blank page he comes upon: *a cleere conscience is ye souvraignist contentment*. Harvey's comments on the book are in fact trifling. On the whole its substance evoked his admiration. *Castilio's Courtier ye right Gentlemans book, & his only profession Letters or Arms: with con-*

¹ *Pierce's Supererogation*, Works, II, p. 99.

² Fol. P ij r^o.

³ Fol. Dd ij r^o.

⁴ Fol. Zz iij r^o.

⁵ Fol. P. iiiij v^o.

⁶ Fol. Z iiiij v^o.

⁷ *The deceyte of women to the instruction and ensample of all men, yonge and olde, newly corrected.* s. l. n. d. [London, 1490]. B. M. Cat. C. 20c. 31.

tinued experience in ye pregnant affaires of the world. This is his concluding criticism.¹ His admiration for the court of Urbino as pictured by Castiglione is evidenced by his note, *Pulcherrimae dulcissimaeque Aulae Idea Singularis*.² Among its members and those "who spent most of their time there" Harvey singles out Bernardi Accolti, known as Unico Aretino, for an admiration already expressed in his letter-book.³ After Bembo and the duchess herself, to whose patience Harvey pays a tribute with *Egregia praxis perferendi malam Fortunam ut s^a in Duce Marito Guidobaldo*,⁴ it is Accolti who most interests Harvey. A mark stands against his name, as against Bembo's in the introductory account of Urbino,⁵ and it is frequently written in the margin when he is the speaker.⁶ "*Unico most gracious with women*," Harvey notes beside Emilia Pia's remark that Unico knew the duchess better than the rest "by your dyuyne wit";⁷ and adds a reference, l. 3, apparently to that passage in the third book where Emilia Pia jests upon Aretino's favour with women,⁸ a passage which Harvey marks with *Unico*. He adds farther down the page *Aretino's Amorous stratageme: to counterfayt false Looues, to cloak his true looue*. Earlier in this connection Unico had whimsically asserted, with a veiled allusion to his own case, that women must be taught to love as men need not, and Harvey remarks: *Unico conceited & bold but discreet*.⁹ *Notabile et ipso Unico Aretino dignum*, is again, the tribute he pays him beside a jest reputed of one Alphonso Santacroce;¹⁰ and,

¹ Written on the final blank page.

² Fol. A iij v^o.

³ Cf. *Works*, I, p. 125.

⁴ Fol. A iiij r^o.

⁵ Fol. A iiij v^o.

⁶ For example, fols. L iij v^o; Cc j r^o; Kk ij r^o; Kk iij r^o.

⁷ Fol. B iij v^o.

⁸ Fols. Kk ij v^o and Kk iij r^o.

⁹ Fol. Kk ij r^o.

¹⁰ Fol. X j v^o. He adds, "*vide X iij b*," but the bearing of this reference is not obvious.

beside a passage on the humour of the unexpected: "In deceuing mens opinions, and frustrating ye most notable expectation:" *Unico Aretino excelled ea factis quam dictis, without any offence & with many delightes.*¹ Finally he illustrates with *La singolarità dell' Unico* the counsel that the Courtier shall perform his feats conspicuously.² The ideal training of the Courtier Harvey applauds with many a note. *Souvraign advertisements* is the form in which he expresses his approval of the warning that the Courtier must avoid *curiosity*, must consider time, place and circumstances;³ *Ars decora, generosa et aulica*, that of his appreciation of the "certaine grace and (as they saie) a hewe" which is to adorn him.⁴ *All notable points*, he writes at the head of Hoby's two summaries, the "Breef rehersall of the chiefe conditions and qualities in a Courtier" and "in a waytynge gentylwoman,"⁵ which in fact form the most liberally annotated part of the book. *All such exercises honorable for A Gentleman & necessary for every right active man,*⁶ is his verdict beside a list of physical exercises; *Gallant & wise rules in Army* beside a warning against foolhardiness,⁷ in the first, on whose conclusion he reflects, *ut Aulicum sic alium quemquam professorem decet esse peritissimum suae in primis professionis*;⁸ as at the end of the second he writes, *satis multa si satis multum*, and less intelligibly: *They that do not enforce themselves in the premises prooue ashamed of themselves in the conclusion.*⁹ With the exception of the exclamations on Bembo's speeches already spoken of, Harvey makes but one actual criticism on style. Giuliano Fregoso's account of Francis I, then Duke of Angoulême, who had "in his countenance so great a maiestie . . . that the realme

¹ Fol. Y ij rº.⁴ Fol. C iij rº.⁷ Fol. Zz ij rº.² Fol. Zz i vº.⁵ Fol. Yy iij rº.⁸ Fol. Zz ij vº.³ Fol. M j rº.⁶ Fol. Zz j vº.⁹ Fol. Zz iij vº.

of Fraunce should euer seeme unto him a small matter,' draws from him the words: *A braue & proud speech.*¹

So far as these notes are concerned, Harvey appears to more advantage in analysis and summary than in criticism. *Vertu—Art*—thus he contrasts Socrates' saying that the object of his instruction was provocation to virtue, with Castiglione's dictum that letters are the ornament of the mind next in value;² and he returns to this classification with the remark, *ye fundamental ground of confidence* { *Art* / *Vertu* illustrating the promise that the study of letters shall make the Courtier *bould to speake upon a good grounde wyth euerye manne.*³ Again he distinguishes *virtus* { *ethica* / *poetica* beside two counsels which he brackets together in Hoby's summary. "To have the vertues of the minde, as iustice, manlinesse, wisdome temperance; staidenesse, noble courage, sobermoode &ct." and "To be more then indifferentlye well seene in learninge in the Latin and Greeke tungenes."⁴ And he develops the idea further in a description of the nature of courtly virtue immediately after the letter from Sir John Cheke with which the book concludes:

*Aulicae gratiae pulcherrimus habitus, è generali, et speciali Decoro; praesertim Ciuilibis Rhetoricae et Ethicae. Rhetoricae, ut dulcis Elocutio, cum amabili vultu. Ethicae, ut generosa conformatio Fortitudinis, et prudentiae cum Temperentia, et Iustitia. Ars et Virtus, magna Scientiae Potentiaeque coniunctio Sed Ars, et Virtus perfecta, et inuicta.*⁵

Below this Harvey sums up in English with more concise exactness Castiglione's portrayal of the courtier's character: *Aboue all things it importeth a Courtier, to be gracefull & louelie in countenance & behauour; fine & discreet in discourse & interteinment; skilfull & expert in Letters, & Armes;*

¹ Fol. H ij vº.

² Fol. H ij rº.

³ Fol. H iiij rº.

⁴ Fol. Yy iiij vº.

⁵ Fol. Zz [v] vº.

active & gallant in euerie Courtlie Exercise ; nimble & speedie of boddie & mind ; resolute, industrious & valorous in action as profound & inuincible in execution, as is possible : & withall euer generously bould, wittily pleasant, & full of life in all his sayings & doings. His apparrel must be like himself, cumlie & handsom ; fine & clenlie to auoid contempt, but not gorgeous or statelie to incurr enuie, or suspicion of pride, vanitie, selflooue, or other imperfection. Both inside, & outside, must be a faire paterne of worthie, fine & Loouelie Vertu. G. H. 1580.

Such an exercise delighted Harvey. Yet twice again he repeats the gist of the book in succinct form :

*Nihil agendum, aut dicendum iracundia ; sed ratione, iudicio, prudentia, expedienda omnia
Quo dexterius quidque, atque, facilius, eo melius.*¹

So he phrases it, in the midst of Hoby's summary of the chief qualities required in a courtier, and again rehearses at the end of the actual translation : *The General Maxime : To do all thinges with a certayne seemely Grace and Decorum.*²

On the same page he moralizes from a more particular grace enjoined upon the Courtier, and adds his own conception of the foundation of courtly ideal set forth in the book :

The rarest men extend their utterest possibilitie, with a fine (as it were) familiar sleight : & they that do not enforce themselves to display their best, cum euer short of their reckoning.

No excellent grace, or fine cumlie behauour without these cunning properties ; a sound iudgment to informe, an apt dexteritie to conforme : & an earnest intention to performe.

If the Euphuistic cast of such English marks Harvey as the child of his period, its neat phrasing was probably the

¹ Fol. Yy iiij vº.

² Fol. Yy iij vº.

outcome of his dexterous practice with Latin. *Magis efficacia, minus efficacibus; utiliora inutilioribus; potentiora impotentioribus anteponenda* is, for example, his comment on a page of Hoby's "breef rehearsall."¹ The same preoccupation with form is observable in the descriptions of the courtier himself written at the side of the pages comprising this summary. *The fairest conditioned, sweetest spoken, finest witted, & best graced in the companie;*² and again, *No man so excellently qualified for active exercise or valorous cation.*³ Harvey even tries his hand at improving the title of Hoby's summary. On the page preceding it he amends the "Breef rehearsall of the chiefe conditions and qualities of a Courtier." *The Contents of ye Courtier sett down brauely in generall propositions in manner of Maxims. Aphorismi Aulici.*⁴ He also augments this summary with two precepts: *To be acquainted with fashions & cunningly to strike ye right veyne,* and *Cum nullo vitis ipse laboret: alijs tamen omnibus o[mn]ia vitia erroresque facile condonare: Bona magnaue pars Ciuilis Disciplina.*⁵ Neat and brief exposition, if a trifle mannered, is the character throughout of these MS. notes, quite free of the labored affectation of the letters to Spenser, or even of the attacks upon Nash.

In keeping, moreover, with the preoccupation of the author of the notes, is a lively interest in "choice wordes and phrases in speache . . . (that sauer) of our owne countrye and (are) not merely or mixtely outlandish."⁶ Beside the precepts "To get him an especiall and hartye friend to companye withall" Harvey notes the proper English phrase: *such as is commonly termed A sworn brother.*⁷ He gives one English proverb to match an Italian, and points with another the sense of the text. *Beaten with ye*

¹ Fol. Za j rº.² Fol. Za j rº.³ Fol. Za j rº.⁴ Fol. Yy iiij vº.⁵ Fol. Yy iiij vº.⁶ Fol. Yy iiij vº.⁷ Letter-book: Works, I, 123.

sword afraid of ye scabard caps Bibbiena's "As dogges after they haue been once scaulded with hot water are aferd of the colde."¹ *Offered ware little woorth* epitomizes Hoby's "To be brought to shoue his feates and qualities at the desire and request of others; and not rashlye presse to it of himselfe."² Finally he shows himself a true man of the Renaissance in his approval of the policy of enrichment of the vernacular proclaimed with no less emphasis in England than in France and Italy; *Ye same may be said of our vulgar tongue*, he writes against Castiglione's recommendation of the use of foreign phrases, the introduction of Latin derivatives, which, if it were employed by "learned men bothe of good witte and iudgement we shoulde soone see it in good frame and flowinge with termes and good phrases, and so copious that a man might as well write in it as in anye other tongue."³

With what to many readers is the crown and glory of the *Cortegiano*, its exposition of platonic love, Harvey's notes express small sympathy. *Il diuino P. Bembo*⁴ seems to have been a tribute rather to Bembo's moving language than to the substance of his dithyrambic address to Love, *A patheticall and diuine Apostrophe to A Bodyles and senseless thinge*,⁵ according to Harvey. Even the quotation from preceding pages aptly written at the end of the book containing the famous disquisition on love,⁶ *haled up to ye sight of heavenly saincts: haled up to ye third heaven*,⁷ is little convincing in view of a cynical: *Amare et sapere vix deo concessum*⁸ drily pointing Bibbiena's eloquent exposition of that nobler view of love, the most notable feature of Renaissance platonism, which captured the greater minds of

¹ Fol. Y iij rº.² Fol. G j vº.³ Fol. Xx iiij rº.

Fol. Yy ij rº.

⁴ Fol. Zz j rº.⁵ V. *supra*.⁶ The fourth and last.⁷ Fol. Aa j rº.

his own time and circle. The same cynical spirit makes itself felt in a note beside the precept to the gentlewoman to "make herself beloued for her desertes amiablenesse, and good grace; not with anie uncomelie or dishonest behauieur &ct.": *Aloqui Simia erit Simia, etiamsi aurea gestet insignia*.¹ A remark on the advice to the Courtier "seldome or neuer to sue hys Lorde for anye thing for himself," is in the same tone: *Modestia hodiè nimis simplex*² according with a laconic *servitours in Court* which recalls a passage in the book while it illustrates the counsel "not to waite upon or serue a wycked and naughtye person."³ Finally a note at the end of Hoby's first summary fortifies the impression made by the other.

Ut amaris amabilis esto
An fortuna in nostra potestate?
An est Ars causa virtutis; sic Virtus
*Fortunae? Fortuna Foelicibus.*⁴

If the tone of disenchantment in certain notes offers a clue to one side of Harvey's nature, another is revealed in the turn taken by his sense of the comic. He sets down his view of jests at the end of the second book, which treats of them, whether the result of its perusal or drawn from observation on life, does not appear. *Men laugh at nothing more then at shreud turnes, or unhappie haps: at the simple or awk[ward] sayings, or doings of fooles, or madd fellowes: at the horse play or Karter's Logique of swaggering companions*.⁵ His comments on the text itself are even more enlightening. The "Merie pranke," to use Hoby's phrase,

¹ Fol. zz iiij vº.

² Fol. Zz ij rº.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Fol. Zz ij vº. This note lacks consistency in handwriting and even in the ink used. The first two lines, though varying from one another in size of writing, appear to have been written at one time; the final two at another.

⁵ Fol. Aa iiij rº.

delights him. He marks with *Ridicule et iocundissime* his approval of the joke whose point lay in leading court ladies into making much of a Bergamose country lout,¹ and *ridiculum* testifies to his enjoyment of the trick played upon Bibbiena at the point where a supposed friar crushes eggs upon his bosom, head and forehead.² He points a remark of Octaviano Fregoso's on the coldness of women towards him, with a jest which shows the sixteenth century as amused as the twentieth at the foreigner's unused touch upon the vernacular; *ye French man's answer*: "*Shee not looue me, me not looue shee.*"

The traces of personal character here displayed are slight and insignificant and it is not, as a fact, with Harvey's personality that posterity is concerned. Moreover, in spite of the prestige which his erudition gained for him among his contemporaries, his contributions to scholarship were not singular enough to make any profound impression upon succeeding generations, and even his assaults upon English verse do not give him any lasting claim to distinction. Without further evidence of superior talent, or originality of thought, the world of letters will continue to regard Harvey with interest as the correspondent of Spenser, the friend of Sidney, and one of a small circle, comprising among its members enough genius to set a mark upon its generation. And, whatever their human interest, all that can be claimed for Harvey's ms. notes is that they exhibit their author as a student, representative of his time, rather than as a dominating spirit in it.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES.

¹ Fol. Y iiij rº.

² Fol. Z ij rº.

XXVI.—SPENSER'S *MUIOPOTMOS* IN RELATION
TO CHAUCER'S *SIR THOPAS* AND
THE NUN'S PRIEST'S TALE.

Muiopotmos has long been a puzzle to the readers of Spenser. A poem of fantastic beauty built upon a trifle as a subject, a light and fanciful story of over four hundred lines with no apparent lesson or moral, *Muiopotmos* is altogether so unlike "our sage and serious Spenser" that critics have been baffled in their efforts to account for it.

Christopher North is one of the first to attempt an explanation of *Muiopotmos*. He writes as follows: "They who do not know the hidden meaning of *Muiopotmos* must find it out for themselves, but we shall shew them some passages that will set them instantly to the study of Spenser." He then quotes at length and concludes by saying, "Out of the magic circle of the *Faery Queen* there is nothing so beautiful in Spenser as *Muiopotmos*. He is indeed the most poetical of entomologists. That winged impersonation of youth and joy . . . seems a vision sent to reveal to us the secret of happiness lying among flowers spread far and wide over the domains of Innocence. But there is the moral, 'But till Death itself die, no breath is drawn apart from danger. Boy, sea-bold! girl, star bright! Look—look—look there! Death at your arm—into your breast, crawling like a spider!'"¹

Church is in doubt as to the allegorical significance of *Muiopotmos*. His conclusion is that, "Whether it alludes to the death of any promising youth, we know not: but Spenser has told his story in his own way, that is, beautifully."²

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, November, 1833 (Vol. 34).

² Church's *Spenser's Faerie Queene*, I, p. xxv.

Lowell writes, "He (Spenser) first shows his mature hand in the *Muiopotmos*, the most airily fanciful of his poems, a marvel for delicate conception and treatment, whose breezy verse seems to float between a blue sky and golden earth in imperishable sunshine. It can hardly be doubted that in *Clarion* the butterfly he has symbolized himself. 'To reign in the air' was certainly Spenser's function."¹

Craik says of *Muiopotmos*, "The date of 1590, if it be not a typographical error, may possibly have been prefixed to indicate the real events of which there can scarcely, we think, be a doubt that the poem is a veiled representation, although the commentators give us no help towards solving the riddle, nor indeed any hint that there is a riddle to be solved The narrative thus solemnly introduced can hardly be a mere story of a spider and a fly."² Mr. Craik's conclusions to his observations are rather suggestively expressed in his closing words, "and so ends the tale."

Professor Child remarks on the poem, "If *Muiopotmos* be meant for anything more than a simple tale of a spider and a fly, or a fable with the general moral of the insecurity of youth and happiness, the enigma which it contains defies solution."³

Professor Hales quotes Professor Craik, "*Muiopotmos*, as Professor Craik suggests, would seem to be an allegorical narrative of some matter recently transpired."⁴ In another essay Professor Hales, speaking of the *Complaints*, says, "The best poem in the volume, *Muiopotmos*, an allegorical account of a proud butterfly who is swept by a gust of wind into a spider's web, is the most airily fanciful of all Spenser's works."⁵

¹ *North American Review*, April, 1875 (Vol. cxx, p. 365).

² Craik's *Spenser and His Poetry*, III, p. 172.

³ Child's *Spenser*, p. xxxv.

⁴ Morris's *Spenser*, p. xlvi.

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. 53, Article on Spenser).

Palgrave thinks that in his love for flowers, Clarion "clearly represents the ideal of a gallant youth among the ladies of the court." He also believes that in *Muiopotmos* Spenser would teach the lesson of "mutable Fortune and immutable Fate."¹ He then adds, "It neither is a whole as a story, an allegory, nor a moralization; and one asks in what humour a poet so sage and serious as Spenser, an artist so finished, can have painted this picture?—a question for sufficient answer to which he might have pointed triumphantly to the exquisiteness with which the fairy web is wrought and embroidered; to the poet's right, now and then, to be fancy-free."

It will be seen from the foregoing comments on *Muiopotmos* that there is practical unanimity on two points; first, that it is an allegory, and second, that nobody knows what the allegory is. Three possible allegorical interpretations have been suggested. One is that Clarion, the butterfly, represents Spenser himself. But how does it represent him? What events of his life are masked in the story? To say that Spenser here symbolizes himself as a poet soaring aloft on the wings of his imagination, and that "to reign in the air was certainly Spenser's function," does not carry us far, and reduces the allegory to a vanishing point. "Reigning in the air" is not the central idea of the poem. Whether *Muiopotmos* symbolizes anything or not, it must be admitted that the real point to the story lies not in Clarion's escaping into "delight with liberty," but in the tragic end which overtakes him. The poem opens with this idea. The first line introduces us to a song of "deadly dolorous debate." The fate of the butterfly, therefore, clearly cannot be ignored in any effort at allegorical interpretation. If Spenser has symbolized himself in Clarion, the meaning of the symbol is far from apparent.

¹Grosart's *Spenser*, IV, p. lxx.

Another proposed interpretation is that the poem is a veiled representation of real events, "an allegorical narrative of some matter recently transpired." As to whether this matter is political and a part of the court life, or whether it is more personal and private, those who hold this view offer no opinion. Neither have they any suggestion as to whom the matter concerns. We may therefore dismiss this second interpretation on the ground that it really has no solution to propose. It goes no further than to say that the poem *must* mean something, *must* have some allegorical significance, because it "can hardly be a mere story of a spider and a fly." Just why it cannot be, we are not told, except that it is too "solemnly introduced."

The third interpretation seems at first glance to deserve more serious consideration. To say that Clarion is the winged "Impersonation of Youth and Joy," living a life of careless freedom and innocent pleasure, all unconscious of the ever threatening enemy of Death, sounds neither unattractive nor unreasonable. And yet even here the allegory breaks down before it gets fairly started; for instead of Clarion's representing the free and careless joys of youth, he starts out in conscious anticipation of a possible foe, and deliberately arms himself, cap-a-pie, for an expected combat.

Thus it appears that although scholars generally believe *Muiopotmos* to be an allegory, no one has yet offered an allegorical interpretation which even approximates an adequate explanation. In fact, most of those who have dealt with the poem have assumed that it must be allegorical, and then have sought an interpretation which would justify their assumption. Allegory has been assumed mainly for two reasons.¹ In the first place *Muiopotmos* seems to have

¹ Spenser asks Lady Carey in the dedication of *Muiopotmos*, "of all things therein . . . to make a milde construction." This, however, does

no meaning in and of itself. It cannot be understood as a piece of pure narrative, and must, therefore, it is concluded, be allegorical. In the second place, allegory has been assumed because Spenser wrote it. We have acquired the habit of expecting allegory when we come to Spenser. But granting that *Muiopotmos* is an allegory, it must be admitted, as Professor Child says, that "the enigma which it contains defies solution." And herein, as allegory, it is quite unlike Spenser. Whatever else his allegories may be, they are not obscure. Their meaning is written in large letters on the face of every one of them. Why then should Spenser be so unintelligible here? To interpret *Muiopotmos* as though it *must* be allegory is to proceed, I believe, on an entirely gratuitous assumption.

I wish to propose another interpretation of *Muiopotmos*,—an interpretation based on facts which, as far as I am aware, have not been mentioned hitherto in connection with the poem. I shall attempt to show that Spenser wrote *Muiopotmos* as a purely mock-heroic poem, and that he wrote it under the influence of the two mock-heroic poems of Chaucer, *Sir Thopas* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. That in the latter part of *Muiopotmos* Spenser had parts of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* definitely in mind, becomes at once evident when passages of the two poems are put side by side. The influence of *Sir Thopas* on *Muiopotmos*, however, is much less tangible, though, I believe, none the less real. *Sir Thopas* is in itself such a composite of conventional phrases and situations, such a medley of burlesque imitations from medieval romances, that it would be extremely difficult to prove anything imitated directly from it, save the title itself, which is presumably quite unique. When we remember,

not imply that the poem has an ulterior meaning. In these words Spenser is simply asking Lady Carey to accept graciously and to judge charitably the verses he is offering.

however, that Spenser was very familiar with Chaucer's poem,¹ and also bear in mind the fact established later in this discussion, that Spenser is here imitating Chaucer's other mock-heroic poem, the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, the many points of similarity between *Muiopotmos* and *Sir Thopas* seem to be something more than accidental.

A comparison of Clarion, the hero of Spenser's poem, with Chaucer's Sir Thopas, reveals the following points in common :²

- (1) Each is introduced as a young knight whose father is lord of the realm.
- (2) Each is given the same personal appearance and the same traits of character. Both are "fair and gent," courageous and doughty, and without a peer.
- (3) Each finds favor in the eyes of the conventional maid, "bright in bour."
- (4) Each is especially fond of sporting along the river.
- (5) Each is clad in armor particularly noted for its "substance pure," its rare metal, and its curious engravings.
- (6) Each starts out on a summer's day with no expressed purpose other than "abroad to fare."
- (7) Each develops a purpose *en route*, and is described as restless until he has reached a definite goal.

¹Spenser mentions Sir Thopas by name twice, once in *F. Q.*, 3-7-48, and again in the *Present State of Ireland*, 3056 (Grosart's *Spenser*, Vol. ix). He also uses elsewhere words and phrases which from their context give almost conclusive evidence of being imitated from *Sir Thopas*.

As to the general popularity of *Sir Thopas* in Spenser's time, Warton states (*Observations on F. Q.*, I, p. 73) that the poem was sung to the harp in the age of Queen Elizabeth.

²Points, most of which, it must be admitted, might also be had in common by many other heroes of romance. This fact, however, in no way invalidates the resemblances here.

Clarion seeks the "gay gardins" as his destination; Thopas "priketh" toward the "contree of Fairye."

- (8) Each is noted for his speed, and special mention is made of it.
- (9) Each is given a similar conventional environment. Thopas has the list of herbs and birds, Clarion the list of herbs and flowers.

In addition to these several points of resemblance there is especially to be noted that which moves through them all, binds them all together, and gives them a significance which otherwise they would not have,—the mock-heroic spirit in which every description, circumstance, and incident of both poems is written. I quote the following not as parallel passages to prove imitations in phraseology, but merely as corresponding passages to show the general likeness between the two poems, and further to illustrate the particular resemblances enumerated above.

Muiopotmos.

Was none more favourable, nor more
faire,

Of all alive did seeme the fairest
wight, (20 ff.)

The fresh yong flie, in whom the
kindly fire
Of lustfull yongth began to kindle
fast,
Did much disdaine to subject his
desire
To loathsome sloth, or houres in
ease to wast,

Sir Thopas.

Al of a knyght was fair and
gent (4)

Whyt was his face as payndemayn,
His lippes rede as rose;
His rode is lyk scarlet in grayn,
(14 ff.)

(Compare the spirit of Sir Thopas
who was a great hunter, hawker,
archer, and wrestler.)

But joy'd to range abroad in *fresh*
attire.¹ (33 ff.)

. . . . he along would *flie*
Upon the streaming rivers, sport to
finde; (47)

Full of brave courage and bold
hardyhed,

Above th' ensample of his equall
peares, (27-8)

As should be worthie of his father's
throne. (22)

Of the wide rule of his renowned
sire. (40)

And *ryde an hauking for riveer*,
With grey goshawk on honde:
(26-7)

Sir Thopas wex a doghty swayn,
(13)

Of wrastling was ther noon his *peer*,
(29)

His fader was a man ful free,
And lord he was of that countree,
(10-11)

Clarion and Thopas affect the ladies in much the same way, and there will be observed here also a similarity in phrasing.²

Muiopotmos.

Full manie a ladie, faire in court,
full oft
Beholding them (wings) him
secretly envide, (105-6)

Sir Thopas.

Ful many a mayde, bright in bour,
They moorne for him, paramour,
(31-2)

After describing Clarion as above, Spenser sends him forth much as Chaucer sends out Sir Thopas. Immediately following the descriptions of the two lusty knights occur the following lines, with the same order of sequence in both poems:

¹ Cf. Thopas' attire:

His shoon of Cordewane,
Of Brugges were his hosen broun,
His robe was of ciclatoun,
That coste many a jane. (21 ff.)

² Of course such stock romance phrases could of themselves argue little as to source. These passages have significance only as a part of other evidence.

Muiopotmos.

So on a summers day,
Yong Clarion, with vauntfull
lustiehead,
After his guize did cast abroad to
fare, (48 ff.)

Sir Thopas.

And so bifel up-on a day,
For sothe, as I yow telle may,
Sir Thopas wolde out ryde : (38 ff.)

Spenser arms Clarion at once. Chaucer arms Sir Thopas later, after he has met the giant Olifaunt. But there is an interesting resemblance between the armors of the two knights, as well as in the mock-heroic spirit in which the arming proceeds. The following lines show that Spenser had in mind either Chaucer's description or else a similar description which Chaucer himself was parodying.

Muiopotmos.

His breastplate first, that was of
substance pure,
Before his noble heart he firmly
bound,
That mought his life from yron
death assure,
And ward his gentle corpes from
cruell wound : (57 ff.)
Upon his head, his glistening
burganet,
The which was wrought by wonderous
device,
And curiously engraven, he did set :
(73 ff.)

Sir Thopas.

And over that an habergeoun
For percinge of his herte ; (150-1)

(He dide next his whyte lere) (146)

Upon his crest he bar a tour, (195)
(And over that a fyn hauberk,
Was al y-wroght of Jewes werk,)
(152-3)

And ther-in was a bores heed,
A charbocke bisyde ; (160 ff.)

Chaucer, it will be remembered, emphasizes the costliness of Thopas' attire by bringing his articles of dress from foreign lands. Spenser adopts the same method of emphasis with reference to Clarion's armor, except that he states it negatively. Compare the following :

Muiopotmos.

Not Bilbo steele, nor brasse from
Corinth fet,
Nor *costly* oricalche from strange
Phoenixe; (77-8)

The *mettall* was of rare and passing
price; (76)

Sir Thopas.

His shoon of *Cordewane*,
Of *Brugges* were his hosen broun,
His robe was of ciclatoun,
That *coste many a jane*. (21 ff.)

His sheeld was al of gold so reed,
(158)

When Clarion starts upon his flight his conduct is not
unlike that of Sir Thopas.

Muiopotmos.

And with good speed began to take
his flight;
Over the fields, in his franke Insti-
nesse,

The woods, the rivers, and the
medowes greene,
With his aire-cutting wings he
measured wide,

But none of these, how ever sweete
they beene,
Mote please his fancie, nor him
cause t' abide:

To the gay *gardins* his unstaid de-
sire,
Him wholly caried, to refresh his
sprights. (147 ff.)

Sir Thopas.

He priketh thurgh a fair forest,
(43)

And priked as he were wood; (63)

Neither can Sir Thopas be satisfied with "the woods, the
rivers, the meadowes green." As Clarion seeks the "gay
gardins," so Thopas will on to the "*contree of Fairye*."

Into his sadel he clamb anoon,
And priketh over style and stoon. (85-6)

After Clarion reaches the "gay gardins," Spenser intro-
duces the conventional list of herbs and flowers. It does
not prove that he got the suggestion from Chaucer, but it is
interesting to observe that Chaucer had also introduced the

list of herbs in *Sir Thopas*.¹ The significant fact is that the two poets are rather consistently doing the same thing.²

There are no further points of resemblance between these two poems. In fact this is as far as the Thopas story goes. Chaucer gets him armed and into the "contree of Fairye," but there leaves him drinking

"water of the wel,
As did the knight sir Percivel."

But Spenser cannot so drop Clarion. He has started out to "sing of deadly dolorous debate"; he must carry his hero through to his final destiny. He must also keep the tone mock-heroic. And interestingly enough, having exhausted *Sir Thopas*, Spenser now turns to Chaucer's other mock-heroic poem, and takes from it suggestions for the latter part of his narrative. He is here to introduce a new character, Aragnoll, the spider. This character he models after Russel the fox, while Clarion himself, seemingly to preserve the analogy of situation, moves out of *Sir Thopas* into Chaunticleer.³ The "gay garden" marks the scene of transition.⁴ Here occur two stanzas in which Spenser discusses the mutability of earthly fortune and the problem of free-will and necessity, both of which seem to be suggested directly by Chaucer's discussion of the same questions in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.⁵ The two passages should be compared in

¹ It is commonly assumed that Chaucer here makes use of the conventional list as a burlesque on *The Squire of Low Degree*.

² Lowell says of this passage (*North American Review*, April, 1875, p. 367, note), "It is a pretty reminiscence of his master Chaucer, but is also very characteristic of Spenser himself."

³ And, indeed, this change of character is not such a transformation, after all. Chaunticleer and Thopas have many traits in common. Naturally both are surrounded by the mock-heroic atmosphere.

⁴ It is not necessary to outline the points of similarity between *Muiopotmos* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. The imitation is unmistakable.

⁵ This discussion occurs, it should be noted, in exactly that part of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* from which Spenser obviously draws his other material, and relates itself to the situation parallel to the one in *Muiopotmos*.

their entirety, but the subjoined lines will make clear the identity of the central ideas of the two poets.

Muiopotmos.

But what on earth can long abide
in state,
Or who can him assure of happie
day;
Sith morning faire may bring
fowle evening late, (217 ff.)
And whatso heavens in their secret
doome
Ordained have, how can fraile
freshly wight
Forecast, but it *must needs* to issue
come? (225 ff.)
. . . unhappie happie flie,
Whose cruel fate is woven even
now (234-5)
Nought may thee save from heavens
avengement.¹ (240)

Nun's Priest's Tale.

God woot that worldly joye is sone
ago; (386)
For ever the latter ende of joye is
wo. (385)
[O destinee, that mayst nat been
eschewed! (518)]
But what that god forwoot *not*
needes be, (413)

Continuing the narrative Spenser presents a situation very close to that found in Chaucer's story.

Muiopotmos.

It fortunèd (as heavens had be-
hight)
That in this gardin, where yong
Clarion
Was wont to solace him, a wicked
wight,
Had lately built his hatefull man-
sion, (241 ff.)

Nun's Priest's Tale.

Into the yerd, ther Chaunticleer the
faire
Was wont, and eek his wyves, to
repaire; (399 ff.)
A col-fox, ful of sly iniquitee,
That in the grove hadde woned
yeres three, (395-6)

¹ The following lines may also have been suggested by Chaucer:

For thousand perills lie in close awaite
About us daylie, to worke our decay; (221-2)

Compare the *Nun's Priest's Tale*,

As gladly doon thise homicydes alle,
That in *awayt ligen* to mordre men. (404-5)

(And his false hart, *fraught* with all
treasons store,) (395)

(Like as a *wily fox*¹) (401)

And, *lurking* closely, in *awayte* now
lay,

How he might anie in his trap be-
tray. (247-8)

(About the *cave* in which he *lurking*
dwelt,) (358)

(*Lay lurking covertly* him to sur-
prise,) (386)

(Lyes in ambushment of his hoped
pray,) (404)

(Himselfe he *close upgathered* more
and more

Into his den, etc.) (397)

And in a bed of wortes stille he *lay*,

Wayting his tyme on Chauntecleer
to falle, (401 ff.)

O false morderer, *lurking in thy den!*
(406)

The lordly air of freedom and security exhibited by Clarion just before "his fatall future woe," reminds the reader at once of the fearless and royal Chauntecleer.

Muiopotmos.

. . . the careless Clarion,
That rang'd each where without
suspition.

Suspition of friend, nor feare of foe,
That hazarded his health, had he at
all,

But walks at will, and *wandered too*
and fro.

In the pride of his *freedome prin-*
cipall ;²

Little wist he his fatall future woe,
But *was secure* ; (375 ff.)

. . . without foresight,
As he that did all *daunger quite*
despise, (390)

Nun's Priest's Tale.

. . . and Chauntecleer *so free*
Song merier than the mermayde in
the see ; (449)

And on his toos he *rometh up and*
doun,

Him *deyned not to sette* his foot to
grounde. (360-1)

Thus royal, as a *prince is in his*
halle, (364)

Royal he was, he was *namore aferd* ;
(356)

¹ This is *prima facie* evidence that Spenser had a fox in mind in this description of Aragnoll.

² Principall = princely.

At this point in the narrative, before Clarion has been seized by Aragnoll, Spenser introduces what in Chaucer occurs after Chauntecleer has been carried off by the fox. But the ideas of the two passages are so nearly identical it is hard not to believe that Spenser had Chaucer's lines in mind.

Muiopotmos.

Who now shall give unto my heavie
eyes
A well of tears,¹ that all may over-
flow?
Or where shall I find *lamentable*
cryes,
And mournfull tunes enough my
griefe to show?
Helpe, O thou Tragick Muse, me to
devise
Notes sad enough, t' expresse this
bitter throw; (409 ff.)

Nun's Priest's Tale.

O Gaufred, dere mayster soverayn,
Why ne hadde I now thy sentence
and thy lore, (527 ff.)
.
.
.
.
(Certes, swich cry ne lamentacioun)
(535)
Than wolde I *shewe* yow how that I
coude pleyne
For Chauntecleres drede, and for
his peyne. (533 ff.)

Chaucer illustrates the great sorrow over the fate of Chauntecleer by comparing it with the classic examples of grief associated with the fall of Troy and the burning of Carthage and of Rome. Spenser simply calls on the "Tragick Muse" to help him express "this bitter throw."

In addition to the foregoing passages the following lines may be considered as conclusive evidence of Spenser's indebtedness to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.

Muiopotmos.

He likest is to fall into *mischaunce*,
*That is regardles of his governaunce.*²
(384-5)

Nun's Priest's Tale.

'Nay,' quod the fox, 'but god yeve
him *meschaunce*,
That is so undiscreet of governaunce
(613-4)

Like a grimme lyon (434)

. . . . as it were a grim leoun :
(359).

¹ Cf. Jeremiah 9-1.

² The imitation here is unmistakable. Aside from the practical identity between the second lines of the couplets, the rhyming words ending in *-aunce* will be noted.

But there is more evidence still. Where did Spenser get the name *Clarion*? In the light of the foregoing collateral testimony I think we may safely say that *Clarion* is *Chaunticleer*'s name-sake.¹ The obvious etymological kinship of the two names supports this supposition. This raises the question as to whether Spenser had *Chaunticleer* in mind in the first part of the poem, as the name of *Clarion*, it will be remembered, is given to the butterfly at the very outset. *Clarion*, however, shows little of the real character of *Chaunticleer* until near the end of the narrative (ll. 376 ff.) But this fact is not inconsistent with his having derived his name from *Chaunticleer*. Indeed Spenser may have adopted the name *Clarion* for his butterfly after he had finished the poem.

It may be stated then with certainty that in the latter part of *Muiopotmos* Spenser has imitated the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. That in the first part of *Muiopotmos* he has likewise imitated *Sir Thopas*, is not capable, perhaps, of such absolute proof. One thing, however, is true; Spenser was here either imitating Chaucer, or else he was imitating what Chaucer imitated, or else he was writing an independent mock-heroic poem—and in a vein quite unlike himself—in which his hero resembles to a remarkable degree the hero of Chaucer's poem; a poem too with which we know Spenser was already very familiar. It has been seen that in *Muiopotmos* Spenser imitates Chaucer's only other mock-heroic poem. Is it likely that he would remember *Chauntecleer* and forget *Sir Thopas*? Forget *Sir Thopas* whom on at least two other occasions he remembered well enough to mention by name—an honor bestowed on no other character of his

¹ Cf. *Daphnida*, where Spenser gets the name *Alcyon* from *Alcyone*, mentioned in the *Book of the Duchess* which Spenser is there imitating. See my discussion of this point in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Asso.*, December, 1908, pp. 658-9.

old master's tales! It is a reasonable assumption, without any evidence, that Spenser would have Sir Thopas in mind when writing a mock-heroic poem. But sufficient evidence has been adduced, I believe, to turn this assumption into a certainty. Clarion is a happy composite, made up of about equal parts of Sir Thopas and Chauntecleer, with the honor of "name-saint" going to Chauntecleer.

What, then, in conclusion, is the bearing of the foregoing facts on the interpretation of *Muiopotmos*? In the first place it must be conceded that the mere presence of Chaucerian influence is not of itself inconsistent with an allegorical interpretation. If the poem is an allegory, it is no less so because it imitates Chaucer. But if it is not an allegory, this imitation of Chaucer suggests another explanation. In the absence of even a plausible theory of allegorical interpretation, the most reasonable explanation seems to be that Spenser is here simply trying his hand at mock-heroic. We need assign him no motive. We need look for no moral. The doing of it is its own justification. And the results are exactly what might be expected from Spenser in an attempt at mock-heroic—good poetry, but little humor. Indeed, I believe it is in large measure due to this absence of humor in the poem that most of those who have written about it have missed the mock-heroic element. Perhaps they have missed it, also, because the mock-heroic was not expected from the serious Spenser. They have approached *Muiopotmos* with the question of its being allegory already decided. In a poem of such a character, one must of course always admit the possibility of allegory, but the whole spirit of *Muiopotmos* is foreign to that of Spenser's other allegorical poems. The spirit of *Muiopotmos* is mock-heroic from beginning to end.

As to Spenser's choice of a subject for this poem, the idea of using the butterfly may have come from Virgil's *Gnat*,

which Spenser had already translated.¹ The mock-heroic treatment also may have been suggested by the same poem, in which there is a pretty large mock-heroic element. This question, however, does not affect the main points of my thesis, that *Muiopotmos* is a mock-heroic poem, and that it was written under the influence of Chaucer's two mock-heroic poems, *Sir Thopas* and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.

THOMAS WILLIAM NADAL.

¹ Mr. Reed Smith has proposed the theory that Spenser got the butterfly from Ovid's story of Arachne, which story is told in *Muiopotmos* to explain the enmity between Clarion and Aragnoll.

XXVII.—DOLCE STIL NUOVO—THE CASE OF THE OPPOSITION.

The student of to-day who wishes to make a study of the *dolce stil nuovo* is very soon brought face to face with a serious difficulty. As he reads his standard text-books, he finds in them a pretty uniform definition of the originality and characteristics of this school. But, upon looking further and consulting special books, he is confronted with recent work, both industrious and able, taking issue with the definition he has just learned. It is the object of this paper to help that student. We would try to determine what changes, if any, are forced upon the traditional view by the discoveries of the most successful of its opponents.

To do this, we need not discuss the value of the complete definition given by any one member of the opposition. Cian, for instance, seeing in the verse immediately preceding the *dolce stil nuovo* a deterioration from that of the generation before, calls the advent of the new style a revolution.¹ Borgognoni argued in 1886 that the difference between the writings of Dante's circle and that of the poets whom he condemns was purely stylistic.² De Lollis has sought to prove, by an examination of the works of Montanhagol and others, that the later Provençaux are the direct forerunners of the *dolce stil nuovo*, being, like Dante and his friends, enthusiastic users of the philosophy of their times.³ And

¹ Cian : *I contatti letterari italo-provenzali e la prima rivoluzione poetica della letteratura italiana*, Messina, 1900.

² *Nuova Antologia*, Serie III, vol. v, pp. 581 ff. : *Guido Guinizelli e il dolce stil nuovo*.

³ *Studi Medievali*, I, pp. 5 ff. (especially p. 22); *Giornale storico d. lett. ital.* Supplement I, pp. 82 ff. (especially pp. 16 and 17); also *Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito*, Halle, 1896, p. 80.

Savj-Lopez, for his part, does not believe in evolution at all; for him it is the marvelous personality of the poets themselves, and no Italian literary and philosophic environment, which caused this rich blossoming of transcendent verse, the peculiar mental attitude of the Middle Ages being very much the same all over Europe—in France, Spain, and Germany—as in Italy.¹ In the presence of such differences, when no two leaders can agree, it will not help our plan to consider the complete theory of any single one.

The strength of the opposition is elsewhere: it lies in its by-products, if we may be allowed to put it thus. In their efforts to develop and support their theses, its members have been forced to go over the ground again, to widen our range of vision and thus bring into prominence details which former scholars had either not noticed or else ignored as being unimportant. This new material has now acquired too much bulk to be passed by unnoticed, and modern criticism must find a fitting place for these by-products in its new definition of the school.

The traditional view may be learnt by turning to a short history of Italian literature whose limited number of pages allows little room for the development of strictly personal opinions. In such a history, Hauvette writes: “C’est par sa conception même de l’amour que Guinizelle a été le régénérateur de la poésie lyrique” and “Cette métaphisique amoureuse, difficile et raffinée, se prêtait à des développements philosophiques entièrement nouveaux et d’une portée jusqu’alors insoupçonnée.”² Such statements may be checked by comparison with those more highly specialized works which belong to the conservative party. Azzolina says, in his volume on the *dolce stil nuovo*, that the characteristic of

¹ *Trovatori e Poeti*, Milan-Palermo-Naples (especially p. 19).

² *Littérature Italienne*, pp. 55–56.

this school lies especially in the new meaning given to *amor*—wholly ideal, according to the philosophy of the time; without the scientific movement we should have no *dolce stil nuovo*.¹ Ildebrando della Giovanna thinks that, in addition to new form and style, this school has a new doctrine of love, a better way of understanding and expressing poetic inspiration.² And Goldschmidt, treating in detail of the innovation of Guinizelli, says: Guinizelli took as cause and prerequisite of love what the Provençaux and Italians had considered as its effect, *i. e.* the nobility of the lover.³ In other words, to quote one of the conservatives themselves, “after all, that which really distinguishes the *stil nuovo* is in all cases its peculiar conception of love and the lady.”

It is upon these two points, then—the conception of love and the conception of the lady—that the opposition directs its main attack.

In spite of Reinier's statement that we must turn to Cavalcanti to study the *dolce stil nuovo* in its highest development, the exponents of the old view are pretty well agreed to see the essence of this conception of love in Guinizelli's most famous canzone.

“Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore,” says *il padre Mio e degli altri miei migliori*. But, how new is this after all? asks the opposition. We may confess, with De Lollis, that Chiaro Davanzati's expression

“Audit' agio nomare
Che in gentil core, Amore
Fa suo porto”

is due to Guinizelli;⁴ and again we may concede to Azzo-

¹ L. Azzolina: *Il “dolce stil nuovo,”* Palermo, 1903, p. 41.

² *Note Letterarie*, Palermo, 1888; *Per il dolce stil nuovo*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Doktrin der Liebe*, Breslau, 1889, p. 26.

⁴ Azzolina, *ibid.*, p. 65. Borgognoni, *ibid.*, p. 608. *Le ant. rime volg.*, III, 246.

lina that Monte Andrea also had felt the influence of the Bolognese when writing

“ Qui son fermo che'l gientil core e largo
Di sua potenza Amore è la porta.”¹

But such concessions are impossible for certain other poets. We cannot understand the retroactive influence spoken of by some critics: nor can we admit any effect of later writers upon poets of the first part or middle of the thirteenth century. In the days of Frederick II, Pier delle Vigne had said that

“ Amore
Vien nell'uomo valente ed insegnato,”²

and Peire Cardenal that “Love is born of great loyalty and of the noble, honest, and well instructed heart”;³ while, likewise writing in Provençal, and in all probability untouched by Bolognese influence, Lanfranc Cigala affirms

“ Ques amors pren en lejal cor naissenza.”⁴

Most enlightening of all, perhaps, are other lines which not only antedate the *dolce stil nuovo* but, in addition, come to us from a different land entirely.⁵ The King of Navarre sang:

“ De fin amor vient science et bonte,
et amors vient de ces deux autresi,
li tre fon un; que bien l'ai eprouve,
ja ne seront a nul jour departi.”⁶

The importance of these verses is obvious. They combine the more common attitude of the poets of their time

¹ Azzolina, *ibid.*, p. 65.

² Quoted by Borgognoni, p. 607; Azzolina, p. 65.

³ Savj-Lopez, *ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁴ *Quant en bon luec.* Mahn, *Gedichte*, III, 26.

⁵ Of course we admit the influence of Provençal writers on Thibaut.

⁶ *De fin amors.* Quoted by Savj-Lopez, p. 37.

with that of the poets just quoted: they unite the old with what we are in the habit of calling the new. Even lacking this citation, yet remembering how constantly the noble heart and love were used together in old Provençal verse, we might have risked the suggestion, as does Savj-Lopez, that the spread of no philosophic doctrine was absolutely necessary to lead to the attitude of the *dolce stil nuovo*; but having these lines before us, we can go farther: we can feel sure that it was no form of scholasticism peculiar to Italy in the middle of the thirteenth century that changed the watch-word from "Love ennobles the heart of the lover" to "Only the noble heart can feel Love."

Like the conception of love, so too the conception of the lady, as held by the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, is usually drawn by the "regulars" themselves from Guinizelli's poem:

"Donna, Dio mi dirà: Che presumisti?

 Dir li potrò: Tenea d'angel sembianza
 Che fosse del tuo regno:
 Non mi sie fallo s'io le posi amanza."

That is, Guinizelli believes in a being worthy of the admiration given to Mary and the Lord, a thing almost, if not quite, divine.

Here the traditional view has better withstood the attacks of the opposition. To be sure, verbal predecessors have been found for the "d'angel sembianza" of Guinizelli's song. Monalda da Soffena had written:

"Angelica figura
 D'ogni piacer sovrana ,"

and Dante da Majano praises his lady with:

"Sprendiente siete come'l sole,
 Angelica figura e delicata
 ch'a tutte l'altre togliete valore."

But in spirit these words are but sorry equivalents for Lapo Gianni's

"Angelica figura novamente
di ciel venuta a spander salute."¹

Nor need we recognize a real antecedent for Guinizelli's *meaning* in the anonymous

" Che Dio cole sue mani propriamente
Formasse voi d'angelica sembianza,
Chè non si trova tra l'umana gente
Bieltà nesuna a vostra somiglianza."²

A greater similarity of meaning may indeed be found in Monte Andrea's

" Volle il sengnore Dio la sua posanza
Farne mostranza quando vi formòne:
Tanto v'amòne e fecievi d'onore,
Che siete il fiore di quanto donna avanza:
D'angiel sembianza in voi non mancòne";³

in Guittone's prose

"gientile mia donna, l'onnipotente Dio mise in voi sì maravigliosamente
compimento di tutto bene, che maggiormente senbrate angelica criatura
che terrena ;"

and especially in Ser Pace's

"Senza peccaggio di natura humana
Formata fue dalla somma potenza;
Spirata per essenza
Un angelo la volle assomigliare."⁴

Yet of these last three, two at least should be discounted: for in Monte we may have again, as before, a reflection of Guinizelli's influence, and in Guittone, as Azzolina points out,⁵ the object is not to praise the lady, but rather to spur her forward in the paths of religion.

¹ Azzolina, p. 151.

² Azzolina, p. 94.

³ Azzolina, p. 93.

⁴ Quoted by Borgognoni from *Opere volgari a stampa dei sec. XIII e XIV* by F. Zanobri.

⁵ Azzolina, pp. 94-95.

If, however, a search for possible equivalents for the "d'angel sembianza" does not reveal woman's progress towards a more divine position, an investigation along broader lines does show, among these earlier poets, certain tendencies towards the so-called new ideal.

Humility has always been a Christian religious virtue. Its application to holy persons is general in hagiography, so that we are not surprised to see it applied in the vulgar tongue to Christ :

" Aias de mi bos chاوزimens
Car ieu soi ples de tot peccat
E tu, senher, d'umiltat." ¹

Its frequent recurrence as an attribute of the lady in the *dolce stil nuovo* is familiar to all ; nor need we, as Azzolina would imply,² call upon the influence of Church writings, acting directly upon Dante and Cavalcanti, to explain why the *Vita Nuova* is instinct with it, and why the "first friend" sang :

" Cotanto d'umiltà donna mi pare
Ch'ogni altra veramente chiam'ira." ³

Its use antedates these poets by many years. "È curioso vedere," writes Savj-Lopez, "che non solo presso i tardi trovatori, ma anche per taluni del miglior tempo, le donne sono coronate e vestite d'umiltà. Umile e franca è il Bel Cavaliere di Rambaldo di Vaqueiras come l'amata di Arnaldo di Maruelh : umile e orgogliosa quella di Aimerico di Belesnoi, umile sembiante scorgono nelle donne loro Gaucelmo Faidit e Bartolomeo Zorzi." ⁴

¹ Folquet de Marselha, *Dieus perdona me* Mahn, *Werke*, I, p. 335.

² Azzolina, p. 206. We may be imputing too much to Azzolina : if he does not mean this, he certainly suggests the influence of an æsthetic consideration, and that is equally unnecessary.

³ *Chi è questa che ven* Ercole, *Guido Cavalcanti*, p. 266.

⁴ Savj-Lopez, p. 36.

Neither Arnaut Daniel when he sings

"Anc beutat plus non i put faire
S'i mes (God) tota sa vertut,"¹

nor the Notary, with the words

"E credo ben se Dio l'avesse a fare
Non vi mettrebbe sì suo intendimento
Che la potesse simile formare,"²

seems really to have raised the beloved's standing; and, to be sure, Savj-Lopez's examples, quoted to indicate how the lady becomes more closely identified with God, are not all very convincing.³ Yet, on the other hand, one or two of the quotations given by this critic are most interesting. Lanfranc Cigala wrote of the dead Countess of Este:

" . . . la vol dieus en cel far regnar,
e si tot sai en reman dechaenza
li saint angel la'n portaran chantan."⁴

In Bonifazio Calvo's poems we find:

" . . . car al mieu semblan non seria
lo paradís gent complitz de coindia
senz lieis: per qu'eu non tem ni dupti ges
que dieus non l'aj'ab se lai on el es,
ni'm plaing mas car sui loing de sa paria."⁵

¹ Cf. Azzolina, p. 93.

² Azzolina, p. 93.

³ Yet two of these examples are well worth considering: they are Montanhagol's

"Pero be'us dic qu'om mielhs creire deuria
Que sa beutatz de sus del cel partis,
Quar tan sembra obra de paradís
Qu'a penas par terrenals sa conhdia."

(*Non an tan dig* Coulet's edition. Why did Savj-Lopez omit the third line?)

And Pons de Capduelh's

"Dieus, que la fes tan belh'e tan prezan
li salv'e'l guart lo ric pretz qu'ilh mante;
que non ha hom tan dur cor qui la ve
no'l port honor"

⁴ Savj-Lopez, p. 26 and note 13.

⁵ Savj-Lopez, p. 26 and note 12.

Better than this—since, though usually considered to be followers of the old school, these poets might perhaps have been touched by the spirit of Bologna—are the words of Gavaudan, whose lady is crowned among virgins and praised by the angels.¹ And better still, and most effective of all, is the passage which offers a parallel to the most exalted example of the lady's divinity to be found in the *dolce stil nuovo*. It is the scene in Heaven pictured by Pons de Capduelh in the lines :

“ Aras podem saber que l'angel sus
son de sa mort alegre e jauzen
Per que sai ben qu'ill es el ric palais
en flor de lis, en rosas et en glais ;
la lauzon l'angel ab ioi et ab chan :
cel la deu be, qui anc no fo mentire,
en paradis sobre totas assire.”²

In other words, this poet of the turn of the century seems to have already imagined, some ninety years before Dante, the action and dramatic setting of the apotheosis of Beatrice in that song which Dante himself later styled “nuove rime,”

“ Angelo chiama in divino intelletto.
E dice : Sire, nel mondo si vede
Meraviglia nell'atto, che procede
Da un'anima, che fin quassù risplende.
Lo cielo, che non have altro difetto
Che d'aver lei, al suo Signor la chiede
E ciascun santo ne grida mercede.”

Only—and this is perhaps enough to discredit the whole parallel—Dante's lady was still alive when he dreaded the call of the angels : Pons's lady was dead, as were the ladies of all the possible predecessors just mentioned.³

¹ Savj-Lopez, p. 27. I have not seen the original of this.

² *De totz chaitius*, Bartsch, *Chrestomathy*,⁵ col. 123. Savj-Lopez quotes this ; Salvadori (*vita Giovanile di Dante*, p. 46) accepts it as having perhaps influenced Dante.

³ Salvadori asserts that Dante's own experience would lead him to connect love and death : and yet, if this first song of the *Vita Nuova* grew out

It may be seen from the foregoing that even those two points most commonly agreed upon as being characteristic of Guinizelli and his followers—love potential in the noble heart and the divinity of the lady—need not be accepted without question as original with this school.

On some minor details offered by different writers from time to time as belonging peculiarly to the *dolce stil nuovo*, criticism need be no less severe. We shall not go into these details at length; but be content to call attention to two of them which have happened to come to our notice.

Bertoni, writing in the *Studi Medievali*, made of the idea that nobility was the result, not of fortunate birth, but rather of real worth, a mark of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Yet it is found in the classics which Dante and his predecessors knew: it forms the basis of Juvenal's eighth satire, as Salvadori points out:¹ it is clearly put, although we do not know of its having been mentioned in this connection, in Seneca's letters to which Dante alludes in the *Convivio*.² And the poets before Dante used it, as was natural. This same thought, for instance, appears in Guittoné d'Arezzo's "Comune perta . . ." of Monaci's Chrestomathy, and in Guittone's

of the third and so was written (as Azzolina, for instance, believes) after Beatrice's death, Dante's originality would lie merely in having done for a lyric theme what others had done before him in didactic compositions, what he himself was to do so often in The Divine Comedy, *viz.*, make a post-factum prophesy.

¹ *Vita Giovanile di Dante*, p. 271.

² The passage from the letters reads: "Quis est generosus? ad virtutem bene a natura compositus . . . non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus. Nemo in nostram gloriam vixit nec quod ante nos fuit, nostrum est. Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quacumque condicione supra fortunam licet surgere" (Fridericus Haase: *L. Annaei Senecae opera*, Vol. III, *Ep.* v. 3, p. 90). Paget Toynbee has, in his *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 156, pointed out Dante's allusion to these letters in *Convivio*, IV, 12, ll. 82-83.

letters;¹ it appears too in Arnaut de Marueil and in Guiraut de Bornelh's "Los Apleitz," commented on by Dante.² Again, Azzolina has written: "The smile of Madonna never lighted up, as far as I know, the old poetry; and this was natural; Madonna had neither life nor motion":³ yet not only did a smile lend grace to Philippe de Beaumanoir's Aelis,⁴ not only did the earlier king of Navarre write

"Dirai que mon cuer amble m'a
Li ris e li bel oil qu'ele a,"⁵

¹ "Non ver lignaggio fa sangue, ma core;
Ni vero pregio poder, ma vertute."
(Monaci, p. 184.)

The extract from the letters reads: ". . . . che molto è Baron grande, uomo che'è grandemente buono; che ver Barone non riccor fae, ma valore." (*Lettera*, xxv, Botari's edition, quoted by Pellizzari, v. following note.)

² The two references are given by Pellizzari in his review of Bertoni's *Dolce Stil Nuovo* in *Bulletin Italien*, viii, No. 3, pp. 268 ff. Arnaut de Marueil sings:

"Et si dirai als gais
De proeza don nais.
Ges no nais ni comensa,
Segun outra naissenza.
.
Terras pot hom laisser
Et son fils heretar
Mas pretz non aura ja
Si de son cor non l'a."

(Raynouard, iv, 410.)

³ Azzolina, p. 64.

⁴ *E. g.*, "ses douz ris
En vaut miex que vers ne griz
ne letuaire."

(Jeanroy, *Les Chansons de Philippe de
Beaumanoir*, *Romania*, xxvi, p. 531.)

Also " Quant sanz plus me fet languir
De sa bouche une ouverture
Que j'en riant vi ouvrir
Dont l'odor me vint sesir."

(*ibid.*, p. 530.)

⁵ *Chançon ferai*, *car* Tarbé's edition, p. 21.

but Folquet de Marselha gives at least two parallels;¹ Guiraut Riquier, one;² and Aimeric de Peguilhan reminds us inevitably of Dante himself as he praises his lady's

“ . . . parlars fis et aperceubutz,
E'l respondre plazens et abelhitz,
E sos esguars dous un pauc en rizen.”³

So much for the ideas that have been deemed essential to the originality of the *dolce stil nuovo*. We have seen that they can in no wise be said to have originated with it: they appeared in poetry uninfluenced by that fusion of scholasticism, Averrhoestic speculation, and Christian mysticism which Vossler would call upon to explain them.

But now let us turn to another question. We have sought to show elsewhere⁴ that Dante's treatment of literary matters in the *Purgatorio* suggests a feeling of kinship and affection for at least one of the old Provençal poets, and we might add here a few new facts to show the power which this troubadour and one other exercised upon Dante's mind and feelings, even after that period of general interest in Provençal verse indicated by Salvadori.⁵

Guiraut de Bornelh's influence on Dante was strong as late, at least, as the date of the composition of the *Convivio*. In the didactic fourth book, Chaytor finds two reminiscences of Guiraut,⁶ and we all know Torraca's discovery that the

¹ “ Mais sa beutatz, e'l dols ris
Mi tolon de lor bargainha.”
(Mahn, *Werke*, p. 322. The second example is in *Werke*, p. 328.)

² “ Et a bon grat e dous rire
ab faitz, ab ditz avinens.”

³ Raynouard, III, p. 429.

⁴ *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1910, p. 39.

⁵ *Vita Giovanile*, p. 45.

⁶ *Modern Language Review*, I, p. 222.

...

original for the "chi non è reda" ¹ is to be found in the "Los Apleitz" of this same Guiraut de Bornelh.

Arnaut Daniel aroused in Dante, as Ker well sees, ² an admiration that certainly did not stop with the imitation of the *sestina*: the praise given in the Divine Comedy is by no means limited to an appreciation of skill in a poetic form which Dante had probably entirely given up at the time he was writing the *Purgatorio*. Arnaut's influence began early and lasted long.

Let us take two instances—two little matters of detail. Dante's lyric verse reveals a tendency to finish off a stanza or sonnet with a semi-independent close. ³ His Italian masters did not teach this: Guinizelli and Cavalcanti do not show it. On the other hand the Provençaux in general show this trick of style in more or less sporadic and unconscious use; while Arnaut individually takes in it a special delight. Indeed the very poem which Dante quotes and still admires greatly at the time when he is writing the *De Vulg. Elog.* shows three cases of its use. ⁴

¹ "Così fosse piaciuto a Dio, che quello che domandò il Provenzale fosse stato, che 'chi non è reda della bontà, perdesse il retaggio dell'avere.'" (*Convivio*, iv, 12.)

² W. P. Ker: *Dante, Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel*; *Modern Language Review*, iv, 145-152 (especially pp. 151-152.)

³ E. g.: "... tanto è gentile" (Canzone v, stanza 2 of Moore's *Dante*); "Si è nuovo miracolo gentile" (Sonnet 2); "Però provvegga del mio stato Amore!" (Sonnet 7). Cf. too Lisio's unwitting testimony when dealing (p. 105) with sonnet 21 or (p. 205) with sonnets 11 and 12. (Lisio: *L'arte del Periodo nelle opere volgari di Dante Alighieri e del secolo XIII*, Bologna, 1902.)

⁴ The song begins "Sols sui qui sai" (v. *De Vulg. Elog.*, II, 6). As instances we may take the stanza-ending

" Pois l'afans (of her love) m'es deportz, ris e jois,
Car en pensan sui di lieis lecs e glotz:
Ai Dieus, si ja'n serai estiers jauzire!"

or the conclusion of the third stanza, where, having said "I have been in

To appreciate the second instance, we must note the peculiar use made by Arnaut of the rhetorical question. The last stanza of this same song quoted by Dante ends with

“ Dic trop? Eu non, sol lieis non sia enois.
Bella, per Dieu, lo parlar e la votz
Vuoill perder enans que diga ren queus tira.”

That is, about to bring his song to a close, he nevertheless starts out as before: then suddenly breaks off, and by means of the question, throws his conclusion into relief. Nor is this chance: the same procedure is found in the same position in another of his poems ending with

“ Car orars ni jocs ni viula
Nom pot di leis un travers jonc
Partir—C'ai dig? Dieus mi somertz
Om peris el peleagre! ¹

That this rhetorical question should occur in both poems in the same most prominent position, is striking and must have made an impression on any one who knew Arnaut's work well. Indirectly Dante has used this device in the pathetic question of his second canzone in the Vita Nuova.² But, more than this, is it not likely that in his riper years, when composing the didactic Canzone X,³ he took directly from these models his

many courts, yet here, in her, I find more to praise: Courtesy taught her and instructed her well,” he adds:

“ Tant a de si tot faitz desplazens rotz
De lieis no cre rens de bon si adire.”

¹ Canello's edition, p. 110.

² “ Cader gli augelli volando per l'a're
E la terra tremare:
Ed uom m'apparve scolorito e fioco,
Dicendomi: che fai? non sai novella?
Morta è la donna tua, ch'era sì bella.”

Cf. also the ending to the second stanza of this same canzone.

³ According to the numbering of Moore's edition.

"Voi non dovresti amare,
 Ma coprir quanto di beltà vi è dato,
 Poichè non è virtù, ch'era suo segno.
 Lasso, a che dicer vegno?
 Dico che bel disegno
 Sarebbe in donna di ragion lodato
 Partir da sè beltà per suo commiato."

There is nothing like this in the work of the "maximus Guido" or of the "first friend."

Compared on broader lines, too, the resemblances between the verse of Dante and Arnaut are striking. Two of the three poems quoted in the *De Vulg. Elog.* are not remarkable for intricacy of metre. What is peculiar to them is a seriousness and an air of conviction not seen in contemporary lyrics; and, above all, that quality that stands out strongly when we compare the "Sols sui chi sai" with Peire d'Alvernhe's "De jostal braus jorns," from which it derives many ideas,—viz., a constant consciousness of the goal, a mode of progression which, discarding the starts and rests of the unsustained lyric of most of Arnaut's countrymen, leads the mind logically, resistlessly onwards to a strong conclusion.¹ And this same peculiarity distinguishes Dante's verse: so that in many particulars Dante seems to have learnt his art from the Provençal poet rather than from Guinizelli, too indulgent of his fancy's flights, or the over-minute Cavalcanti.

With the Provençal influence so strong upon him, there is every reason to believe that Dante knew what he was doing when, wishing to give a description of his school, he used words often employed by former poets in a similar

¹ Arnaut's song drops the irrelevant nature-beginning of Peire's composition: it drops also the useless generalities, the disturbing address to the *joglar* and the second *tornada*. It substitutes a greater unity and an intense application, developing a mode of presentation not too unworthy to stand by Dante's own.

connection. In fact, as we have tried to prove before,¹ not only is Dante's definition, as given in his conversation with Bonagiunta, largely couched in terms already familiar; but in addition, it is probable that he was proud to connect here, as he does when Guinizelli speaks of Arnaut in *Purgatorio* XXVI, his own set of poets with the best poets that had gone before.

Summing up, then, all that we have said so far, it would look as though the conventional view of the originality of the *dolce stil nuovo* were in grave danger. Love potential in the noble heart and the lady conceived as divine, besides other ideas cited from time to time as distinguishing traits of this school, have all been found in the writings of earlier schools:² and, more than this, its characteristics, as defined by its own conscious exponent and most distinguished member, emphasizes its connection with former writers.

Yet, to tell the truth, the danger is more apparent than real. It arises from the fact that, in an attempt to be definite and to give a few striking characteristics as typical of this school, exponents of the old view have exposed their flanks to the enemy. The opposition has pinned them down to these few points and, having proved an exaggeration, considers its victory won.

But this will not suffice. The originality of the school does not lie merely in such details. Dante, for instance, insists constantly upon the attribute "dolce."³ Guinizelli's

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1900, pp. 38-39.

² Except for the sanctification of the loving mistress.

³ Cf. G. Salvadori: *Nuova Antologia* 4^a serie, vol. 65, p. 386. Also I.

poems are "dolci e leggiadri"¹ and "li dolci detti vostri";² the whole school is the "dolce stil nuovo"; and Cino uses the same adjective in speaking of Dante's language. Anglade, in his work on Guiraut Riquier, shows us the development of bourgeois seriousness and didacticism in Provence, with their influence on poets, of whom it is sometimes hard to say whether they are lauding the Virgin or a human mistress.³ Yet this, too, is no forerunner of the *dolce stil nuovo*; there is no such confusion in the school of our study. The lady remains upon earth, even though robed in the radiance of her Heavenly counterpart and filled with the "nostalgia del cielo." Beatrice, until proved to the contrary, must be considered as living, not dead, when called for in Heaven—an allegory, it may be, but not the mother of God. And Guinizelli's three closing lines seem, in spite of Savj-Lopez's would-be antecedents, to be still the words of one who, cowed for a moment by a sudden realization of the unorthodoxy of his position, calmly accepts the responsibility and, in half defiance, insists on raising to the status of the divine that which had stirred the noblest impulses of his being, here upon earth. For, after all, the setting of these lines gives them a peculiar literalness. The poet's turn upon himself is highly significant. Other poets had stopped, as he did, to examine their own songs from without: they had stood clear of their work, looked at it, and anticipated possible criticism. But the fault-finding which they sought to forestall was stylistic; we have traces of it later, even in Dante. Guiraut Riquier's scrutiny of his own song⁴ is not so different in character from the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Vita Nuova*. Both deal with rhetoric. Guinizelli's solicitude, however, is of a very different

¹ *Purgatorio*, xxvi, 99.

² *Purgatorio*, xxvi, 112.

³ Jos. Anglade: *Le troubadour Guiraut Riquier*, Paris, 1905, pp. 299-307.

⁴ Mahn: *Werke*, iv, No. Lxxv, p. 131, ll. 88 ff.

kind. It is not to literary tradition, to the accepted manner of developing a song or of using personification that he holds himself responsible. Guinizelli looks to his religious standing: he seeks to justify his position as a spiritual being. It is not the writer that he vindicates; but the man, Guido Guinizelli, creature of God and under obligations to his Creator. Therefore his "d'angel sembianza" drops all shade of courtly exaggeration; the words retain their full meaning and we think involuntarily of Bartoli's explanation: "this is Guido, *nobile e dotto*, whose studies had become so much a part of himself that they colored and fed his lyric outbursts."¹ And thus it is, too, with Cavalcanti's most striking contributions to this school: for, although his analysis of momentary psychological experiences might be compared to the work of Guillaume de Lorris,² we find in the latter the result of impersonal meditation, while the Italian's best lyrics, for all their philosophy, are, above all, effusions of intense emotion: "Questi drammi . . . non sono freddamente allegorici . . . perchè il protagonista è sempre il poeta: sua è la passione, suoi i martiri."

It is true, then, that sporadically the most striking thoughts of the *dolce stil nuovo* have approximate parallels in the poetry of former schools; it is true that the definition of this school, as given by Dante, allows it to be, in the mind of its definer, a continuation of the best verse that went before. So much we must admit. But there we stop. The opposition has, until now, advanced its standard no further. The lone and separate voices of a whole preceding century join as a chorus in the days of Dante. In one lifetime and in one land, six or more different poets repeat constantly, and make part of themselves, the almost chance

¹ *I primi due secoli d. lett. ital.*, Milan, 1880, pp. 169-170.

² Cf. Gaston Paris: *Esquisse historique de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, p. 196.

utterances of a scarcely larger number of singers spread over two lands and three generations. They weigh them; they fill them with meaning and give to them the utmost developments of which they are capable. Even though, upon closer examination, the *dolce stil nuovo* should show no single original idea, even though it contain no single construction, no one trait of style, which had not been used by some former poet, this concentration of similar ideas and this aggregate of more perfect form would have their meaning. Surely they are the result of some force or forces peculiar to the epoch and the place. And the exponents of the traditional view are able to name these forces, which are that intense interest in philosophy and morals and that wave of religious mysticism and exaltation which fell upon Italy in the thirteenth century.

The opposition has broadened our understanding of the *dolce stil nuovo*. It has shown that the originality of the school cannot be proved by insistence upon a few distinguishing ideas. But until a greater number of details of all kinds has been gathered to prove the contrary, this school must still be considered as a literary movement unique, characteristic, and local—the product of a peculiar environment ministering to the genius of gifted poets.

A. G. H. SPIERS.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD AT
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y.,
AND AT THE
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, IOWA CITY, IOWA,
DECEMBER 28, 29, 30, 1909.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THE ASSOCIATION MEETING.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., December 28, 29, 30, in accordance with the following invitation:

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.
CORNELL UNIVERSITY.
ITHACA, NEW YORK.

January 21, 1909.

PROFESSOR CHARLES H. GRANDGENT,
Secretary, The Modern Language Association of America.

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Cornell University I have much pleasure in extending through you to the Modern Language Association of America a most cordial invitation to hold its next meeting at Cornell University during the Christmas Holidays, 1909. We should be both honored and pleased to receive the visiting delegates, and I need not assure you, of course, that every courtesy and facility would be extended to them to make their visit both interesting and agreeable and the meetings of the Association itself successful in every way.

Very truly yours,

J. G. SCHUBMAN,
President.

All the sessions were held in Goldwin Smith Hall. Professor M. D. Learned, President of the Association, presided at all.

FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The Association met at 2.40 p. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome from President J. G. Schurman. President Schurman spoke in part as follows:

Cornell University has from the very beginnings of its existence given a place to the modern languages as large, as important, and as dignified as that occupied by the older traditional subjects of the college curriculum. In the earlier years our university was criticized for this new departure. To-day it is the universal practice of all our best institutions of learning.

I should like to-day, therefore, to raise a new question concerning modern languages. And it can be raised in this university without awakening any suspicion of hostility or even of indifference. For nowhere in America do you find warmer advocates of the modern languages than at Cornell University.

The modern languages were originally introduced partly on the ground of their practical utility as media of intercourse with other nations, but mainly as available substitutes for the literary and linguistic discipline furnished by the ancient classics. The question I should like to raise to-day is whether the grounds which in the past have vindicated a place in the curriculum for modern languages will be sufficient to hold and retain them there in the future.

There has been a great change in our conception of liberal culture since the fight was first made for the introduction of modern languages into the college curriculum. Latin and Greek were then regarded as essential constituents of a liberal education. However warmly these languages may enlist our sympathies and our interests, we must as a matter of fact recognize that Greek is practically gone as a college subject, and that Latin, even though holding its own to-day, occupies no such preëminent position as it possessed a generation ago. If French and German were meant to be substitutes for Greek and Latin, the question I am asking is whether both should be retained as essential elements of the college curriculum, from which one of the ancient languages has disappeared, and in which the other holds only a subordinate position.

Or putting the question otherwise, if French and German and other modern languages are to be retained not as substitutes for Greek and Latin but for their own sake, what are the grounds and reasons for maintaining them? The obvious answer of the

practical man is that they are useful for persons who desire to read French, German, or Spanish books, or to converse with Frenchmen, Germans or Spaniards. There are, however, so many good books written in the English language that the most omnivorous reader could probably satisfy his literary cravings if he knew no language but his own. *And if you exclude our college and university teachers and scholars, probably not one person in five hundred who learns modern languages ever uses them afterwards in conversation, or could use them even if it were necessary.* The teachers and the scholars gain their mastery of foreign languages by studying in foreign countries. And the small circle of persons outside these who will ever need to speak foreign languages might be advised to follow the same course.

The position of modern languages in a college curriculum, therefore, must in the main be defended by their value as linguistic and literary discipline. They must avail themselves of the old arguments which were used in defence of Greek and Latin. And unless they can contribute a kind of literary and linguistic training which Greek and Latin failed to furnish, I predict they will not be able to hold unchallenged the place they now occupy in our American scheme of instruction.

So far as linguistic discipline is concerned, I think no one will pretend that the study of French or German or Spanish yields as good results as the study of Latin. *At any rate, schoolmasters for hundreds of years have organized Latin as pedagogical material in a way which has not yet been done for any modern language.*

It seems to me that the best hope of the modern languages is to be based on their efficacy as instruments of liberal culture. These languages are a good deal easier to acquire than either Greek or Latin, and the boy who can read with facility German or Italian has a literature revealed to him quite as fine as the Latin literature, and not much inferior to the Greek—a literature also which has the additional advantage of belonging to Christian civilization and furnishing interpretations of human life and of the world different from anything found in the English language and yet not too remote from it to make intelligent appreciation possible. The undergraduate who reads and loves his Dante and Petrarch, his Goethe and Schiller and Lessing, is the living vindication of the value of modern languages.

But the question then arises whether the number of undergraduates who acquire such culture through modern languages may be considered reasonably sufficient to justify the cost incurred and the energies expended on their behalf? Is it not quite conceivable that

in the future the English language and literature may be expected to furnish the literary culture which for generations was derived from, or at any rate associated with, the study of Greek and Latin? I make no prediction; but I venture to say that if such a view comes to be generally entertained, modern foreign languages will not be able to retain the favor they now enjoy. Their place in the college curriculum would then depend upon their value as linguistic disciplines, in which they would compete with Latin, or their value for social and commercial purposes, which would be promoted far more effectively by residence and study in the countries where they are spoken than by text-book study in school, college, and university extending over a period many times as great as the period of foreign residence required for facility in reading and conversation.

The Acting Secretary of the Association, Mr. W. G. Howard, submitted as the report of the Secretary the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting and the whole volume of the *Publications* of the Association for the year 1909.

The report was approved.

The Acting Secretary further reported that with the consent of all concerned he had assumed the Vice-Chairmanship of the committee appointed in 1908 to bring about closer relations with the Carnegie Institution, and that the committee of this Association had on December 10, 1909, united with committees of other learned societies in presenting to the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution a memorial respectfully asking "that properly approved projects of historical, archæological, philosophical, linguistic, literary, and artistic investigation and publication be admitted in the apportioning of grants of the Carnegie Institution to a recognition similar to that given approved projects of research in the physical and natural sciences."

On motion, the report was approved and the committee continued.

The Acting Secretary presented a request from the chairman of the Joint Committee on a Phonetic English Alphabet, that the Association be represented at a conference on this subject to be held in New York City in April, 1910, and moved that Professors Sheldon, Thomas, and Weeks be requested to confer with the Joint Committee at the meeting aforesaid. The motion was adopted.

On behalf of the Executive Council the Acting Secretary nominated for Honorary Membership in the Association Joseph Bédier, Professor at the Collège de France, and Benedetto Croce, Secretary of the Neapolitan Historical Society, and editor of the review, *La Critica*; and they were unanimously elected.

The Treasurer of the Association, Mr. W. G. Howard, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 26, 1908,	\$3,055 53
From Members for 1904,	\$ 2 00
“ “ “ 1905,	6 00
“ “ “ 1906,	15 00
“ “ “ 1907,	60 10
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	\$2,759 15
From Libraries for Vols. VIII-XVIII,	\$ 40 50
“ “ “ “ XIX,	2 70
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For <i>Publications</i> , Vols. VIII-XVIII,	. \$	48 50	
" " " XIX,	. .	3 70	
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" " " XXIII,	. .	10 80	
" " " XXIV,	. .	42 40	
		<hr/>	\$ 129 51
From W. H. Schofield, Gift,	. .		50 00
For Postage Stamps,	. . . \$	3 57	
" Reprints,	. . .	17 50	
" List of Members,	. . .	1 00	
		<hr/>	\$ 22 07
From Advertisers, Vol. XXIII,	. . \$	60 00	
" " " XXIV,	. .	60 00	
		<hr/>	\$ 120 00
Interest, Eutaw Savings Bank,	. . \$	59 60	
" Cambridge Savings Bank,	. .	37 42	
" Cambridge Trust Co.,	. .	30 26	\$ 127 28
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EXPENDITURES.

To Secretary for Salary,	. . . \$	400 00	
" " " Printing,	. . .	54 00	
" " " Postage,	. . .	43 02	
" " " Expressage,	. . .	6 05	
" " " Proof-reading,	. . .	5 00	
" " " Clerical work,	. . .	2 25	
		<hr/>	\$ 510 32
To Treasurer for Salary,	. . . \$	200 00	
" " " Printing,	. . .	80 73	
" " " Postage,	. . .	8 29	
" " " Expressage,	. . .	2 95	
" " " Clerical work,	. . .	16 25	
" " " Legal services,	. . .	3 00	
		<hr/>	\$ 311 22
To Secretary, Central Division,			
For Salary,	. . . \$	75 00	
" Printing and Postage,	. . .	73 65	
		<hr/>	\$ 148 65
For Printing <i>Publications</i> ,			
Vol. XXIV, No. 1,	. . . \$	486 82	
" XXIV, " 2,	. . .	515 07	
" XXIV, " 3,	. . .	676 18	
" XXIV, " 4,	. . .	787 21	
		<hr/>	\$2,465 28

For Printing Program 27th Annual Meeting,	. \$	77 91	
For Back Numbers of <i>Publications</i> ,		65 86	
To Committee of Fifteen,		21 28	
Exchange,		9 80	
		—————	\$3,610 32
Balance on hand, { Eutaw Savings Bank,	\$1,550 10		
Dec. 27, 1909, { Cambridge Savings Bank,	1,027 92		
	Cambridge Trust Co.,	371 60	
		—————	2,949 62
			<u>\$6,559 94</u>

The President of the Association, Professor M. D. Learned, appointed the following committees:

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors G. M. Harper and A. K. Hardy.
- (2) To nominate officers: Professors F. N. Scott, H. S. White, and Kenneth McKenzie.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Italian Influence on Spanish Verse in the Sixteenth Century." By Dr. Arthur Gordon, of Cornell University.

[The old style of Spanish verse: its characteristics and its vogue before the introduction of the Italian forms.—Scantiness of treatises.—Innovations introduced by Boscan and the Italianists.—Why the new forms remained permanently.—Opposition to the Italian influence by Castillejo and his adherents.—Changes in Spanish verse due to the acceptance of the Italian forms.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor J. Geddes, Jr.

2. "Shakspeare's Use of Prose." By Professor Morris W. Croll, of Princeton University.

[Three periods in the history of the use of prose in the Elizabethan drama: first (1586-1598), a period of rapid development

from crude and popular origins, showing a sharp contrast between the uses of prose and the uses of verse; secondly (1599-1616), a period marked by new uses in imitation of courtly, academic, and Italian drama, and by a breaking down of the law of contrast; thirdly (1616-1642), a period of decline in the use of prose, due to the prevalence of Fletcher's form of verse, which is in effect a compromise between prose and verse.—The influence of these tendencies upon Shakspeare's usage, especially in the years between 1598 and 1608.—Many of his uses of prose, which have been subjectively explained, are referable to well-established dramatic convention.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor W. H. Hulme.

3. "Report on some Eschenburg Manuscripts." By Professor W. W. Florer, of the University of Michigan, and Mr. Carl E. Schreiber, of New York University. Read by Mr. Schreiber.

[Lecture notes supplementing the well known outlines of Professor J. J. Eschenburg are in the possession of Mrs. Emma Schumann and Hon. Arnold Eschenburg. There are, among others, four volumes of closely written manuscript on the *Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften*, two volumes on the *Lehrbuch der Wissenschaftskunde*, and two volumes of an *Übersicht der klassischen Schriftsteller* and *Archäologie*.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor Learned.

4. "The Etymology of *Bachelier*." By Professor W. A. Stowell, of Amherst College.

[*Bachelier* (O. F. *Bachelor*) is connected with Medieval Latin *baccalaria*. The *baccalaria* was not, as previous writers have maintained, a fief or tenure of which the *baccalarius* was the owner or occupant. The *baccalaria* was the pasture attached to some inhabited agrarian division such as the *manse*, *casa*, etc. The etymology of *baccalaria* is *vacca* > *vaccaria* > *vaccalia* > *vaccalaria* > *baccalaria*.—Examples of the word in each of these stages.—The *baccalarius* was the cowherd.—The word *baccalarius* shifted from meaning "cowherd" to meaning "a youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one years" (the meaning of *bachelor* in the O. F.

texts) because the chief occupation of the community was herding cattle, just as the O. F. word *escuiers* shifted from meaning "shield-bearer" to meaning "a noble youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one years" because the chief occupation of noble youths was carrying the shields of their elders.—*Ten minutes.*]

5. "The Source of Dryden's *All for Love*." By Professor William Strunk, Jr., of Cornell University.

[Dryden conveys the impression that Plutarch, Appian, and Dion Cassius were his sources for *All for Love*, and that Shakspeare served him only as a model of style. It is demonstrable that he used none of these historical accounts, but used the last two acts of Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* as practically his sole source.—*Ten minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Dr. B. Q. Morgan.

6. "The Masque in Shakspeare's Plays." By Professor J. W. Cunliffe, of the University of Wisconsin.
[To appear in the next issue of the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft.*]

[The paper endeavored to show that while the term "masque" is used very loosely by Shakspearean critics, Shakspeare himself uses it only in the strict sense defined by modern students of this form of court entertainment. It was suggested that for the sake of clearness the exacter usage should be followed in the criticism of Shakspeare's plays.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At eight o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, December 28, Professor Marion Dexter Learned, President of the Association, delivered in the amphitheatre of Goldwin Smith Hall an address on the subject, "Linguistic Study and Literary Creation."

After the address President and Mrs. Schurman received the members and guests of the Association at their residence, 41 East Avenue.

After the reception the gentlemen of the Association gathered at the Town and Gown Club.

SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session began at 9.50 a. m.

Professor J. W. Cunliffe submitted the following report of the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts.

In view of the excellent photographic reproductions now being issued commercially in Europe, the Committee has not thought it advisable during the past year to attempt to stimulate reproduction or publication in America beyond giving information as to where single copies of texts could be obtained by the rotographic process. It is urged that where such single copies are obtained, they should be placed after use in university libraries, so as to be available for other students, and it is respectfully suggested that university libraries might well assist graduate students in the acquisition of rotographs of texts needed for research, on condition that the reproductions became ultimately the property of the library assisting in the purchase. Information as to where rotographs of texts in European libraries may be obtained will be gladly afforded, for the Continent by Professor H. A. Todd, Columbia University, for Great Britain and Ireland, by the Chairman of the Committee.

The A. L. A. Publishing Board issued in March last the first set of index cards for photographic reprints of modern language texts before 1660 contained in American college libraries—eighty-six titles, two cards each, at a total cost of \$2.58. Cards for recent additions are being prepared, and in view of the slight expense involved, it is hoped that the list of subscribing libraries may be increased. The present subscribers are: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Brown, California, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Leland Stanford, McGill, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Northwestern, Oberlin, Texas, Tufts, Vassar, Wesleyan, Western Reserve, Wisconsin, Yale, Academy of the New Church Library, Bryn Athyn, Pa.

J. W. CUNLIFFE, *Chairman*,
C. M. GAYLEY,
G. L. KITTREDGE,
JOHN M. MANLY,
H. A. TODD.

December, 1909.

The report was approved.

Professor Cunliffe circulated the following statement concerning a proposed facsimile of the Cædmon Manuscript:

It has long been recognized as of the highest importance to scholarship that the great Cædmon Manuscript should be accessible in a facsimile,—not only on account of the importance of the text and the very remarkable illustrations, but because of the system of metrical points, which cannot be studied to advantage without exact reproduction.

The authorities of the Bodleian Library are naturally disinclined to subject the manuscript to the risks of cheap processes for the benefit of individual applicants. We have assurances, however, that the Clarendon Press will gladly publish a collotype facsimile of the whole manuscript, text and illustrations, if one hundred subscribers, at five guineas, can be guaranteed. This facsimile will be full size, but the illustrations will not be colored.

There is no doubt that the requisite number of subscribers will be obtained in a short time. Every person interested, therefore, to whose notice this letter may come, is requested to send his name, with an expression of his intention, to either of the undersigned. When the list is full, subscription blanks, in due form, will be sent out by the Clarendon Press.

G. L. KITTREDGE,
Harvard University.

JOHN M. MANLY,
The University of Chicago.

After discussion by Professors J. M. Hart, M. D. Learned, and O. F. Emerson, it was *voted*, on motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, that the committee be authorized and requested to memorialize a large number of the most important American libraries to buy the proposed facsimile of the Cædmon Manuscript, the expense of the memorial to be borne by the Association.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

7. "Arthurian Literature." By Professor A. E.

Curdy, of Yale University. [See *The Romanic Review*, 1, 125 and 265.]

[A discussion of literary activity in relation to the Arthurian Cycle.—*Twenty minutes.*]

8. "Rhetorica Rediviva." By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

[Recent studies in psychology and sociology afford materials for a reconstruction of rhetoric as a science of communication.—*Ten minutes.*]

9. "On the Teaching of Written Composition." By Professor Lane Cooper, of Cornell University. [See *Education*, March, 1910.]

[The welfare of the state and the happiness of the individual are essentially promoted by the attainment of insight rather than expression. The main function of the vernacular is the communication of truth; in a given case the importance of the function is measured by the importance of the truth to be conveyed. Since the possession of truth may not be taken for granted in the student, the teaching of expression must never be made a primary aim of any course. When we shift the emphasis, and regard expression as a means, instead of an end, the question becomes, not "Can we teach the art of composition?" but "Can we teach by means of composition?"—If the emphasis is thus shifted, it becomes evident that English composition cannot safely be used as an instrument of education except in testing the student's insight into a definite and connected subject, where the teacher has first-hand knowledge and the student is acquiring it.—*Twenty minutes.*]

By request of the President, Professor Calvin Thomas took the chair during the reading of this paper. The paper was discussed by Professors F. N. Scott, J. W. Cunliffe, O. F. Emerson, J. M. Hart, W. Strunk, Jr., and Dr. B. Q. Morgan.

10. "Spenser's Sir Calidore." By Dr. Percy W.

Long, of Harvard University. [See *Englische Studien*, XLII, 1.]

[The hero of the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* has been identified, since the time of Upton, as Sir Philip Sidney. Several considerations, however, render it probable that this knight representing Spenser's ideal of courtesy should be identified as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discusst by Professor O. F. Emerson.

11. "The Poetry of François Coppée." By Professor E. P. Dargan, of the University of Virginia.

[Coppée's manner of life and character: his love of literature, of domesticity, of Paris. His general ideas: love, religion, *la Patrie*.—His artistic ideas and his masters.—Three claims to distinction: as love-poet, as *conteur*, and as depictr of humble life.—The elegist: *Intimités; l'Exilée; Jeunes Filles*. The story-teller: *Poèmes modernes; Olivier; Les Réoits et les Elégies; Contes en Vers*, etc. The democrat: *Les Humbles; Promenades et Intérieurs; Le Cahier Rouge; Dans la Prière et dans la Lutte*.—His final view of life.—His artistic qualities: dramatic, verbal, and descriptive power.—His positive value and his place in modern lyricism.—*Twenty minutes.*]

[At the close of this session there was a meeting of the Concordance Society.]

At one o'clock p. m. the members and friends of the Association were the guests of Cornell University at luncheon in the Armory Annex.

THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The session began at 2.40 p. m.

12. "Anachronism in Shakspeare Criticism." By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of Western Reserve University. [See *Modern Philology*, VII, 4.]

[Consciously or unconsciously, criticism still interprets Shakspeare as if he were familiar with the conceptions of modern science and philosophy, and as if his art were not three centuries old. In the characters, it traces the influence of forces like heredity, and, setting at naught Elizabethan technique, it discovers suggestions of sub-conscious thought and the subtle distinctions of racial, criminal, and morbid psychology. In the play as a whole, it brings to light vague underlying ideas or "problems," as in a *drame à thèse*. Even a symbolical meaning is found in the work of a day when symbolism was unknown. And when criticism does recognize the historical interpretation, it often clings to the anachronistic; reconciling them, if at all, by the fiction of a "twofold truth."—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

13. "A Model for Chaucer's Knight." By Professor William Henry Schofield, of Harvard University.

[An effort to show that Chaucer, in portraying the knight in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, borrowed features from a French poem eulogizing an actual knight once renowned in Europe; and that the author of this poem influenced Chaucer elsewhere.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor O. F. Emerson.

14. "The Bewcastle Cross." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University.

[A sketch of the history of opinion concerning the Bewcastle Cross, with some consideration of the evidence bearing upon the question of its date.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Dr. B. Q. Morgan.

15. "Cowboy Songs of the Mexican Border." By Professor John A. Lomax, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

[The discussion was based on a collection of popular, orally transmitted border songs.—The amount of this material; its geographical distribution, sources, immediate and mediate; conditions of society in which the songs were produced.—With illustrative quotations,

the songs were examined as a probable manifestation of the ballad spirit as to (1) origin, (2) absence of self-consciousness, (3) transmission, (4) subject matter.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

16. "Rival Theories of Ballad Origin." By Professor Arthur Beatty, of the University of Wisconsin.

[A consideration of the communal and the individualistic theories, and the suggestion of a possible reconciliation through the recognition of the importance of a study of the popular tale in this connection. The following points were discussed: 1. The many similarities between ballad and tale have never been sufficiently taken into account. 2. The great fluidity of the traditional materials out of which ballad and tale are composed. 3. Lack of real parallels in plot in both ballad and tale: the constant is not a story but a belief or custom. 4. Evidence for the priority of the tale over the ballad. 5. The place in tradition of ballad and tale.—*Twenty minutes.*]

[At the close of this session there was a meeting of the American Dialect Society.]

From four to six p. m. Ex-President and Mrs. Andrew D. White received the members and friends of the Association at their residence, 27 East Avenue.

At eight o'clock p. m. the ladies of the Association were informally entertained by Mrs. Everett W. Olmsted at her residence, 730 University Avenue.

At half-past eight o'clock p. m. the gentlemen of the Association were entertained by the members of the Departments of Modern Languages of Cornell University at the Ithaca Hotel. A smoke talk was given by Professor James Morgan Hart.

FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 9.50 a. m.

In the absence of the chairman, Professor L. A. Loiseaux, a report of the Committee of Fifteen was presented

by Professor Raymond Weeks. In view of the fact that the report had not been ready soon enough to enable the committee to present it in print, Professor O. F. Emerson moved, after a discussion in which Professors E. W. Olmsted, Calvin Thomas, F. N. Scott, Albert Schinz, Charles Harris, B. L. Bowen, and Drs. William Kurrelmeyer and B. Q. Morgan participated, that the report be returned to the committee for presentation at the next meeting.

This motion prevailed.

On motion of Dr. B. Q. Morgan the committee was instructed not merely to make lists of suitable texts for use in the teaching of modern languages but to classify all modern language texts now available for use in elementary and secondary instruction.

The auditing committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts were found correct; and the Treasurer's report was thereupon accepted.

Professor J. E. Spingarn presented a preliminary report of the Committee on Enlarging the Scope of the *Publications*. He offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the present committee on the *Publications* be continued for another year.

Resolved, that all dissertations intended for the doctor's degree at any university shall be excluded from the *Publications* of the Association.

Resolved, that a committee of not more than five nor less than three be appointed by the Chair, that shall have full power to publish periodically a *Bulletin* for the Association, and shall have power, if necessary, to expend not more than four hundred dollars in any one year.

Professor L. F. Mott moved to amend the first resolution by adding the provision that any recommendations to be made by the committee next year shall be printed and circulated with the notice of the meeting. The amended resolution was adopted.

After an animated discussion, the second and third resolutions were adopted in the form proposed by the committee.

[The Executive Council subsequently ruled that both the second and the third resolutions were unconstitutional and void. For guidance on the question of establishing a *Bulletin*, the Council instituted a postal vote of the entire Association. Of the 935 active members, 242 voted in favor, and 297 not in favor of a *Bulletin*. The Council thereupon decided that the establishment of a *Bulletin* was for the present inexpedient.]

The nominating committee reported the following nominations:

President: Brander Matthews, Columbia University.

First Vice-President: John W. Cunliffe, University of Wisconsin.

Second Vice-President: J. D. M. Ford, Harvard University.

Third Vice-President: Albert B. Faust, Cornell University.

The candidates nominated were unanimously elected to their respective offices for the year 1910.

On motion of Professor Kenneth McKenzie it was unanimously

Resolved, that the members of the Modern Language Association of America desire to express to the trustees of Cornell University, to President and Mrs. J. G. Schurman, to Ex-President and Mrs. Andrew D. White, to Professor and Mrs. E. W. Olmsted, to Professor J. M. Hart, to the officers of the Town and Gown Club, and to the members of the local committee, their sincere appreciation of the charming hospitality and the admirable arrangements which have made the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Association a memorable and delightful occasion. [Copies of this resolution were subsequently sent to all the persons mentioned.]

Professor McKenzie having emphasized the desirability of more systematic procedure in the selection of candidates for honorary membership, Professor Charles Harris moved that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to prepare resolutions on this subject to be presented at the next meeting of the Association.

The motion was carried.

[The Chair subsequently appointed Professors K. McKenzie, Chairman, J. W. Bright, G. Hempl, E. W. Olmsted, and Charles Harris.]

The reading of papers was then resumed, Professor E. W. Olmsted for half an hour in the chair.

17. "Some Unpublished Letters of Sainte-Beuve."
By Professor Othon G. Guerlac, of Cornell University.

[These letters, seven in number, were written during the years 1838 to 1844. They are addressed to Hermann Reuchlin, a German divine who was, like Sainte-Beuve himself, interested in Port Royal. A part of their correspondence was published in 1891 by Eugène Ritter in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XIII, 5.—Fifteen minutes.]

18. "American Scenery in Cooper's Novels." By Professor E. E. Hale, Jr., of Union College. [See *The Sewanee Review*, July, 1910, pp. 317-22.]

[The paper considered Cooper's presentation of American scenery with a view to both topography and landscape, on the basis of material collected at the scenes in question. It then endeavored to bring the main elements of Cooper's appreciation of American scenery into relation with the contemporary American feeling on the subject as expressed in painting and engraving, landscape gardening and country residence, social life and travel, as well as elsewhere in literature.—*Twenty minutes.*]

19. "Nature in mediæval German Lyrics." By Dr. Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Poetical attitude of early German singers towards nature.—Limitations of early lyrics in form and matter, especially the love-songs.—Limitation of the employment of nature.—Use of nature in religious lyrics, in the sententious *Sprüche*.—The *Minnelieder*.—Three typical lyrics in English translation.—*Twenty minutes.*]

20. "The Origin of the Double Infinitive in German." By Dr. William Kurrelmeyer, of the Johns Hopkins University. [See *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, XII, 3.]

[The origin of the double infinitive (*Ich habe es machen lassen*, etc.) has long been a subject of discussion. Views of Lachmann, Grimm, Erdmann, and recently of R. M. Meyer.—First appearance of the verbs concerned established by reference to dated documents: *tun*, *helfen*, *hören*, *heissen*, *müssen* in the thirteenth century; *lassen*, *türren* in the fourteenth; *mögen*, *lernen*, *machen*, *sehen*, *wollen*, *können*, *dürfen* in the fifteenth; *sollen* in the sixteenth.—Conclusion: the construction is an infinitive by attraction and not an augmentless participle.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At one o'clock p. m. the members and friends of the Association were the guests of Cornell University at luncheon in the Armory Annex.

FIFTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 2.50 p. m.

21. "Uhland's *Fortunat* and the *Histoire de Fortunatus*, Paris, 1770." By Professor John C. Ransmeier, of Tulane University. [See *Publications*, xxv, 3.]

[In June, 1810, Uhland wrote from Paris to Justinus Kerner that he had found a French *Fortunatus*. His library, now in the possession of the University of Tübingen, contains a copy of the French *Fortunatus* of 1770. Tho the German *Volksbuch* was naturally his chief source, internal evidence in his *Fortunat* points to influence of the French work.—*Twenty minutes*.]

22. "The Old Icelandic *Lygisögur*." By Dr. A. LeRoy Andrews, of Cornell University.

[Different types of Icelandic sagas.—Their interrelation.—Intersecting lines of written and oral development.—Fundamental position of *fornaldarsaga*, and relation of *lygisaga* thereto.—Meaning of *lygisaga* in Icelandic usage and as a present *terminus technicus*.—Three types of *lygisaga*.—Influence of foreign romance.—Materials for the study of *lygisögur*.—Unpublished texts.—Icelandic *rímur*.—Faroic and other Scandinavian popular ballads.—*Twenty minutes*.]

23. "*The Winter's Tale*, Greene's *Pandosto*, and the Greek Romances." By Mr. Samuel Lee Wolff, of Columbia University. [To appear as part of a volume entitled *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* (Columbia University Press).]

[Robert Greene's *Pandosto* (*Dorastus and Fawnia*), 1588, long known to be the source of *The Winter's Tale*, draws largely upon the Greek Romances. Among these are the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus and the *Daphnis and Chloe*, of which the English version by Angel Day (1587) was Greene's immediate source. Shakspeare uses Greene's borrowings from the *Æthiopica* and from *Daphnis and Chloe*, with interesting changes. He may have taken from Day's version several details of Perdita's exposure, pastoral life, and

recovery. One detail he could not have found in Greene. In all probability he got it directly from Day.—*Twenty minutes.*]

24. "The Place and Function of a Standard in a Genetic Theory of Literary Development." By Professor J. Preston Hoskins, of Princeton University. [See *Publications*, xxv, 3.]

[Brief review of the chief factors in the genetic theory.—A literary standard something real existing in the consciousness of the ego's composing society.—Relation of form and content.—Variable character of any standard of form.—No necessary development from a lower to a higher in such a standard.—The function of a literary standard.—*Twenty minutes.*]

25. "Classical Tradition in medieval Irish Literature." By Dr. Edward Godfrey Cox, of Cornell University.

[Despite the wide acquaintance possessed by the medieval Irish with classical literature and traditions, their narrative methods, subject-matter, and spirit remained comparatively unaffected. Rather, the balance of influence inclines the other way. The causes lie perhaps in the stability of the Irish style of narrative, in the recognized position of the bardic profession, and in the lenient attitude adopted by the clerics towards the myths and tales of their countrymen.—*A ten-minute abstract.*]

The Association adjourned at 4.35 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only:

26. "German as an Official Language in America." By Professor Albert Bernhardt Faust, of Cornell University.

[The question how far attempts were made to make German an official language in various localities in the United States.—The action of Pennsylvania legislatures in regard to the German lan-

guage.—Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg was never called upon to cast a deciding vote on the question of German as the official language of the state of Pennsylvania.—From an examination of the records (through the kindness of Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, State Librarian, Harrisburg), of the Minutes of the Council of Censors, the Journal of the First and Third Congresses, and the Minutes of the Pennsylvania Assembly, it appears that the whole story of the close vote on the German language and the traitorship of Mühlenberg (in regard to the German language), advanced recently by the *Tägliche Rundschau*, is a myth.]

27. "Addison and Gray as Travelers." By Professor Clark S. Northup, of Cornell University.

[A comparative study of Addison's records of travel in France and Italy in 1701-03 and Gray's letters and journals of travel in France and Italy in 1739-41 and in the north of England at various times, for the purpose of determining (1) how their observations throw light upon their character and temperament, and (2) how significant these documents are for the history of English Romanticism, especially in regard to the attitude toward nature.]

28. "The Date of Chaucer's *Medea*." By Professor Robert K. Root, of Princeton University. [See *Publications*, xxv, 2.]

[A restatement of the theory that Chaucer's *Legend of Medea* was written later than the *Man of Law's Prologue*, with an attempt to show that the objections to this theory advanced by Professor G. L. Kittredge in the *Publications* of this Association for June, 1909, are not valid.]

29. "Berceo Inedited." By Professor John Driscoll Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois. [See *The Romanic Review*, i, 2.]

[Gonzalo de Berceo, the first Castilian poet whose name we know, flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. The first complete edition of his works appeared toward the end of the eighteenth century. What became of them during the intervening five hundred years? The present paper offers a partial answer to this question by showing that during the century and a half immediately preceding the complete edition of his works, Berceo was known, cited, and appreciated by a long series of distinguished theologians and linguists.]

30. "A *Patraña* of Timoneda's in Folklore and Fiction." By Professor Rudolph Schevill, of Yale University.

[Folklore as a basis necessary in the study of certain types of fiction, such as the tale gleaned out of oral tradition.—The fourteenth *patraña* and the origin of related riddle questions.—Their occurrence in Spanish together with various forms of *enigmas* and *preguntas*.]

31. "A Brief Study of the Neapolitan Dialect." By Dr. Herbert H. Vaughan, of Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [See *The Romanic Review*, I, 2.]

[The dialect of Naples has retained the quantitative accent of the Latin. This accounts for most of the differences which exist between it and Tuscan. The retention of quantity and slight even stress was favorable to metathesis of consonants and to umlaut. We have a general weakening of consonants, but few contract forms, since, there being no strongly stressed syllables, no syllables were slighted.]

32. "An Instance of Secondary Ablaut in the English Weak Verb." By Professor James Finch Royster, of the University of North Carolina. [See *Studies in Philology*, v, pp. 9-14 (May, 1910).]

[About twenty-five weak verbs in modern English show the vowel-gradation: *i* (*ee, ea*): *ē*. This has not been, so far as I know, recognized as an instance of ablaut. It has, of course, no foundation in the original I. E. ablaut-system; it is, however, a 'secondary ablaut,'—a definitely established relation between certain vowel sounds. The origin of this 'secondary ablaut' is easily traced: in the shortening of the vowel of the preterite before two consonants in Middle English. The fact that *ē:ē* in Middle English was a conscious model is shown by the history of the strong verbs that went over from the strong to the weak conjugation before the fifteenth century.]

33. "Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* in the Light of Some Other Versions." By Dr. Harry Morgan Ayres, of Columbia University. [See *Publications*, XXV, 2.]

[Shakespeare's treatment of the character of Julius Cæsar diverges from Plutarch notably in the emphasis laid on certain unheroic human weaknesses and in the pompous grandiosity of Cæsar's language and manner. The first is obviously due to Shakespeare's conception of the action of the play as a whole. An attempt is made to account for Cæsar's pomposity on grounds of literary tradition: first, the classical doctrine of *ate* and second, somewhat

more in detail, dramatic convention in the treatment of the character, appearing first in Muret's imitations of Seneca's *Hercules* and handed down in the plays of Grévin, Garnier, Pescetti, Sir William Alexander, and in the anonymous Marlowesque *Cæsar and Pompey*.]

34. "On the Adjectives of Wolfram von Eschenbach." By Professor G. C. L. Riemer, of Bucknell University.

[A study of the relation of Wolfram's adjectives, as means of characterization, to the substantives modified by them. The substantives are divided into groups like "man," "woman," "animals," "collectives," "parts of the body," "trees, plants, flowers," "weapons," "abstract nouns," etc.; the adjectives are treated as constant or poetic and non-constant or necessary, as the case may be. Wolfram's usage is compared, as far as possible, with that in *Beowulf* and in Gottfried's *Tristan*; and that which is especially peculiar to Wolfram is thereby partially brought to light.]

35. "Sources of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*." By Professor Stanley L. Galpin, of Amherst College. [See *Publications*, xxv, 2.]

[Hultman's excellent monograph on Guillaume de Deguileville (Upsala, 1902) does not adequately take into account the influence of Latin vision literature. In this paper is studied the relation of the Latin visions of the middle ages to Guillaume's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.]

36. "The Origin of Mediæval Plays concerning the Passion." By Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xxv, 2.]

[The *Planctus Mariæ* account for only part of the phenomena connected with the origin of the Passion Play. The liturgical *passiones* of Holy Week considered as sources. Elucidation of the ceremonial attached to the *passiones*, and of the *litteræ in superscriptione*. The *Depositio Crucis* as a source of the Passion Play.]

37. "Some Italian Parallels to the Locution *The Sick Man of the East*." By Mr. Albert Arthur Livingston, of Columbia University. [See *Publications*, xxv, 3.]

[1. The Seymour-Nicholas anecdote. 2. Venetian dialect analogues from the end of the seventeenth century. 3. The relation of the figures to simple personification;—hence applications also to

other states: Venice, Candia, North Italian principalities; and to the "povero mondo" generally. 4. A special aspect of the theme dating from the sixteenth century. 5. The dropsy of Spain and the dyspepsia of Napoleon.]

38. "Sources of Charles Sealsfield." By Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University. [See *German-American Annals*, N. S., VIII, 2.]

[An investigation made by the author conjointly with his wife.—The provenience of *George Howard*, etc., is traced chapter for chapter. Semi-obscure magazines and newspapers supplied the raw material for the novel.—The story of *Christophorus Bärenhäuter* and a certain portion of the *Cabin Book* prove to be mere translations of contemporary sketches in English.]

39 "The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon." By Professor Morgan Callaway, Jr., of the University of Texas.

[The paper will summarize the more noteworthy conclusions arrived at in a detailed study of the history of the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon. The chief topics will be: the Interchange between the Uninflected and the Inflected Infinitive; the Differentiation of the Uses of the Infinitive in Poetry and in Prose; the Origin of the Various Uses of the Infinitive, Active and Passive; and Some Substitutes for the Infinitive.]

40. "*Dolce Stil Nuovo*; the Case of the Opposition." By Dr. A. G. H. Spiers, of Haverford College. [See *Publications*, XXV, 4.]

[The traditional view of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*.—Recent attacks on this.—Auxiliary considerations of importance that have been brought out by the opposition.—The overthrow of statements dear to exponents of the traditional view.—The opposition has broadened our understanding of the rise, characteristics, and intention of the *Dolce stil nuovo*.—The critic of the future can hardly insist on a few details as characteristic of this school.—Yet in the aggregate it must still be considered as a literary movement unique, distinctive, and local, the product of peculiar environment ministering to the genius of real poets.]

41. "Schiller's Use of Loose and Periodic Sentences in his Historical Works." By Professor W. A. Chamberlin, of Denison University.

[A contribution, by analysis of sentence-structure, to the study of Schiller's prose style.—A classification of his loose and periodic

sentences according to form and content.—The prevailing types, and the kind of discourse in which they predominate.—A comparison between later and earlier works, showing the development of Schiller's usage.]

42. "Quantity and Accent in German Poetry: The Views of Opitz and of Spe." By Dr. F. W. C. Lieder, of Harvard University.

[In Martin Opitz's *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and in Friedrich Spe's introduction to the *Trutz Nachtigal* (ms. date 1634) are found statements emphasizing the importance of the principle of accent in German verse as opposed to the old classical principle of quantity. Although Opitz published his theory ten years before Spe wrote down his, the view prevails that Spe arrived at his conclusions independently of Opitz. Of the many supporters of this view, only a few advance any reason for their opinion; these reasons are all subject to a reasonable doubt. It is not improbable that Spe had opportunities of learning about Opitz's theory. At all events, the conclusion that Spe worked independently of Opitz has not been definitely established.]

43. "The Plays of Edward Sharpham." Professor Martin W. Sampson, of Cornell University. [See the *J. M. Hart Memorial Volume* (Holt, 1910).]

[*The Fleire* bears the author's name on the 1607 title page; *Cupids Whirligig* has the initials "E. S." at the end of the dedication of the 1607 edition.—Attribution of the latter play to Sharpham by S. Jones (*Biog. Dram.* 1812).—Internal evidence makes Sharpham's authorship probable.—Analysis of both plays.—A passage in *The Fleire* possibly helping to narrow the limits of the date of *King Lear*.]

THE CENTRAL DIVISION MEETING.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, December 28, 29, and 30, 1909.

Professor Arthur Graves Canfield, Chairman of the Division, presided at all the sessions except at the first part of the opening session, when Professor William Herbert Carruth presided. Chairman Canfield's arrival had been delayed by heavy storms.

FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2 p. m.

The first session was opened by an address of welcome by President George Edwin McLean, of the State University of Iowa.

The Chairman announced the following committees:

(1) To nominate officers: Professors T. A. Jenkins, E. P. Morton, M. B. Evans, J. W. Beach, W. H. Chenery.

(2) To recommend a place for the next annual meeting: Professors W. H. Carruth, E. P. Baillot, S. H. Bush, H. B. Lathrop, N. C. Brooks.

Reading and discussion of papers:

1. "Hawthorne's *Immitigable*." By Professor John Phelps Fruit, of William Jewell College.

[The reiterated *immitigable* is the key to the informing sense of Hawthorne's thought. It comes mainly from his early interest

in Rousseau, *The Newgate Calendar*, and Bunyan. To Bunyan is due his bent to allegory, whence issued his prose form of literary art, the Romance.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

2. "A Detail in the Legend of Ogier le Danois." By Dr. Barry Cerf, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *The Romanic Review*, I, 1.]

[The relation of Ogier to the Abbey of Meaux has been studied in Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, II, pp. 281 ff. In this paper the effort was made to find the origin of Ogier's connection with the Abbey of Meaux in the confusion of the epic hero with a certain Rogier, the story of whose conversion is published in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, saec. II, pars I, p. 627 (Venice edition).—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor H. A. Smith.

3. "Fischart and the Volkslied." By Dr. Charles Allyn Williams, of the University of Illinois.

[A brief outline of Fischart's interest in secular song; the extent to which he made use of it in quotations and allusions in his works.—*Ten minutes.*]

4. "George Meredith as the Comic Muse." By Professor Joseph Warren Beach, of the University of Minnesota.

[An essay to define Meredith's conception of comedy and to illustrate it from his own novels.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor H. B. Lathrop.

Tuesday afternoon, from four to five, tea was served to the members of the Central Division and their friends at the rooms of the Triangle Club.

SECOND SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 8 p. m.

Address of the Chairman of the Central Division, Professor Arthur Graves Canfield, of the University of Michigan, on "Coeducation and Literature."

Immediately after this address President and Mrs. MacLean received the members of the Central Division and their guests at the President's House.

THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 9.30 a. m.

Reading and discussion of papers:

5. "The Future Place and Scope of Modern Language Instruction in our Technical Schools." By Professor Herman Babson, of Purdue University.

[Present lack of conformity in technical schools regarding the amount and purpose of language instruction incites criticism of its efficacy both from a practical and a cultural view-point. More outspoken emphasis, by teachers of technical branches, on the value of modern languages, more time for higher grade work, and livelier enthusiasm in teaching will aid in obviating existing faults.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors J. T. Hatfield, L. Fossler, S. W. Cutting, H. A. Smith, D. H. Carnahan, A. B. Noble, C. B. Wilson, Miss Igerna M. Getz, and the author.

After the discussion, on motion of Professor J. T. Hatfield, the following resolution was adopted: *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that there is need of a comprehensive adjustment of the teaching of modern languages in technical schools and technical departments of other institutions.

6. "The Novel in the French Literature of Louisiana." By Mr. Edward J. Fortier, of the University of Illinois.

[The beginnings of the novel. A study of the French influence upon it. The histories of Louisiana and the part they played in the development of the novel. Local color and influence of the *milieu*. The great epoch from 1830 to 1850 and the reasons for it.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

7. "The Pathetic as a Dramatic Element." By Professor Stephen Hayes Bush, of the State University of Iowa.

[An attempt to find a definition of the pathetic, particularly as opposed to the strictly tragic, and a summary consideration of its dramatic force.—*Ten minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors J. W. Beach, J. T. Hatfield, H. A. Smith, and Miss J. Carpenter.

8. "Notes upon the Various Impressions of the Faust Fragment of 1790." By Professor James Taft Hatfield, of the Northwestern University.

[Recent discovery of a copy of the exceedingly rare first separate edition of the Faust fragment. Comparison with the texts in Goethe's *Works* (1790), and discussion of the conclusions reacht by Seuffert, Holland, and Erich Schmidt.—*Twelve minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor S. W. Cutting and the author.

9. "Translations into English from Greek and Latin (to Boethius and Vincent of Lerins) from Caxton to Chapman: 1477-1620." By Professor Henry Burrows Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin.

[A list of the translations into English from Greek and Latin between Caxton and Chapman illustrates the practical ends with

which Greek and Latin learning was pursued. Imaginative works are mainly those famous in the Middle Ages. Biographical details as to some translators supplementary to the Dictionary of National Biography were presented.—*Twenty minutes.*]

10. "The Imagination of Heinrich von Kleist, and Some Psychological Problems Involved in his Characters." By Dr. Fred Cole Hicks, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Kleist's peculiar endowment in the way of legitimate powers had a large bearing upon the question of his personality and determined the artistic trend of his thought. In considering his attitude toward nature and toward art it must be remembered that he had something of the spirit and the creative imagination of the artist. The clearness and vividness of his fancy, far beyond his powers of execution often, were such at times as to make very existence for him a tragedy. The same psychological problems reappear in his characters, many of whom are literally dominated by an idea and find their tragic fate in their allegiance to it.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At half-past twelve on Wednesday, December 29, the members of the Central Division were entertained at luncheon at the Burkley Imperial Hotel.

FOURTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29, 2.30 p. m.

This session was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing English, Germanic, and Romance languages and literatures. Subjects of importance to the advancement of instruction were discusst.

ENGLISH.

Chairman—Professor Edward P. Morton, of Indiana University.

1. The question for discussion was: In undergraduate courses in the history of English literature, how much

attention can be given, or should be given, to the institutional, political, or historical conditions under which the literature was produced?

The discussion was opened by the chairman of the section and was continued by Professors H. B. Lathrop, G. E. MacLean, J. W. Beach, J. M. Clapp, F. G. Hubbard, E. M. Hopkins, J. P. Fruit, C. F. Ansley, A. B. Noble, and others.

On motion a committee of five was appointed "To ascertain and report at the next meeting of this section the conditions of English composition teaching with especial reference to the amount of written work necessarily required, the proper disposal of it, and the necessary equipment." Committee: Professors E. M. Hopkins, F. G. Hubbard, A. B. Noble, J. M. Thomas, H. G. Paul.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Chairman—Professor Laurence Fossler, of the University of Nebraska.

1. "Elementary German in our Colleges." By Professor Hermann Almstedt, of the University of Missouri.

In the absence of the author this paper was read by Professor W. H. Carruth, and it was discussed by Professors J. T. Hatfield, H. Babson, M. B. Evans, J. B. Knoepfler, S. W. Cutting, L. Fossler, Dr. Josef Wiehr, and the reader.

On motion of Professor Cutting it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the chairman of the Germanic section of the Central Division "To coöperate with a similar committee of the Romance section to con-

sider the question of revising the Report of the Committee of Twelve." Committee: Professors H. Almstedt, M. B. Evans, B. J. Vos.

2. "Modern Language Teaching in the Frankfurt Musterschule." By Professor M. Blakemore Evans, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, XI, No. 3.]

This paper was discussed by Professors L. Fossler, S. W. Cutting, W. H. Carruth, and the author.

3. "The Prussian-American Exchange of Teachers." By Professor J. A. Campbell, of the University of Kansas, American exchange teacher, 1909, at the Sachsenhauser Oberrealschule in Frankfurt am Main. [See *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik*, XI, pp. 138 ff.]

This paper was discussed by Professors H. Babson, M. B. Evans, L. Fossler, J. T. Hatfield, Dr. F. A. Braun, Dr. E. Feise.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Chairman—Professor Hugh Allison Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

1. Report of the committee on "the possibility of issuing a leaflet of general advice to graduate students in the Romance languages as to residence at American and European universities," in accordance with action taken at the meeting of the Romance section in 1908.

In the absence of the chairman, Professor H. P. Thieme, Professor F. O. Reed reported in the negative

for the committee. The matter was discust by Professors E. P. Baillot, H. Le Daum, and others. On motion of Professor A. G. Canfield, seconded by Professor D. H. Carnahan, the report was adopted and the committee was discharged.

2. "French in the Secondary Schools of the Middle West." By Professor Albert Frederick Kuersteiner, of Indiana University.

This paper was discust by Professors H. A. Smith, A. G. Canfield, E. P. Baillot, T. A. Jenkins, W. H. Chenery, H. Le Daum, and others, with special reference to their particular territories. The discussion brought out the preponderance of German over French in the Middle West.

3. "Practical Use of Phonetics in Teaching French in American Colleges and Universities." By Dr. Barry Cerf, of the University of Wisconsin.

This paper was discust by Professors F. O. Reed, A. F. Kuersteiner, S. H. Bush, H. Le Daum, E. P. Baillot, and others.

In accordance with action taken by the Germanic section a committee of three was appointed from the Romance section "To coöperate with a similar committee of the Germanic section to consider the question of revising the Report of the Committee of Twelve." Committee: Professors T. A. Jenkins, Lucy M. Gay, E. E. Brandon.

At eight o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, December 29, the gentlemen of the Central Division were entertained at the rooms of the Triangle Club. Dean William Craig Wilcox gave an informal talk.

The ladies in attendance at the meeting of the Central Division were entertained on the same evening, from eight to ten, at the home of Professor and Mrs. Charles Bundy Wilson, No. 323 North Capitol Street.

FIFTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 9.30 a. m.

The committee appointed to nominate officers presented the following nominations:

For Chairman: Laurence Fossler, University of Nebraska.

For Executive Committee: John Livingston Lowes, Washington University; Alexander R. Hohlfeld, University of Wisconsin; William Albert Nitze, University of Chicago.

These gentlemen were unanimously elected for one year. Secretary Charles Bundy Wilson, State University of Iowa, holds over, having been reëlected in 1908 for a term of four years, 1909-1912.

The committee on place of meeting reported in favor of accepting the invitation of Washington University to hold the next annual meeting of the Central Division at St. Louis. The report was unanimously adopted.

The same committee recommended that the executive committee confer with the central divisions of the Classical Association, the Philosophical Association, the Mathematical Society, and other associations in the territory holding regular annual meetings, with a view to holding the sessions at a common time and place, if possible, to be another than the Christmas holidays. This recommendation was adopted.

Professor F. G. Hubbard read the following report for the committee on the republication of early texts:

In view of the excellent photographic reproductions now being issued commercially in Europe, the Committee has not thought it advisable during the past year to attempt to stimulate reproduction or publication in America beyond giving information as to where single copies of texts could be obtained by the rotograph process. It is urged that where such single copies are obtained, they should be placed after use in university libraries, so as to be available for other students, and it is respectfully suggested that university libraries might well assist graduate students in the acquisition of rotographs of texts needed for research, on condition that the reproductions became ultimately the property of the library assisting in the purchase. Information as to where rotographs of texts in European libraries may be obtained will be gladly afforded, for the Continent by Professor H. A. Todd, Columbia University, for Great Britain and Ireland, by the Chairman of the Committee.

The A. L. A. Publishing Board issued in March last the first set of index cards for photographic reprints of modern language texts before 1660 contained in American college libraries—eighty-six titles, two cards each, at a total cost of \$2.58. Cards for recent additions are being prepared, and in view of the slight expense involved, it is hoped that the list of subscribing libraries may be increased. The present subscribers are: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Brown, California, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Leland Stanford, McGill, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Northwestern, Oberlin, Texas, Tufts, Vassar, Wesleyan, Western Reserve, Wisconsin, Yale, Academy of the New Church Library, Bryn Athyn, Pa.

J. W. CUNLIFFE, *Chairman*.
C. M. GAYLEY,
G. L. KITTEDGE,
JOHN M. MANLY,
H. A. TODD.

December, 1909.

On motion of Professor H. A. Smith the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

It is resolved by the Central Division of the Modern Language

Association of America at its fifteenth annual meeting that a vote of sincere thanks be offered to President McLean and the other officers of the State University of Iowa for the use of their buildings and for the numerous other delightful courtesies extended, and to the local committee and the members of the faculty who have by their charming hospitality set a high water mark in the entertainment of the Association; and that the secretary of the Central Division be requested to furnish a copy of this resolution to President McLean and to the chairman of the local committee.

Reading and discussion of papers:

11. "The Historical Basis of the Linguistic and Dialectal Divisions of the Spanish Peninsula." By Professor Winthrop Holt Chenery, of Washington University.

[This paper attempted to set forth some interesting facts concerning the peculiarities of speech in the Spanish Peninsula and to establish their historical basis.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

12. "Margaret Fuller, a Pupil of Goethe." By Dr. Frederick August Braun, of the State University of Iowa. [See Chapter II of *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, by Frederick A. Brown (Holt, 1910).]

[A brief discussion concerning the debt Margaret Fuller owed to Goethe for the development of her remarkable personality and power, including a few testimonies with reference to her place in the creative period of American literature and her important relation to Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, and W. H. Channing.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

13. "Chronology and Metrical Tests." By Professor Edward P. Morton, of Indiana University.

[Metrical tests have proved so useful in supplementing other indications of the dates of Shakespeare's plays, that it is interesting to see how far purely metrical data help us to find the order of composition for the poems of Milton, Keats, Browning, Tennyson, and others. The metrical data for these poets, whose chronology is known in detail from other sources, show that in most cases the metrical details do correspond to the order of composition, but that

each poet is a special case, unlike the rest in some important respect. The validity of the tests for Shakespeare, therefore, is not affected by the success or failure of their application to the work of other men.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Miss J. Carpenter and the author.

14. "Fatalism as a Characteristic Feature in Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's Works." By Dr. Ernst Feise, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Euphorion*, xvii, No. 1, pp. 111-43.]

[This paper attempted to show Meyer's attitude toward fatalism as it appears both in his life and in his works. Certain essential motives of fatalism recur constantly, especially the negation of the freedom of the will. His characters are colored by his own beliefs, in that all have fatalistic tendencies. Meyer's conception of fatalism is reflected in the form in which his works are cast, form and contents reinforcing each other. Finally the genesis and development of the idea of fatalism were pointed out in his narratives.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Dr. F. Bruns.

15. "The Symbolism of the Don Quixote Romance." By Professor Ralph Emerson Bassett, of the University of Kansas.

[An inquiry into the most plausible theory for explaining the significance of the narrative free from cryptographic subtleties. The sense of incompleteness left by the author's avowed purpose. Can this alone, or chiefly, account for a world classic of the highest order? The work considered as a national mirror in which general conditions of the author's time are reflected.—*Twenty minutes.*]

16. "Ibsen's Symbolism as Illustrated in *Master Builder* and *When We Dead Awake*." By Professor Paul H. Grumann, of the University of Nebraska. In the absence of the author this paper was read by Professor J. T. Hatfield.

[A study of Ibsen's characters with reference to his impressionistic tendencies. Particular attention was paid to *Hilda Wangel* and *Irene*. Incidental references to *Hedda Gabler* and *The Vikings*.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

17. "Shakespeare's Laugh." By Professor Harvey Carson Grumbine, of the University of Wooster. [See *Proceedings of the Ohio College Association* for 1909-10.]

[Of Shakespeare's forty-five, or fifty, fun-makers, three stand out as the first among professional wits, or clowns; three, as foremost among the non-professional wits; three, or four, as chief among the elementary humorous. Of Shakespeare's devices of mirth-making,—punning and volatility, the latter comprising euphuism, stichomythia, malapropism, affectation of accomplishment in the foreign languages, conundrums, scraps from popular ballads, airy philosophy, sheer nonsense,—some are common to all. The clowns are tickle-brains mainly, having little or no characterization. The non-professional wits are that and more, each having a distinctive character. The elementary humorous, being witless, tickle no brains, but diaphragms only. He laughs with the wits; and at the witless, though without scorn. His laugh has mercy for all and malice for none.—*Twenty minutes.*]

18. "Die Mennoniten von Kansas." By Professor Heinrich Otto Kruse, of the University of Kansas. [The substance of this paper appeared in *Der Herold* of Newton, Kas., in January, 1910.]

[Differences among Mennonites in racial characteristics, language, customs, and doctrines due to differences in origin, enforced migration, and deprivation of educated leaders. Migration to Kansas by congregations tended to preserve differences, but assimilation resulted from conferences, schools, intermarriages, and proximity to other Mennonites and Non-Mennonites. Assimilation most rapid in mixed congregations, where dialects slowly give way to High German and English.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor W. H. Carruth.

The Central Division adjourned at 12.45 p. m.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The following papers, presented to the Central Division, were read by title only:

19. "Some Traces in Klopstock's Poetry of Richard Glover's Allusion to the 'Marble Form' in his *Leonidas*." By Professor Fletcher Briggs, of the Iowa State College.

[Klopstock's sentimental nature made a marked response to the simile in *Leonidas* (ed. 1737, Bk. vi, 143-149), which characterizes a grieving lover. In the disappointment of his own youthful love, Klopstock wrote to a friend, comparing his experience to that of Glover's lovers, one of whom the latter poet compares to the "marble form"; and in another letter Klopstock asserts of himself: "Dass ich mir wie das marmorne Bild vorkomme." He also uses the simile in the *Messias* and in several minor poems which belong to different stages of his development. The borrowed image, which is used each time with a peculiar significance like that in *Leonidas*, becomes for Klopstock a set poetic device.]

20. "German Hymns in the Church Service before the Reformation." By Professor Neil C. Brooks, of the University of Illinois. [See *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1910.]

[It is known that, contrary to earlier opinions, German hymns were occasionally used in the church service before the Reformation. The extent of this usage, however, and the details regarding it are not well known. This paper gives a considerable number of specific cases found in liturgical manuscripts. The cases extend from the middle of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and are chiefly from the Easter ritual. The hymns mentioned by name are *Ohrist ist erstanden*, *Also heilig ist dieser Tag*, and *Es freuen sich billig*.]

21. "Platonism in Spenser." By Dr. Philo Melvyn Buck, Jr., of the William McKinley High School, St. Louis.

[The object of the paper is to examine the writings of the Italian Platonists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and especially Bembo and Castiglione, and to trace their influence upon Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and four *Hymns*. A side reference will be made to the writings of Sidney and other Elizabethan writers.]

22. "The *Diablerie* in the Old French Mysteries." By Professor David Hobart Carnahan, of the University of Illinois. [See *The Romanic Review*, I, 149.]

[A comparison of the French "diablerie" with the German "Teufelszene," and with the rôle of the Devil in the English miracle plays. The composition and language of the "diablerie" is studied, its chronological development, function, and nature. The "Teufelszene" lacks the development of the "diablerie," is more serious in nature, and different in function. The rôle of the Devil in the miracle plays is of less comparative importance. A chronological development may be traced in the "diableries," and a logical sequence found in their arrangement within the mystery.]

23. "The Masque in Shakspeare's Plays." By Professor John William Cunliffe, of the University of Wisconsin.

[This paper endeavors to show that while the term "masque" is used very loosely by Shakspearean critics, Shakspeare himself uses it only in the strict sense defined by modern students of this form of court entertainment. It is suggested that for the sake of clearness the exacter usage should be followed in the criticism of Shakspeare's plays.]

24. "The Noun Stems in the Thidhrekssaga, Mb³." By Professor George Tobias Flom, of the University of Illinois. [See *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, IX, 1.]

[The paper is a contribution to the study of the language of this very interesting Old Norwegian monument from the close of the thirteenth century.]

25. "The Development of the Department of News in the *Tatler*." By Professor Chester Noyes Greenough, of the University of Illinois.

[The cause assigned by Macaulay, Forster, and others, for the discontinuance of news in Steele's *Tatler* is Steele's loss of the gazatteership. But this occurred some months after news had virtually ceased to appear in the *Tatler*. It seems fairly clear that news dropped out of the *Tatler* because (1) Addison, whose influence was on the increase, had from the first cared little or nothing for it; (2) the plan of having several departments gave place to the plan of having a single essay; (3) editorial comment on news superseded the chronicling of events; (4) advertisements, which rapidly increased, proved more profitable than news.]

26. "Writings by Charles Sealsfield, Recently Discovered and Recovered." By Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University.

[The paper will discuss, as the title indicates, some writings of Sealsfield that have recently been unearthed. These works must be

taken into account in any attempt to form a final opinion of Sealsfield's position in literature.]

27. "The *Contens dou Monde*, by Renaud d'Andon (13th century)." By Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

[Attention was called to this unpublished poem by Ch. V. Langlois (*La Vie en France au Moyen-Age*, 1908). The title appears to mean, The World's Law-suit, or The World on Trial. It is an unusually pungent satire on lawyers and on women, closing with the devout supplications usual in the *dits* of the period. There are ninety-three quatrains of monorimed alexandrines. Judging from the language, the poem belongs in the last third of the thirteenth century. The author is otherwise unknown; *Andon* appears to be *Andonville*, in the Gatinais, not far from Pithiviers.]

28. "The Need of a Critical Edition of Sedaine's *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*." By Professor Thomas Edward Oliver, of the University of Illinois.

[Existing editions, including so-called critical editions, show such wide variation that a truly careful and critical text seems needed. The claim of the two editions of Georges d'Heylli (1877 and 1880) to have faithfully used Sedaine's manuscript is shaken by comparing each with the other and also with the manuscript. The interference of the censor has also greatly complicated the problem. As the play represents the highest development of the *tragédie bourgeoise* in the eighteenth century in France, it seems highly desirable to undertake an accurate and definite text based upon the original manuscript with the variants of the earlier editions. The writer is engaged upon such an edition.—A fifteen-minute summary.]

29. "The Philosophy of Juan Valera." By Mr. Arthur Leslie Owen, of the University of Illinois.

[A consideration of the novels of Valera leads to the conclusion that his philosophy is a compound of mysticism and materialism, in which the latter predominates in spite of his inherited and acquired mystical tendencies.]

30. "The Irpino Dialect." By Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of the Northwestern University.

[1. Topographic discussion. 2. Phonology. 3. Specimens.]

31. "Giosuè Carducci." By Dr. Attilio Filippo Sbedico, of the University of Illinois.

[A brief account of the life of Carducci. Carducci considered as politician and writer. Was Carducci a political turncoat? Carducci's ideal. His work and influence. The return to classicism.]

32. "The *That*-Clause in the Authorized Version of the Bible." By Professor Hubert Gibson Shearin, of the Transylvania University. [See *Transylvania Studies in English*, I (Lexington, Ky.), 1910.]

[Every example, with noteworthy parallels from other translations, is collected and arranged under the usual syntactical groups. Items of peculiar interest are perhaps: prolepsis—coalescence of clauses—the evolution of the "would God that" exclamatory idiom—absolute clauses—the omission of *that*—*that* as a compound relative of person—*he who*, *those who*—*but*—*that* clauses—*that* as an equivalent of *because*, *if*, *except when*, and *lest*, in the second of two adverbial clauses of like function.]

33. "Der guot frum Lutherisch pfaffen narr, 1521." By Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin. [See *Publications*, xxv, 3.]

[Panzer remarks concerning this pamphlet: "It is directed against the nobility for annexing ecclesiastical estates." On the contrary, it advises the nobility to annex ecclesiastical estates as belonging to them, since they had been established by their forefathers. "The monks," remarks the author, "have turned merchants, dishonorable salesmen of mercy, and their unjustly acquired riches should be taken from them, and the good and honorable merchants should be left undisturbed." He further advises the monks to become pious hermits, and like St. John, live in the desert, leaving their cloisters to the impoverished knights.]

34. "Luther's *Eyn sermon von der zerstoerung Jerusalem*." By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa.

[The paper will attempt to show that this sermon, which is contained in a booklet (probably printed in 1525), in possession of the writer, is important in correcting certain dates.]

35. "Die Denkart Goethes und Kants,—ein Vergleich." By Mr. Richard Wischkaemper, of the University of Minnesota.

[Die Untersuchung will nachweisen, wie Goethe und Kant von verschiedenen Ausgangspunkten wesentlich denselben Gedankengang gehen und wesentlich zu derselben Weltanschauung gelangen. Goethes naturwissenschaftliche sowie Kants kritische Schriften kommen hierbei hauptsächlich in Betracht.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, IN ITHACA, N. Y.,
AT THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEET-
ING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BY M. D. LEARNED.

LINGUISTIC STUDY AND LITERARY CREATION.

Language and Literature, which,—to borrow from an old figure,—is language thinking or feeling, must ever be the greatest factor in civilization and the true index of a nation's culture. The teachers of languages are the real builders of the thinking nation. The building process begins with the vernacular and culminates in the appropriation and assimilation of the thought of other peoples and other times in the creation of a national literature. The study of the vernacular and of foreign tongues is *one undivided* process in the evolution of the highest forms of national life and cannot be separated in any adequate system of national education. The question of linguistic study is the most important subject before the American educator of to-day, and the strong competition between the technical sciences and liberal arts in our college curricula is rapidly approaching a crisis much more serious than that of a quarter of a century ago between the modern and ancient languages in the German Realschulen and Gymnasien. The demand of the technicals with us threatens to eliminate all serious study of language, even of English, to make room for the encroaching technical

courses. The same spirit in reality prevails in our professional schools, the lawyer clamors for more law, the physician for more medicine, while the liberal arts are passed by as unnecessary and—what is to the technical mind far worse—*unprofitable*—all signs not the most promising for a great national culture or for a creative national literature.

It is a vital question for us as teachers of modern languages, whether our national greatness shall go up in airships and build castles in the air to last for a day or record its life in imperishable forms of literature and art and take its part in this struggle between the material and the cultural forces in our intellectual life.

America has kept in close touch with each step in the advance of linguistic science in England and on the continent of Europe and has ventured into new and unexplored fields of linguistic inquiry. Our greatest efforts have been directed to pedagogical reform and the traditional methods of German research. It was natural that the spirit of the young grammarians should dominate our activities in both of these fields. Modern language instruction was reorganized in secondary schools and colleges and placed upon a sounder phonetic basis. New text-books were constructed to meet the new requirements and new texts edited for schools and colleges. On the other hand the Young Grammarian spirit of inquiry led to new researches in the various fields of philology, in phonetics and dialects as well as in the history of literature, and stimulated the teacher to the habit and to the fashion of producing "something new." Thus a new standard of qualifications was established. It was no longer enough that the teacher be a native German or Frenchman, but he must have a knowledge of English

as well, and be more than a shoemaker or a tailor with a foreign accent, he must have academic training and be able to carry on scientific research. This is an epochal advance for a single generation.

But it must be admitted, in the face of these improvements in methods of teaching and successes in research, that our efforts have so far been confined for the greater part to what we may call the traditional *craft* of the philologist rather than directed toward the higher work of *creation*, that greatest problem of American civilization, the building of a national literature.

The history of literature shows that the highest aim of linguistic study is to unlock the treasure houses of the thought and life of other peoples and appropriate the spirit, content, and form of other cultures in the creation of a new national literature, to open to the poet the great world of art of which he is a part and product, to emancipate the imagination from the narrow confines of native environment and quicken the national culture by the touch with the universal.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the product not of Athens or Sparta but of that earlier greater Greece which was not confined to ancient Hellas but extended its horizon into Asia Minor and toward the vast expanse of oriental culture, an anticipation of that greater Greece which was to reach out into the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, to the coasts of Italy and the Pillars of Hercules. What were Homer without Phrygia and Phœnicia! The Pan-Grecian character of the *Iliad* with its wealth of dialectal forms bespeaks the universally national in the larger colonial spirit of that time.

The great literary revivals of Western Europe began with the study of foreign tongues as the media of new

cultures. It was the study of Greek which gave to Roman literature its models and its rules of literary construction. The Greek colonist brought with him to the shores of Magna Grecia the life-giving culture of Hellas and Hellenized Asia Minor and Alexandria, out of which the schoolmaster of Tarentum, Titus Livius Andronicus, translated the *Odyssey* into the old Saturnian verse in order to win the interest of his public, and from which he translated and adapted his plays, establishing a tradition for the study of Greek, which was still fresh in the schooldays of Cicero and Horace. Ennius, the father of the Latin epic, knew Latin, Oscan, and Greek and borrowed much from the Greeks of Italy and Sicily. Even in the time of Lucullus and Cicero the Roman nobles wrote history in Greek. Horace studied the Alexandrians and Ovid drew freely from the Greek masters. Plautus drew his chief plays from the New Comedy of the Greeks, Terence is said to have translated ninety Greek plays, and even old Cato condescended to learn Greek in his advanced years.

The Hellenized culture and literature of Rome, even in the epoch of Rome's humiliation, extended its sway over the victor and Latin reigned for a thousand years as the dominant speech of western Europe. In the tenth century it was the revival of the study of the Latin poets which gave birth to Ekkehard's epic *Waltharius* *manu-fortis* in the monastery of St. Gall, to the dramas of Hroswitha, the Nun of Gandersheim, and later to the *Hruodlieb*, the first German novel, and to the *Ecbasis Captivi*, the first of the German animal epics—all significant steps toward a national German literature.

After the decline of Greek and Latin literature in Italy and Sicily, it was the foreign idiom of the Pro-

vence and Provençal minstrelsy which awakened Sicilian poetry into new life and brought forth the Sicilian school of poets under the patronage of the German Emperors. In like manner the *langue d'Oc* and the *langue d'Oïl* brought the poetry of Provence and the north of France to the banks of the Rhine and the Danube and gave to Germany its golden epoch of the epic and the minnesong. Meanwhile the antique had but slumbered in Italy during the unfriendly reign of ecclesiastical dogma and monastic austerity. In the monastery the monk had kept alive his love for classic poetry and philosophy with their nearness to the heart of nature and of man. A new fresh interest in nature and life finds expression in Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Divina Commedia*, in Petrarch's *Rime* with the Odes to Laura; Boccaccio's *Amorosa Fiametta* and *Decamerone*—a revival which in the case of Boccaccio was closely akin to the spirit of the antique Greek of which he was an ardent student.

It was this early Italian renaissance, this new spring-time of the antique revival, that kindled in our Chaucer his love of nature and his sense of form during his three visits to Italy,—the first of them in the lifetime of Petrarch and Boccaccio,—and sent back to England the scions which bore the golden fruit of the *Canterbury Tales*.

In the wake of this return to nature and revival of the Greek *naïveté*, the old Greek masters themselves were brought by Greek refugees even before the fall of Constantinople to "Italy and the Lavinian shores." Gemisthos Plethon (1355-1450) promulgated new revolutionary doctrines of social reform. Cardinal Besarion (1403-1472) expounded Platonic philosophy and revived the Platonic Academy, which served as the model for the learned academies of Italy and the western world.

Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355-1415), the diplomatic schemer and preceptor of Leonardo Bruni, taught Greek in Florence, Vienna and Rome, translated Plato's works into Latin and prepared the way for his fellow-countrymen of Hellas: Demetrius Chalcondyles (1421-1511) taken by Charles VIII to France; Janus Laskaris (1445-1535), and Markus Musurus (c. 1470-1515), both active in Italy, who after the fall of Constantinople were to inaugurate a new epoch of Greek study in Western Europe and quicken that love of Greek learning, which in the epoch of humanism and renaissance was to emancipate Europe from the bonds of medievalism.

The appearance of Spanish influence in France during the great reckless reign of François I led to the study of Spanish and the translation of Spanish literature, especially the *Amadis of Gaul*, at the instance of the French King, who had read this literature during his captivity in Madrid. It was not long till the Spanish novel in its picaresque type was making epoch in Germany, inaugurating the first important period of the German novel.

The revival of Greek and Latin study in Italy had been followed by a literary awakening in all the countries of Western Europe. The Pleiade in France culminated in the golden age of French literature in the reign of Louis XIV in the works of the classical school—Molière, Racine, and the Corneilles. The study of the antique poetry became a necessity for the school of Ronsard. The language, form, and content of the odes of Pindar and Horace, the elegies of Tibullus, the erotics and bacchantics of Anacreon, the *Pluto* of Aristophanes, Virgil's story of Troy as reviewed in the *Franciade*, the odes of Petrarch, the dramas of Terence and Seneca as recast by Jodelle—all united in giving a new creative im-

petus to the poetry of France in the early sixteenth century. The Italian language furnished the fruitful drama, the *Commedia dell'arte*, which found great vogue on the cisalpine stage both in France and Germany. It was from Italy and the speech of Italy that the idyllic pastoral, that fruitful development of the poetry of Theocritus in the period of the renaissance, came forth in new vigor in Tasso's *Aminta*, Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, Montemayor's *Diana* (1560), and the French *Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé, evoking imitation of the concetti in Surrey and Wyatt and in the *Euphues* of John Lyly (1580), the pastoral romances, Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) and Spenser's *Faërie Queene* (1590), preparing English speech for that highest form of artistic expression in the plays of Shakespeare. In the seventeenth century French language and French literature gained that preëminence which, culminating in the age of Louis XIV, made French the successor of Latin as an international language.

The study of Latin and Greek furnished definite form for the new national literatures, which sprang up under the life-giving impulse of the renaissance. The great literary languages, Latin, Greek, Italian, and French awakened new literary activity in Holland, Germany and England. Opitz, like most of the great writers of Germany in the seventeenth century, made the "Grand Tour," studied the speech of neighboring lands, and took a prominent part in the efforts to create a national language and literature for the Germans, by following the models of the antique and pseudo-antique classics. The poets of the second Silesian school, particularly Lohenstein, imitated the style of the Marinistic school in Italy, which gave to German literary style that greatest of all expansive processes, the rhetorical flower of the con-

cetti, the stylistic magic underlying the master speech of Shakespeare.

The French impulse, which in its early period had influenced Opitz and later attained its fullest power in the works of Molière, Racine, and P. Corneille, became the classic ideal of Gottsched in his patriotic efforts to found a classic German drama and stage in an epoch when French was the language of the courts and men of letters alike. With the rise of German as a literary speech and the awakening of the national consciousness a new spirit entered German literature and with it a new cultural ideal. The fame of Britain's poets and thinkers brought English literature and speech into the foreground of German thought, and the political coincidence of a German King on the English throne drew the two peoples into closer cultural contact. As English plays in Shakespeare's time had reached the courts of German princes, so now a German chaplain officiated at the King's chapel in London and the literature of England began to awaken new life in German literature.

The English weeklies, English criticism, the English epic of Milton, English freethought, the English novel of Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne, the English satire of Swift; the English nature poetry of Thompson, the English drama of Otway and Lillo, the English ballad, and above all of the great Shakespeare all broke in upon the German literary consciousness with overwhelming power, and in conjunction with the closely related revolutionary doctrines of Rousseau brought forth the titanic period of German storm and stress and prepared the way for the classical period under the dominance of Goethe and Schiller. It was the study of English which gave to Lessing his penetrating insight

into the content of English literature and into the kinship of English and German culture and led him to see in Shakespeare not simply the "English Molière," as Voltaire had called him, but rather the true interpreter of human character and the master of dramatic style. Goethe, the greatest German poet, owed his early inspiration as stormer and stresser to this English impulse, and Schiller as a student had his life ambition kindled by the recital of a passage from Shakespeare.

In tracing these familiar currents of foreign speech and thought in the formative processes of European literatures we have been reviewing the antecedents of American literature. We are the heirs of all these races and languages and literary traditions—of the oriental even, of the antique literatures of Hellas, Magna Grecia, Latium, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Holland, and England, not to mention those more remote races whose culture is now breaking upon our shores with every inflowing wave of the Pacific, bringing to American civilization the greatest problems and the greatest possibilities in the history of the world.

It is time to speak without apology of an *American* literature. There are still teachers of English in our colleges and universities, who teach American literature—if they teach it at all—as an appendix of English literature, but even a superficial analysis will show that both the language and literature of America have irrevocably departed from British traditions and entered a stage of panethnic evolution which is unique in the history of nations. The languages of Europe, Asia, and Africa have crossed the ocean and taken new root in American soil. Here as nowhere else in the world the interaction of ethnic currents is evolving this ideal of a panethnic republic and

drawing into this stream of nationalization even the conservative peoples of Europe and Asia. The cultural forces which produced the national literatures of Europe have met in one unifying process in American life.

In the formative colonial period of the American nation the ethnic character was clearly impressed upon the institutions and life of the several colonies. In Virginia and Massachusetts the two opposite types of English characters—the Cavalier and the Puritan—have left persistent traces to the present time. In New York, the Dutch was early supplanted by the modified type of New England, and later fused into a cosmopolitan complex, which in the city of New York seems more alien than American. In Pennsylvania the German character and speech still predominate in many localities, while the English, Welsh, and Irish Quaker, Dissenter, and Churchman are still potent forces in the commonwealth. In Louisiana the French character has developed in contact with the German and other race elements a new French American type—the so-called Créole. In the wider West there are still ethnic colonies and speech islands fairly distinct from their more English-American neighbors. But notwithstanding these ethnic eddies in the flux and flow of our complex national American culture, the traditions of American literature have not been determined, in the first instance, by these ethnic elements in our population, but rather by the dominant currents of thought in our intellectual life. We inherited through the militant might of the Puritan Fathers and even through the silent non-resisting Quaker the traditions of Puritan England—the austerities of culture, which were best expressed in the religious and theological strife of that time. These traditions rested mainly upon the foundations of Latin and

Greek, particularly of Latin. It was but natural that the age which produced the Anglo-Latin poet Milton should consider Latin as an essential in liberal education. So we took over the English ideal of the classical school in our American colleges of the earlier type.

The revolution brought us into political and cultural sympathy with France, and we began to study French for its literature and art, while Italian was considered a desirable accomplishment in liberal education. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Payne, and Thomas Jefferson drew deep from the wells of French culture. The doctrines of Rousseau found an echo in the Declaration of Independence, and the spirit of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* is reflected in the American Constitution. America had produced a considerable German literature before the Revolution, and German found its way into the curricula of our older colleges before 1800, but French still remained to us as to the Englishman an important medium of German thought till the end of the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century is preëminently the epoch of German influence in America. The German impulse is by far the most significant of all the non-English ethnic forces in American life. It has given us a new ideal of scholarship, a new method of research, a new type of university, new forms of physical training, a new literary revival in the first great epoch of our national literature in the first half of the 19th century, a new historical method, new forms of music and art, new ideas of thrift and inventive enterprise, and new ideals in economic and social life.

It is these cultural currents of American life which have determined the method and forms of our national education, while the elective affinities of our intellectual life have given direction to the evolution of our national

literature. They account for the presence of German and French as essentials in our schools and colleges and of Italian and Spanish as desirable elements in liberal education.

The weakest point in American education to-day is the teaching of languages. The defect begins with English and continues through the whole range of ancient and modern languages from the elementary school to the university. The root of the evil lies in our general attitude of *indifference* towards the *forms* and *use* of language in America as contrasted with our attitude toward the so-called exact sciences. The necessity of exactness in mathematics, chemistry, physiology is accepted without question, and even in the classics the element of time is liberally conceded, while on the other hand the method of teaching English and modern languages is full of guesses, approximations, and inaccuracies. There is just as serious a need of precision in the pronunciation of a sound or sentence in English, French, or German, as there is of accuracy in solving a mathematic problem or performing a chemical experiment. The pity is, that there is not the same danger of losing a hand or an eye in the linguistic experiment! This indifference—let us call it *slovenness*—in speaking English pursues us into the foreign language classes. The result is that we are marked the world over as poor linguists with an insufferable Americanized accent.

What most Americans know even of English grammar and style is based upon the ancient classics. If Latin and Greek had done nothing else, they would be amply justified by the invaluable service they have rendered in teaching English. The great revivals in European literature show that the ideal aim of linguistic study has been

mastery—ability to speak and write the language, to understand the foreign literature and life. The Romans studied the Greek masters to acquire the style and technique as well as the content, and many wrote in Greek. The study of Latin during the Middle Ages had the purpose of speaking and writing the language as a medium of scholastic intercourse. In the period of the reign of French speech in the courts of Europe the ability to speak and write French was the essential accomplishment of a gentleman. In the early days of the English and American colleges, Latin was a means of intercourse within the college walls. The practice of the ages has been to study living language as media of intercourse. Even in the wooden rules of Donatus in the Middle Ages and his successors in the period of humanism the instruction was given in Latin; and the great end of all study—the mastery of the technique and content of the great masters—was the ever inspiring incentive to *command* the language. In all these ages of the past the vernacular method has been pursued. How different from this ideal of a speaking command of the foreign idiom is our method of teaching French and German to college men! The supreme aim of the fitting school is to make the shortest cut to the college, if possible without even the essentials of the grammar. The best years of the college teaching are spent in making good what the fitting school has left undone. For the study of literature, its history and construction there is no time, and any deeper study of the value of the foreign literature as the stimulus to new literary creation in America is quite out of the reach of the college. And yet these golden college years are the vital period for the formation of the literary habits of those who are to produce our national literature. The

woeful waste of time and energy in the teaching of languages in our secondary schools is robbing the nation of its literary birthright and demoralizing education into a jumble of undigested and inaccurate information in language, science, and history, which unfits for the serious work of the college and the more serious work of literary and professional life.

A crisis in the teaching of language in American schools is fast approaching. The curriculum of the college has so far encroached upon the fitting school as to put it out of efficient service, the demands of the technical subjects is fast pushing the study of the languages and liberal arts into the merest formal routine, with no idealism and no efficiency, with not so much as ability to read scientific works in French and German. Indeed there seems to be less real desire on the part of the technical men to-day than twenty years ago to read the newest results of science as soon as they appear in a foreign publication—another sign of the low ideal of our technical work.

It is time for teachers of modern languages and other humanities to cease *petitioning* and begin to *make demands* that must be heeded from the elementary school to the university. It must be understood that there are ideal educational interests even more essential to the nation's progress and life than the art of building bridges, railroads, steamboats and airships—interests that pass down into the future as the means of the nation's greatness and cultural power. The mechanics of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians are far less important for us than their creative thought and cultural life which have come down in their literature. It is the imperishable literature and art and philosophy of Greece which secured to Hellas the foremost place in the civilization of

the antique world. It is time that Americans should recognize that these ideal intellectual processes alone make possible the mechanical triumphs of a nation. The highest ideal of intellectual effort in any people is the creation of a national literature reflecting the life and times against the great background of human history—in a word, its life expressed in the forms of literary art.

The foundations of this literary art rest upon an efficient study of foreign tongues and literatures in their relations to the growth of the national language and literary creation. The aims and methods of linguistic study must be revised—nay revolutionized—before modern languages will have their full value for us as Americans. Hitherto we have been misled to accept the grammatical or utilitarian aim of modern language study in the schools, to admit that this study is but a dry, hollow, formal discipline, giving at best ability to read the foreign tongue with a dictionary. But why should the American student of German read the plays of Sudermann and Hauptmann, or even of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, or the novels of Alexis, Gutzkow, Spielhagen, Freytag, or Dahn? The labor is great and the reward not apparent. The incentive is wanting. The student thinks the subject unessential to his lifework and therefore not worth the effort.

It is necessary to awaken a new incentive for the study of modern languages, to open the eyes of the student and teacher alike to the necessity as well as the value of such study, not as a vague so-called "culture study," but as a potent formative factor in our national thought and literature. Let the student see that here he will find the processes which gave form to the great masterpieces of French and German writers, and learn to adapt the methods of the master-poets to the changed conditions of American

life and art. Let him learn how with the warp of Hartmann von Aue's *Armer Heinrich* and the woof of Goethe's *Faust* Longfellow created his *Golden Legend*, and how he might have constructed a far more effective drama had he understood more of the German dramatic technique of Goethe and Schiller. Let the American student learn what the quickening touch of German literature was to our first great literary revival in New England in the days of the Concord School and the Brook Farm, what German transcendentalism meant to Emerson and how much a more penetrating knowledge of that philosophy might have clarified and deepened the thinking of Emerson and given us perchance an American Kant. Let him learn that Edgar Allan Poe's best efforts were inspired by the spirit which animated E. T. A. Hoffmann, and how much better the poet might have wrought had the spirit and methods of his predecessors been better understood. Let him see how Goethe found his way by toilsome study and experiment to the spirit and method adopted from the antique and was able to pen his immortal elegies without sacrificing the rhythmic music of his native speech, and how the same spirit found expression in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. Let him follow the steep path by which Schiller climbed from the *Räuber* through the Greek dramatists and Kant to his *Wallenstein*, *Braut von Messina*, and *Wilhelm Tell*. Let him see how Lessing with master-hand in his most modern play, *Minna von Barnhelm*, kept close to the three unities of the antique, preserving naturalness and dramatic interest. Let him learn the meaning of the terms *naïve* and *sentimental*, *antique* and *romantic* and their significance in a modern poet like Walter Pater. Let him awake to the fact that he cannot know his own literature nor create new lasting forms of thought

without understanding the importance of these ethnic currents and their foreign literary technique in American culture and art. Then he will begin to think it worth while to strive for mastery in his study of the masters, to look into the constructive processes of German, French, and other modern literatures. He will do what Goethe did in that apparently aimless winter of 1771-1772 in Frankfort, when he was seeking mastery in his poetic technique, when he was studying Socrates, Xenophon, Plato, Theocritus, Anacreon, and Pindar, and, as he reached the dithyrambic heights of Pindar's Odes, exclaimed in the words of the *Koran*: "Herr, mache mir Raum in meiner engen Brust!" Goethe had found what he was seeking—*mastery*, "Meisterschaft, Virtuosität." To describe the struggle of his mind and feelings (*στῆθος* and *πρᾶσις*) he employed this classic figure: "Wenn du kühn im Wagen stehst, und vier neue Pferde wild unordentlich sich an deinen Zügeln bäumen, du ihre Kraft lenkst, den austretenden herbei-, den aufbäumenden hinabpeitschest und jagst und lenkst und wendest, peitschest, hältst und wieder ausjagst bis alle sechzehn Füße in einem Takt ans Ziel tragen—das ist Meisterschaft." Let the technical student learn how the mastery of Latin, Greek, and French gave to Alexander von Humboldt the deep penetrating spirit of philosophic inquiry and scientific research which made possible his *Kosmos*. Let the living example of Montelius with his speaking and writing knowledge of a half dozen modern languages, to say nothing of the ancient tongues, kindle among us the unquenchable desire for linguistic mastery and living intercourse with the great contemporary masters in science, literature, and art.

The time is ripe for a literary awakening. From the

Mediterranean to the Pacific literary creation is groping its way along the misty trails of confused technical traditions instead of rising on the pinions of originality to the clearer height of poetic inspiration. How like the epitome of the literary conditions of Germany, France, England, and America these words in which the Countess Pardo Bazan characterized the "Contemporary Literature of Spain" :

"There is no manner of doubt that at the present moment the literature of science has got a great impetus among us, while that of pure imagination is suffering from uncertainty and fatigue"

"Although more than 1000 theatrical pieces were presented in Spain last year—flowers of a single day,—the public—always the same—demands novelty. That being so, it cannot expect to have masterpieces."

There is an impression that poetry, being the product of the imagination—half truth from the mistland between science and myth (the child of mystery), has no place in our scientific age of positive truth. This is a widespread fallacy of our time. If we have no poetry, it is because we have no creative imagination or no knowledge of the laws of poetic creation under the new conditions.

The truth of the positivist is after all but half-truth. The science of astronomy made an end of sun worship, but only opened a vista into a still deeper mystery behind the distant stars; chemistry banished alchemy with its vagaries, but with its sister physics is still busy with the mystery of transmuting matter under changed conditions; geology dispelled the theory of a literal creation in seven days, but left the great initial cause undiscovered; philology rejected the linguistic fatherhood of Hebrew, but the origin of language is as much a mystery to us as it was

to Herder; psychology and medicine exposed witchcraft, but the mystery of spiritualism in our day builds temples in which to worship, and telepathy and telegraphy seem magically akin.

No, the conditions for poetry are as good as in the days of old Homer or John Milton. It is the seer who is wanting, the seer who sees backwards and forwards and in the consciousness of his sight clothes his vision in eternal form.

The *uncertainty*, already mentioned, is the curse of the literary creations of our time—a time void of criticism and knowledge of literary form, a time in which the ephemeral newspaper and the popular magazine—not the college teacher of language and literature—are the preceptors of the novelist and the writer of verse. It is—to use the language of my native heath—a “sorry sight” to see the scores of young writers essaying to create a literature for this great people, but ignorant of the first principles of literary construction—novelists whose eyes are blank when the question of the relation of novel and short story is under discussion; dramatists who have never seen Lessing’s *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* or read Wilhelm Schlegel’s *History of Dramatic Literature*; poets who would balk at the study of Schiller’s *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung der Menschen* or his essay *Ueber naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung*.

The true aim of linguistic study is to inform, inspire, and adapt the technique of the masters to the literary conditions of our land and time for the creation of a lasting immortal literary form. To the teacher and student of modern languages upon whom this vision has broken in all its brightness, the linguistic dabbings of our schools can be nothing short of educational sin. To the student with this vision of the literary poverty and possibilities

of his people the study of German and French are necessities of culture. He will insist upon a *speaking knowledge* of the foreign tongue from the first and whenever opportunity is offered. He will learn the forms and syntax not alone from the printed page but—what is ultimately the quickest and surest way—by speaking them—the living word. The words of the old German physician to me thirty years ago, “von Mund zu Mund,” will become the watchword. This must be the work of the secondary school and must have more time and better method. In the college the student will study the deeper and far more inspiring forms of literary composition, the genesis of the masterpieces of the great writers of German and French verse and prose, and appropriate them in enriching his knowledge of his own culture and literature, and perchance create an immortal work from the depths of his own national life.

With this vitalizing reform of our study of modern languages, the noble work of research in our Universities will become correlated. We shall have but a step from the college class to the university seminars. Our research will not be content to follow foreign leads but will go down into the deeper study of the genesis of American culture; scientific inquiry will become creative and the truth newly discovered, creative energy. We shall take our place in literature as we have in material progress, in the lead of the nations. Linguistic study will then lead to literary creation and rear a new race of poets who shall create a new Hellas in far-off Hesperia, a new Parnassus for Greek and Barbarian, a new *ars poetica Americana*.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, IN IOWA CITY, IA.,
AT THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE CENTRAL DIVISION.

BY A. G. CANFIELD.

COEDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

Let me, by my very first words, relieve your minds of a possible dreadful suspicion and fear. I do *not* expect to impose that tax upon your patience that a full treatment of my subject, in all its aspects, would involve. The evening itself, to say nothing of your patience, would be all too short for that. And I do not forget that the occasion prescribes its limitations also. Tho we, as school men, can feel nothing foreign to our interest that has an intimate relation to the problems of our schools and to the ends that they serve, yet we are met here as modern language men—and women, I should be unpardonably forgetful of my theme not to add that—; students and teachers of modern languages and literatures. And, quite aside from such an impersonal recognition of what the occasion demands, it must needs be, from the very fact of my profession and its dominant interests, as a modern language man that I approach my theme.

What I shall attempt then this evening is not so much a discussion of the great question of coeducation, with reference to a criticism of its workings or its results, as an inquiry as to what, if any, suggestions the situation of

literary studies in coeducational institutions of higher education may have for us, the professional expounders and advocates of modern literature in them. It occurred to me that it would not be inappropriate to make this inquiry at a meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, since within the territory it represents the institutions of higher education are, with very few exceptions, coeducational.

No doubt the desire to avoid a too mouth-filling title has led to a somewhat oracular brevity. More than one of my colleagues, after reading the program, has asked me what I was going to talk about. "Coeducation and Literature" might suggest a survey of the modern fiction in which coeducation is exploited, for better, for worse; or perhaps the potency of the fair coed as a muse to inspire the undergraduate lyric poet. Or one might proceed from such a text to discuss the compromises, the reticences, the embarrassments, that the interpretation of great masterpieces of literature often presents in classes where young men and young women are found side by side, and which tend to limit the choice of works read and to leave the view of the content and significance of literature somewhat incomplete. Let me hasten to define my subject more precisely by saying that it is concerned with the distribution of literary studies between the sexes in coeducational institutions of higher education, and the possible influence of such distribution upon what we may conceive to be the tasks and the methods of the departments of modern languages in those institutions.

I must confess, however, that I could not help being solicited very persuasively by the larger aspects of the theme, as I have been considering it; and I cannot refrain from suggesting in passing the deep interest there

might be in ascertaining the distribution of all studies between the sexes in coeducational institutions where there is a considerable freedom of election. President Butler is reported to have observed lately that the programs of studies in the colleges for women are growing continually more like those in the men's colleges, and the inference would lie near that the educational ideal for women was becoming more and more like that for men. But it is a conspicuous fact in coeducational institutions under the elective system that the proportion of the sexes is not at all the same in different kinds of subjects, but rather varies greatly, some subjects being taken almost wholly by men, and others being taken by a correspondingly large majority of women. That certain courses, if not certain kinds of courses, are overwhelmingly feminine, if judged by the sex of the students taking them, is so notorious among us as to be the not infrequent subject of jest. This seems to say that while there is a tendency to say theoretically, by programs of study, that the education of women and of men should follow the same line, there is a tendency among men and women seeking their education side by side, with full freedom of choice, to establish practically a difference between them. It would be an interesting discovery if it should turn out that our undergraduate youth, in our coeducational institutions, have been recognizing, practically, very different masculine and feminine ideals of culture while our programs of study have been seeking a single ideal for all, and that the difference between these ideals has been growing more distinct, if not further apart, in practice, while in theory, as expressed in our curricula, they have been coming nearer together or uniting in one. We should like to know, too, just what the differences are which separate

the masculine culture from the feminine, just what are the elements that enter into each, how far women, in entering the field of liberal education under the same conditions as men may have so taken possession of certain portions of it that the men are inclined to abandon them, and whether coeducation has been all unsuspectedly one of the influences making for that transformation of the ideal of masculine culture, or of culture generally, which is the subject of so much comment in this beginning of the 20th century. Of course I am using the word culture here in the large sense to stand for the total product of education, and not in the narrower and somewhat old-fashioned meaning according to which it designated a certain fine urbanity of mind that moves with ease and grace, and dwells with delight, in the society of the great creations of the human spirit.

I turn aside, then, from these enticing questions to that which has a more direct and professional interest for us: What is the status of literary studies under coeducation? How do the sexes distribute themselves in literary courses? I speak, naturally, of modern literatures, tho, to enable us to interpret the situation so far as modern languages are concerned we ought to know that of the classics, also, and I regret that I did not seek information in this direction as well.

We need no statistics, I presume, to tell us that the languages and literature are favorite studies for our young women. We should not be in danger of the mistaken reasoning of a certain librarian who concluded that women are much less honest than men. He based his judgment on his observation that there was a great deal of trouble about the books reserved for reference in the Shakespeare and the Faust courses. These books, available in only a

limited number of copies, would be hidden, instead of being returned to the desk, especially in the period just before examination. The culprit, when detected, would almost invariably prove to be a woman. But if the librarian had known the proportion of women to men in those courses he would have known that the reason why the women were guilty of so many more offences than the men was the same one that explains why white sheep yield so much more wool than black sheep—there are so many more of them. Visit any class room where a course in literature is being given and there will be found such a one-sided predominance of skirts over trousers that one fancies there must be some deeper connection between petticoats and poetry than that of an accidental alliteration. It makes no difference whether the writer under consideration be Chaucer or Goethe, Shakespeare or Verlaine, Spencer or Victor Hugo, Racine or Schiller, Browning or Bodmer or Beaudelaire, we find uniformly a little group of men on one side of the room and compact ranks of women on the other. This at least has been my personal observation, confirmed by conversations with my colleagues. But to make sure that I was not dealing with a merely local situation, or with personal impressions derived from striking, but not necessarily representative, instances, I have collected information from six institutions, from widely different parts of our territory, that may be taken, I think, to show fairly what the facts of the case are in general. These institutions are Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Northwestern, Ohio, and Wisconsin. They represent over seven thousand undergraduate students pursuing studies for the bachelor's degree. The information asked for was as to the number of men and women taking courses in modern languages, separated according to de-

gree of advancement, and also those taking courses in English literature. The figures so gathered show conclusively that the situation is substantially the same in all these institutions, with such variations as position and local conditions may explain. During the first two years of modern language study, a little longer in German, a little shorter in French, while, that is to say, the study is elementary and is directed towards the acquirement of a facility in the use of the language, primarily for reading, about the same proportion of men as of women choose them. With courses beyond that point, as the end of the study comes more and more to be the mastery and appreciation of the content of the language as literature, the proportion shifts rapidly in favor of the women.

To begin with French. In four of the six institutions named the variation between the proportion of men and that of women in the beginning sections was not over one per cent. That is, if the number of men was fifteen per cent. of the total enrollment of men in the undergraduate department, the number of women was not under fourteen nor above sixteen per cent. of the total enrollment of women. The ratio of men to women in the classes in first year French was, in other words, the same as in the undergraduate department at large. In one of the institutions the proportion of men was greater because men from some of the professional schools were enrolled in the undergraduate courses. In the classes of the second year the proportion shifts decidedly to the feminine side. The number of men is smaller than in the work of the first year, being in some cases less than one-third, and in no case much more than one-half. The number of young women does not decrease, in four cases out of six; or falls off much less conspicuously, in the other two. In courses

beyond the second year, where the emphasis is placed for the first time on the content as literature, the number of men drops clear down towards the vanishing point, while that of women holds its own or increases, in every case but one. The result of this successive shifting of proportions is that in the courses dealing in French primarily with literature the total number of elections—not the number of students enrolled, which is certainly from twenty-five to fifty per cent. smaller, many students electing two, or even more, courses—the total number of elections is from one-twelfth to one-fifth (in only one case more) of the number of men enrolled in the first year's work, while among the women it is in one case greater, in three cases almost exactly the same, in the fifth case forty per cent., and in the sixth thirty. That is, in the institution where the fewest women take the literary courses in French their proportion is nearly twice as great as the proportion of men taking them where the number of men is the greatest. Men are accordingly in an immense minority in these courses, forming four per cent., or one man to twenty-four women where they are least well represented, and twenty-nine per cent., or one man to two and a half women, where they are most numerous.

But you may think that French, after all, lies somewhat under the suspicion of being a girl's finishing subject, a mere accomplishment! Let us look at German. The figures here are somewhat less uniform, owing perhaps to the varying importance of the German element in the population in the different regions represented. In the first year the enrolment of men is slightly larger proportionately than that of women, but there is no great divergence, save in one case where a notable excess of men

seems accidental, as it is balanced very exactly by an equal excess of women in the second year's work. The enrolment is smaller than that in first year French where German is well entrenched in the high schools, larger elsewhere. In the second year the proportion of men to women is not greatly disturbed, but there is a measurable gain on the side of the women. In the courses beyond the second year the gain is much more conspicuous. In only one case does the number of elections among the men equal the number of men enrolled in the second year courses, while that of the elections of women exceeds the number of women in the second year courses by from ten to two hundred per cent. Of the total number of elections beyond the second year those of men form but thirty-eight per cent. where they are relatively most numerous, and it seems that in these cases the figures include a number of men from the professional schools enrolled in undergraduate courses; where they are fewest they form but seventeen per cent. of the whole. And in the cases where the statistics furnished me permitted the separation of the third year from the more advanced courses, a further shift of the proportions was observable as the courses became more specifically devoted to the study of the texts as literature. As has already been remarked, the greater difficulty of German for the one learning to read it makes the period of elementary study longer for it than for French. While it will often happen that a student after one year of French will feel that he can manage to read it well enough for his probably limited purposes, he will hardly pass a similar judgment on his German before the end of the second year, and those who do not wish to stop short of a fairly fluent command of the modern languages for reading purposes will almost

as surely take a third year of German as a second year of French. The higher courses in German, beyond the third year, the courses in literature, seem then no less preponderatingly feminine than those in French.

And how stands the matter with the literature of our vernacular tongue? Is it not perhaps the lingual facility of our sisters that leads them, by a native aptness for language study, to these foreign literatures? But the fact that in proportion as the part of language is less in these studies, and the part of literature is greater, the ratio of the number of women to that of men increases, forbids us judge so. And the figures for the enrolment in courses in English literature amply justify the inference. In them women form from fifty-nine per cent.—where the total enrolment of men is swollen by recruits from professional schools—to eighty-five per cent. And here again, where it is possible to separate elementary from advanced courses, the proportion is noticeably greater in the higher courses. If, for instance, in an institution where women form seventy-seven per cent. of the enrolment in courses in English literature, we eliminate the introductory outline course in the history of English literature, we find that in the remaining courses the women form eighty-three per cent. of the enrolment.

It is sufficiently clear, it seems to me, that with regard to the distribution of literary studies between the sexes, the coeducational institutions show a considerable similarity. In all of them the women seem born to literature as the sparks fly upward. They outnumber the men from two to one to twenty-four to one. As an element of culture, still in the large sense of that word, literature has a distinctly larger place in feminine esteem than in masculine. Indeed, it further appears by these figures that

the place it holds in masculine esteem is not only relatively small when compared with that given it by women, but also that absolutely the part accorded it is very slight. The number of men pursuing French beyond the second year is but about ten per cent. of all. The number pursuing German beyond the third year is about the same. The number taking English literature, except the most elementary course, is sometimes as low as twenty-five per cent. The meaning of these facts would be different if there were large numbers, anything like a majority, of men, continuing as undergraduates the study of the classics, which in our old tradition of liberal culture formed the backbone of the humanistic discipline. But those numbers now, in the institutions being considered, are so small as not materially to affect the question. The total number of men, candidates for the bachelor's degree in our departments of literature, science, and the arts, whose preparation for that degree involves no substantial literary culture, is certainly great, in some institutions approaching, if it does not exceed, fifty per cent. The number of women in a similar case does not exceed one per cent.

I would not be understood as implying that there is nothing flattering to literature and to us who professionally expound it in this feminine preference and admiration. In certain moments, when I have pondered over these things and speculated on the hidden relationship between literature and the ladies, I have yielded to the insinuating voice of vanity, and have fancied that the disproportionate popularity of literature with the fair sex was the effect of personal advantages on the part of the teachers of literature. Perhaps we, in our individual qualities of mind, or of other kinds, make a special

appeal to the eternal feminine. That is a very flattering thought, certainly. Only we should have, in fairness, to account for the absence of men from our courses in a similar way, and admit that we, in our individual qualities, do not make any corresponding appeal to the masculine mind; and, with all deference to the ladies, my vanity has refused to be tickled by the thought of accepting that explanation. And on reflexion it does not seem possible that this explanation can be the true and sufficient one. The departments of language and literature have no monopoly of unmarried instructors. And it is against the whole theory of probabilities that so many men, selected by very different persons, at different times, on the basis of various recommendations, should all, uniformly, possess in such high degree the gift of appealing to the feminine mind, and lack in equal measure that of appealing to the masculine mind. We must, I think, accept the on the whole more comfortable explanation that it is the subject and not the instructor's quality of mind that is the cause of the proportion of the sexes among our undergraduate students of literature.

But tho this conviction is more comfortable than the other for us teachers of literature, it is far from reconciling us to the situation. It is only less unpleasant to us to know that the men find our subject unprofitable than to know that they find us unprofitable. This need not imply that we are insensible to the feminine preference, or that we underestimate the feminine mind, or that we give the masculine mind a higher rank. But being ourselves deeply persuaded of the real and important rôle that literature plays among the real powers of our world, believing in its enormous practical efficiency for informing and inspiring life, we deem it a pity

that men, who still for some time, at least, in our social conditions, will do so large a part of the world's work, should seem to pass it by, in the years when they are victualing themselves for the voyage, as something negligible and not worth while. Of course, I do not fail to recognize that there are other ways of expressing one's vital interest in literature than by taking courses in Shakespeare or in Molière or in Faust. I will even admit that there are *better* ways, and that the number of credits piled up in courses in literature is a very unsafe measure of one's genuine love and appreciation of its great works. I confess to sharing something of the skepticism more or less frequently expressed as to the success of the effort to teach literature, if by that we mean teaching how really to appreciate it. For real appreciation there must be enjoyment, zest, a spontaneous delight;—and there is something at once pathetic and grotesque in the laborious efforts made to communicate this by teaching or to appropriate it by study. It is like studying how to like olives.

It is even maintained that the attempt to teach literature in the schools is a fertile source of the distaste for reading so often encountered and so generally lamented. It is quite conceivable. The enforced consumption of a daily ration of ice cream might be an ordeal that the most robust native appetite for that delicacy would not be able to withstand in the long run. But such considerations would not have so much force when applied in the region of the university, where on the whole men and women take what they like. And in any case it would take a prodigious ingenuity to make them throw any light both on the absence of the men from literary courses and on the abundant presence of the women. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the one-sided distri-

bution of the sexes in the study of literature reflects a general impression that this study is especially appropriate for women and is correspondingly less appropriate for men. In the menu of university training, courses in literature are the bonbons and salted almonds—pleasant to nibble at, perhaps, but in no wise taking the place of a substantial and nourishing course, at least for the male stomach.

We do not get away from this conclusion when we reflect on the part which the professional aim plays in determining the elections of our candidates for the bachelor's degree. It is true beyond peradventure that the professional spirit dominates our undergraduate work for the bachelor's degree. We administrators of departments know that the feminine interest in literature is in the great majority of cases very intimately connected with interest in a teacher's diploma. When I see before me the nineteen young women and the one sad young man who are following with me the fortunes of French literature in the seventeenth century, I realize perfectly that the interest of these young women in the subject is secondary to a desire for a recommendation to teach French, and that if some other course had been pointed out to them as more conducive to that devoutly wished for consummation, most of them would not be studying the history of French literature, but would be found, with the same kind and degree of interest, in that other course. This does not mean that the young women do not really like the courses in literature. They do. But their liking is subordinated to professional ends, just as in case of the young man and his engineering, or his medicine, or his law. Our question is only carried back one step further, without encountering an essentially different answer.

Why do the girls choose to teach literature and languages? why do the men not choose to teach them? Here we are brought face to face with the disproportionately large place that women have in the secondary schools of our country, which gives them an advantage over men in the competition for places that both are equally well fitted to fill. But this fact, tho we allow it great importance, does not afford us a satisfactory escape from our position. In this usual assignment of the teaching of languages and literatures in the secondary schools to women, is this notion that literature is in some way of the feminine gender in no way involved? On the whole these considerations do not much disturb our conviction that our undergraduates take the studies that they like and that seem to them likely to prove practically useful and profitable—in other words, to be worth while.

It is reflexions such as these that we university purveyors of tongues are forced to make when we contemplate our classes. And we cannot help asking ourselves whether the coeducational situation has anything to do with the relative disesteem in which men hold literature as an undergraduate study. When I look at the sad young man who is the sole representative of his sex in my course in the history of French literature, I wonder whether this spectacle, repeated with slight variations wherever there is a purely literary course, may not contribute to shape the opinion that literature is preëminently a study for girls, and tend to discourage some men who might not otherwise hold poetry quite unworthy of their thoughtful consideration. With the hope of getting some light on this question I asked for information, similar to that just presented, from an equal number of men's universities and colleges. I received replies from Har-

vard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Williams, and Dartmouth. If coeducation has nothing to do with the case, the statistics from the coeducational institutions ought not to show any marked divergence from those of the men's colleges.

The answers to my inquiries allow no such unhesitating inference as those from the coeducational institutions. The difference in the matter of freedom of election, the large place still reserved in the one or the other of these institutions to the classics, which were left out of my inquiry, and other things still, like the different average social condition from which the students come, tend to make the figures ambiguous. But taking them as they stand, and making the allowances that seem called for, it appears that a decidedly smaller fraction of the men reach the bachelor's degree without some prolonged contact with literature as an undergraduate study than is the case in the other group of institutions. Whether freely chosen or merely submitted to, the literary element, or the element of the humanities, has a larger place in the notion of culture dominating the men's colleges than it has in the notion practically accepted by men in the coeducational institutions. This is not yet saying that the preference of women turns away that of the men. There are many factors to the problem. But it looks that way. And this impression is confirmed by undergraduate testimony in at least one of the institutions named. A course that is known to be habitually chosen by a relatively large number of girls is quietly set down by the boys as a course to be avoided, and the word is passed along. When for any reason courses in literature come to be recognized favorites of women, that very fact rouses suspicion in the minds of the men. So that what at first only reveals the degree of discredit in which the humanities are held by many as a part of a man's useful training for life

becomes in its turn a means of increasing that discredit. The large acceptance accorded these studies in the notion of culture practically asserted by women seems to be tending not to strengthen the position that they have in the notion of culture held by men, but to weaken and undermine it.

I have spoken as if it must be a matter of regret to us modern language men, not that literature is held in such high esteem by women as contributing to their preparation for the actual business of living, but that it is held in such low esteem by men. I believe that for most of us it is such a matter of regret. We should hardly have the same respect for our calling and the same zest in its pursuit if we deemed our work to be mainly that of putting a tool in the student's hand with which to work out the more quickly his professional success or his material prosperity. We do not think we are deaf to the claims of the new doctrine of education for efficiency, but we believe that efficiency relates to means rather than ends, and does not dispense us from considering the differing values of these. We refuse to understand efficiency as having to do exclusively with objects and purposes that concern our material comfort and convenience, or having more to do with them than with the creation, distribution, and enjoyment of ideal goods; as more concerned with the productions of nature than with the historic flowering and fruitage of the human spirit; as deeming rapid transit on this globe as immeasurably more important than free and sure movement in the world of ideas and imagination. An idea of efficiency is all too current that insists more on making a loud noise than on playing in time and tune; that would be satisfied by perpetually driving a hundred horse power automobile around a circular track at the rate of a mile a minute; that would be content to deflect

all the water of Niagara Falls to supply power to grind up our forests into paper for the Sunday editions of our newspapers. We are unwilling that such efficiency should be the measure of education. We have not yet surrendered our old fashioned belief in culture—culture in that narrower sense to which I have already referred. We cherish still, with Dean Briggs, a weakness for the Gentleman and the Scholar of old times, and a belief that something of his temper would not be out of place in our “hustling, bustling, trust-making and trust-busting” age,—and we are not sure, at first, at least, that the Lady and the Scholar will quite fill his place, or, at any rate, wholly prevent us from regretting his loss.

If I am not wrong, if I am really voicing the feeling of most teachers of modern languages, it follows that, while we congratulate ourselves, as we are wont to do at these gatherings, on the manifold evidences of our Association's increasing prosperity and the continually widening place of the modern languages in our schools, we ought still to ask ourselves whether they are yet occupying the place they ought to fill, whether they have to any considerable degree succeeded to the place which the classics used to hold as the vehicle of a peculiarly humanizing culture. That the classics no longer hold it is beyond dispute, most of all in our part of the country and in the type of institution we mostly represent. It would seem that instead of the modern languages taking the vacant place, it has remained mainly unfilled, and that the masculine ideal of culture has largely rejected the element they offer. And while we recognize that many of the factors that have contributed to this change are beyond our control, and that a return in the direction of the humanistic ideal, if it ever come, must depend on many other things than our zeal, yet that does not make our zeal vain, nor forbid us

to ask whether there is not something that we might profitably do. How far, if at all, has modern language teaching been at fault in failing to make the most of its opportunities? What may we teachers do more or better than we have done to gain for the humanities as represented by literature a larger place in the notion of masculine culture? These are too large questions to be attacked at the end of a short address. We are well aware that criticism of our methods has by no means been wanting, and precisely in the last few years. The emphasis laid upon the doctor's degree has been denounced as a poor guarantee that the candidate for an instructorship possesses those qualities that will make him a communicative and inspiring representative of literature as a means of culture. Our tendency, not unconnected with this matter of technical training, to deal with literature as a material for scholarship and science rather than as a nourishing food of intellectual and moral life, has been asserted and lamented by some of our own number. We recall the provoking—in the good sense no less than the bad—essays of our colleague Babbitt of Harvard. Our too general confusion of graduate and undergraduate work has been regretted, by none more keenly than by some of those who are, in a way, a party to it. The need of beginning the study of modern languages earlier, and of insisting that it be carried, for some one, at least, beyond the stage of smattering, by prolonged and consecutive study, thru six years or more, has often been proclaimed. I cannot, I say, enter upon the discussion of these criticisms and suggestions. But it is fair to believe that some of the difference of views among our counsellors comes from the obscurity and confusion of the field. I shall be content if I shall have contributed, in however small degree, to illumine and clarify the situation.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigation by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III.

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary and Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life

member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successive years. Distinguisht foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council.

IV.

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be : a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer ; an Executive Council consisting of these six officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members ; and an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and two other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold office until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

V.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII ; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may

be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI.

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII.

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

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ÉLYSÉE AVIBAGNET, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. [1908.]
T. WHITING BANCROFT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890.]
D. L. BARTLETT, Baltimore, Md. [1899.]
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[1908.]
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SOPHUS BUGGE, University of Christiania. [1907.]
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[1909.]
JOSEPH W. CARR, University of Maine, Orono, Me. [1909.]
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HENRY COHEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900.]
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L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
B. P. HASDEU, University of Bucharest, Bucharest, Roumania. [1908.]
RUDOLF HAYM, University of Halle. [1901.]
RICHARD HEINZEL, University of Vienna. [1905.]

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[1899.]
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[1908.]
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[1900.]
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[1900.]

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[1898.]

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[1894.]

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1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 15, with its title, a synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the program.

3. The Secretary shall select the program from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.

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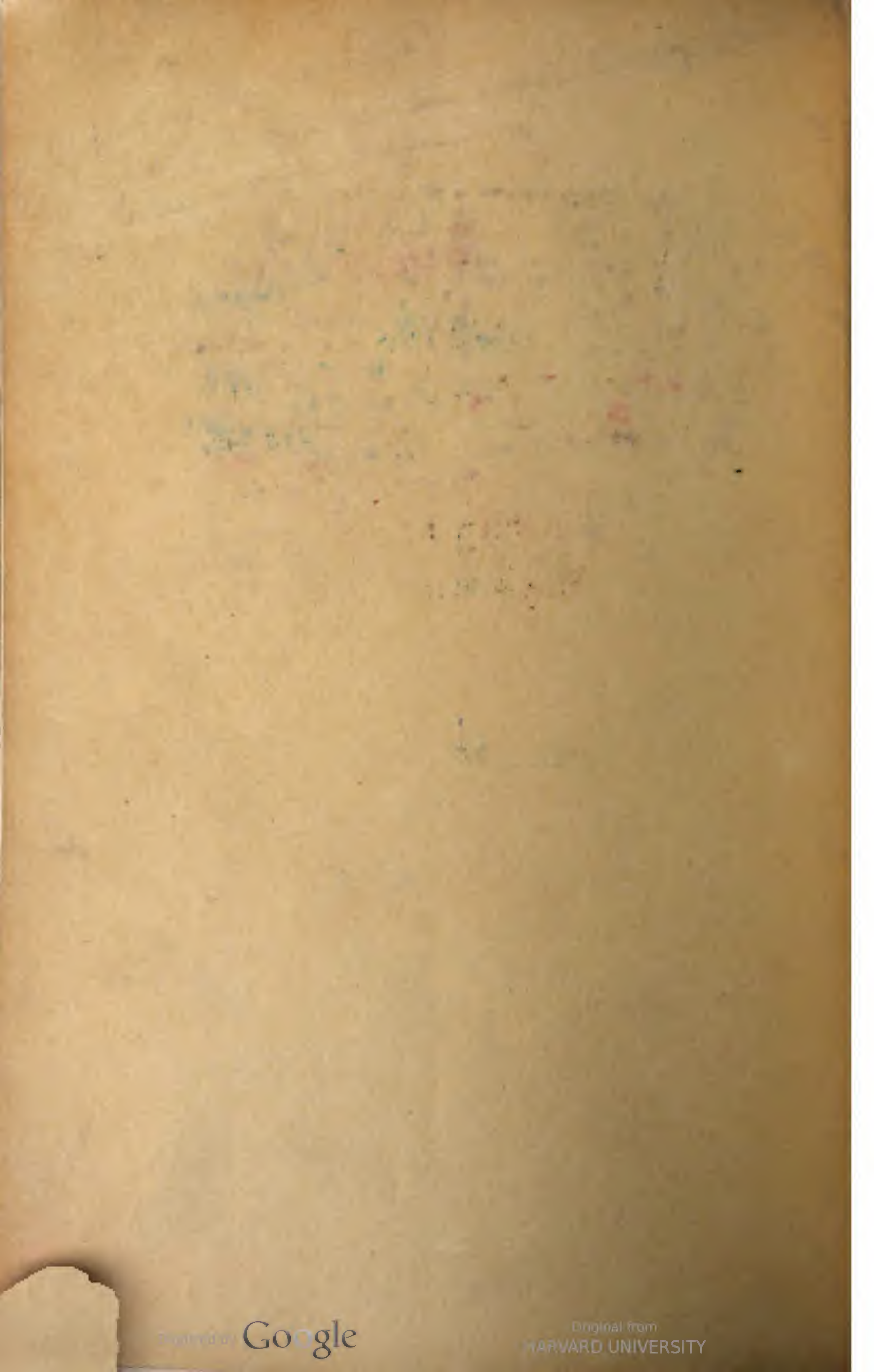
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